

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HISTORY ENCYCLOPEDIA REFERENCE BOOK



**"THAT THE LABOR OF A HUMAN
BEING IS NOT A COMMODITY
OR ARTICLE OF COMMERCE"**

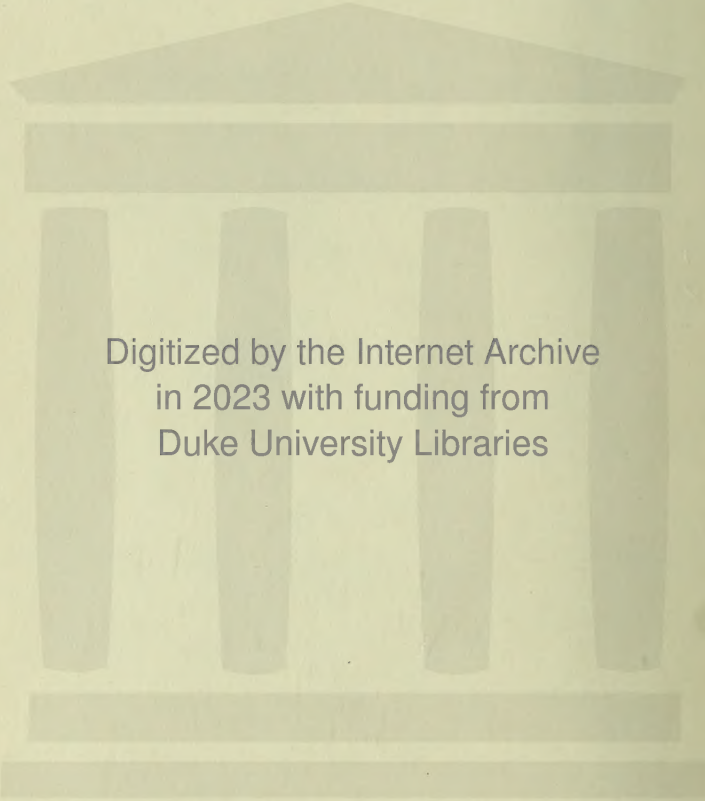
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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

HISTORY, ENCYCLOPEDIA AND
REFERENCE BOOK

Vol. III—Part II



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BY AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
President

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

Washington, D. C.

CONTINUED FROM VOLUME III, PART I

Loyalty and Security Legislation
(see: Civil Rights)

Lynching, Anti- (also see: Racial Discrimination; Civil Rights)—(1930, p. 384). In harmony with sound traditions and repeated pronouncements of the A. F. of L. that practice of economic and civil injustices upon the colored wage earners and our fellow citizens are herewith unequivocally and sharply condemned and the voice of American labor reaffirms and emphasizes its faith in and devotion to the principles and ideas of equal opportunity, fair-play and justice for all Americans in industry and before the law without regard to race, creed, color or nationality, as the safest assurance and guarantee of the stability of our institutions; and the A. F. of L. pledges its forces and calls upon all affiliated unions to employ their great influence and power, in cooperation with various civic and religious organizations, to stamp out lynching and mob violence and industrial discrimination because of race or color as a disgraceful crime and a blot upon American civilization.

(1934, p. 624) The A. F. of L. herewith proclaims its absolute and unequivocal condemnation of Lynch and mob law, and calls upon Congress to enact legislation which will wipe out this shameful blot of barbarism from American soil. Reaffirmed: 1935, 1937, 1938, 1939.

(1939, pp. 243, 456) Res. 21, unanimously adopted as follows:

Whereas—In the last half-century, some 5,000 or more persons have been the victims of lynching in the United States of America, some of whom have been white and women; and

Whereas—Lynching harks back to the brutal methods of the barbarian and savage, and constitutes a blot, a stigma and a shame and disgrace upon a so-called civilized country, and earns the condemnation and scorn of all civilized peoples; and

Whereas—Convention after conven-

tion, together with the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor, have made definite and sharp declarations against this national evil and inhuman practice, and that there is a growing enlightened sentiment in the South against this horror; therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor express its unqualified condemnation of lynching and mob terror, and denounces the Southern filibuster in the United States Senate against the Wagner-Van Nys-Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill, as opposed to and in contravention of all democratic procedure and practice, preventing, as it were, through physical force and a blocking process, the will of the people from being heard and registered, and calls upon the Congress to enact a Federal law to wipe out lynching.

(1940, pp. 81, 406) A. F. of L. has consistently supported anti-lynching bills and the E.C. was authorized by the 1940 convention to continue its efforts to secure such legislation. In the report of the E.C. to the convention the purpose of the proposed legislation was set forth as enlisting "the aid of the Federal Government within its constitutional province to supplement the efforts of the states in stamping out lynching and removing the threat of mob violence from American life. It is a basic premise of this legislation that the function of checking and punishing mob violence is in the first instance an obligation of the states and that it is only when state agents fail or refuse to do their duty that Federal power is to be exercised in the form of penalties upon the state agents and agencies which have been derelict in their duty. The Federal Government cannot intervene in any case in which state agents and agencies have been diligent in attempting to prevent and punish mob violence. The proposed legislation will operate in three ways: (1) The Department of

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Justice is empowered to investigate lynchings wherever there is evidence of delinquency on the part of local officials. (2) Local officials who are remiss in their duty with reference to restraining the mob or bringing lynch-ers to the bar of justice are subject to punishment. (3) The county or city whose peace officers or other agents charged with law enforcement, aid the lynchers or refuse to oppose the mob, become liable for damages to the victim of mob violence or the next of kin of such victim."

Legislation of this character has frequently been before Congress but has failed because filibustering in the Senate has prevented a vote. At this session the bill passed the House on January 10, 1940, by a vote of 252 to 131. It was favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Judiciary by a vote of 11 to 4 but there has been no action by the Senate to date.

(P. 512) Convention adopted the following statement setting forth the position of the A. F. of L. on the need for an adequate anti-lynching law.

"... that this convention endorses the principle of an anti-lynching law, and that the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to give their support to legislative measures which will bring an adequate anti-lynching law into existence."

(1941, pp. 251, 543) The convention unanimously adopted a resolution definitely and sharply expressing its opposition to lynching and mob law and reaffirming its stand endorsing and supporting a federal anti-lynching law.

(1944, p. 507) Res. 24:

Whereas—Lynching and mob-law are a disgrace and menace to American democracy and Christianity, and since the lynching of American citizens, white and black, for over fifty years shows that the states, individually, are incapable of abolishing this evil, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this Convention of

the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, Louisiana, November, 1944, go on record as condemning lynching and mob-law as a grave danger to our constitutional government and an attack upon civilized society, and hence call upon the House and Senate of Congress to enact a federal law against lynching and mob-law.

Your committee recommends that the position previously taken by the convention of the American Federation of Labor to prevent lynchings be reaffirmed.

(1946, pp. 220, 490) Res. 7 called for legislation protesting against the prevalence of lynching in some of the states. The Executive Council reported that support had been given in the Congress to bills against lynching. The convention recommended continued efforts to secure enactment of these proposals.

(1946, pp. 549, 594) The convention considered two resolutions, Nos. 142 and 165, dealing with civil rights and anti-lynching legislation. The convention decided that "the American Federation of Labor vigorously and unequivocally condemn these crimes, and urges the Congress of the United States to enact, as speedily as possible, legislation which will permit the Federal Government to intervene in cases where individuals or groups have been deprived of their civil rights, guaranteed under the Federal Constitution, or have been denied due process of law or adequate protection against violence."

(1947, p. 651) The convention, through adoption of Res. 47, reaffirmed the position of the A. F. of L. in support of anti-lynching legislation "in the interest of justice and fair play for all peoples regardless of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry."

(1948, p. 235) Res. 10 provided that the A. F. of L. go on record as opposed to lynching in all of its repre-

hensible forms and called upon Congress to enact legislation abolishing this grave attack upon the life of American citizens and American democracy.

Machinists, International Association (Disaffiliation)—(1943, p. 43) The following communication was received by the officers of the American Federation of Labor from President Brown and Secretary-Treasurer Davison, of the International Association of Machinists:

Washington, D. C., May 27, 1943.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor.

Mr. George Meany, Secretary-
Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

In our communication of May 20, 1943, to the A. F. of L. Executive Council we advised that the general membership of the International Association of Machinists had by referendum vote decided to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor.

In that letter, copy of which is herewith attached, we set forth the causes leading up to our membership's decision and once more made an earnest appeal that the same consideration be granted the Machinists' Union as was given other American Federation of Labor affiliates.

For reasons best known to themselves the A. F. of L. Executive Council chose to deny our request, thereby clearly demonstrating that justice and a fair application of the true principles upon which the American Federation of Labor was founded, no longer enters into their deliberations nor governs their decisions.

On May 22, International President H. W. Brown attending your Council meeting, stated that:

"In view of the A. F. of L. Executive Council's refusal to grant the request presented in our communication

of May 20, 1943, and in the absence of any offer of protection of our work jurisdiction, the Executive Council of the International Association of Machinists, in session assembled, has no alternative other than to determine the effective date on which the mandate of our membership shall be carried out."

That statement was confirmed in a letter addressed May 24 to Secretary-Treasurer George Meany by President Brown.

An impartial analysis of the manner in which the Council has handled our repeated appeals for justice can only lead to one conclusion; namely, that A. F. of L. convention decisions and rulings pertaining to the work jurisdiction of our union were totally disregarded and the merits of our contentions completely ignored when our case was decided. By their refusal to abide by A. F. of L. convention decisions and rulings affecting our jurisdiction and to grant us the relief asked for they have once more placed their stamp of approval on the practice whereby thousands of our members are compelled to pay tribute to other A. F. of L. unions for the right to work at our trade.

After due deliberation we have concluded that not until the International Association of Machinists is assured of the same consideration in the preservation of its rights and work jurisdiction as is accorded other members of the American Federation of Labor family, can there be any justification for a continuation of our forty-eight year affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

You are, therefore, duly notified that our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor is withdrawn as of May 31, 1943.

It is with sincere regret that we take this step. However, in leaving the American Federation of Labor, we are firmly resolved to continue one of the traditional policies of the Inter-

national Association of Machinists—to respect the jurisdiction of and co-operate with the *bona fide* trade unions who respect our jurisdiction.

Fraternally yours,

By Order of the Executive Council,
International Association of
Machinists, per

(Signed) H. W. Brown,
International President.

(Signed) E. C. Davison,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

The Executive Council learned of this action taken by the International Association of Machinists with a feeling of deep regret. The representatives of the American Federation of Labor appealed to the officers of the International Association of Machinists to reconsider their action and to withdraw its notice of withdrawal from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. We urged that through conferences and discussion, efforts be put forth to bring about a settlement of differences which had arisen between the International Association of Machinists and international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Council emphasized the fact that better results could be obtained through the pursuit of such a policy in the settlement of the differences within the family of Labor than by withdrawal from affiliation and an attempt to bring about a settlement through resort to force and forceful methods.

Notwithstanding the withdrawal of the International Association of Machinists from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, we have continued the *status quo* regarding affiliation of local unions of the International Association of Machinists with city central bodies, state federations of labor and local metal trades councils. Furthermore, we have not thus far enforced the provisions

of the Constitution regarding the affiliation of the International Association of Machinists with the Metal Trades Department and the Railway Employees Department, which were chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council has hoped that such action might be avoided through an early return of the International Association of Machinists to membership in the American Federation of Labor. The efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council to bring about a re-affiliation of the International Association of Machinists with the American Federation of Labor still continue.

Supplemental Report of the Executive Council—International Association of Machinists

(Page 317) In our report to the convention, we have set forth the action on May 27, 1943 of the International Association of Machinists in withdrawing from the American Federation of Labor and we have set forth our efforts to have this organization withdraw its notice of withdrawal in the interests of harmony within the family of the American Federation of Labor.

We are now happy to report to this convention that, after extended conferences, the International Association of Machinists has, through the following communication complied with our request:

"October 6, 1943

"Mr. George Meany,
Secretary Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel,
Boston, Massachusetts.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This is to advise you that our letter of May 27, 1943 announcing the International Association of Machinists'

withdrawal from the American Federation of Labor is herewith withdrawn.

With kindest regards, I remain

Fraternally yours,

—s— H. W. BROWN,
International President,

—s— E. C. DAVISON,
Secretary-Treasurer."

In addition to the above, we wish to report that the International Association of Machinists has paid its per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor up to and including September 1943.

We, therefore, recommend that the Credentials Committee of this convention be instructed to give immediate consideration to the seating in this convention of the delegates representing the International Association of Machinists.

(1946, p. 78) The officers of the American Federation of Labor were greatly surprised when they received an official communication from President Brown of the International Association of Machinists, officially advising that said International Union was withholding the payment of per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor until certain conditions were met by the Executive Council. This refusal on the part of the International Association of Machinists to pay per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor as required by the laws of the Federation was interpreted by the Executive Council as discontinuation of the affiliation of the International Association of Machinists. The facts herewith set forth are made clear in an official communication addressed to the Executive Council by President Harvey W. Brown of the International Association of Machinists, reading as follows:

Washington, D. C., November 29, 1945

To Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor

Attention:

Mr. William Green, President,
Mr. George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

This will acknowledge your communication dated November 19, 1945, in which the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor serves notice that the International Association of Machinists "has discontinued its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor—because of failure to comply with the provisions of Section 3, Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor."

The language of this notification erroneously implies that the International Association of Machinists is "refusing to pay per capita tax" for the purpose of discontinuing its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Since this is *not* the case, and for the purpose of a true and correct record, we direct your attention to the following plain facts concerning the deferment of our per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council of the International Association of Machinists deferred the payment of per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor at a time when the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in total disregard of our established jurisdiction and actions of A. F. of L. conventions, took action to parcel out to another organization work which is a part of our trade and which had always been performed by members of our organization. This was done notwithstanding the promise made at the Boston Convention, i.e., that the American Federation of Labor Executive Council would do everything possible to assist us to protect our trade rights. We believed that with such assistance we would regain work rightfully belonging to

our trade and which was being performed by other A. F. of L. crafts in contravention of actions of A. F. of L. conventions and agreements made in good faith.

The actions of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council which precipitated our Council's action to defer per capita tax payments actually took away more of our work and thus increased and complicated the difficulties of our membership in following the work of their trade. Thus we were left no choice but to conclude that the Boston Convention promise either had not been made in good faith or had since been rescinded.

Thereupon our Executive Council decided to defer the payment of per capita tax until the entire matter could be submitted to our Convention for decision. This was done in our recent Convention held at New York City. The Convention overwhelmingly endorsed the prior action of our Executive Council, that is, to defer the payment of per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor until we are accorded the same treatment and consideration by the A. F. of L. Executive Council as this body accords to other A. F. of L. affiliated Unions.

Pursuant to the laws of the International Association of Machinists, this Convention action is now being submitted to a referendum vote of our membership. We cannot escape the conclusion that the latest action of your Executive Council, as set forth in your communication of November 19, 1945, is timed and intended to influence our referendum vote. In this conclusion we are influenced by the language of the A. F. of L. Constitution which was used as a basis for the notification set forth in your November 19, 1945, communication, viz:

"Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per

capita tax on or before the 15th of each month and assessment or assessments when due and payable shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article."

Since the International Association of Machinists has deferred all per capita tax due since November 1944, this notification according to the A. F. of L. constitutional proviso, quoted in your communication of November 19, should have been served immediately after February 15, 1945. The A. F. of L. Executive Council, however, saw fit to withhold such notice until the eve of our referendum vote.

We desire to have your records show clearly that the International Association of Machinists is neither dissatisfied with the announced principles nor the *bona fide* laws of the American Federation of Labor. We shall always adhere to these principles and abide by such laws. We do not believe, however, that our membership can long tolerate the discriminatory application of these principles and laws.

The International Association of Machinists stands ready now or at any time to the future to pay in full all American Federation of Labor per capita tax now held in abeyance and all subsequent per capita tax when due upon conclusive assurance that the discrimination against our organization will cease and that we will be accorded the same treatment and consideration as is being accorded other affiliated Unions.

With best wishes, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) H. W. Brown,
International President.

The following reply to this communication was sent by the President of the American Federation of Labor:

Washington, D. C., December 3, 1945.

Mr. Harvey W. Brown, President,
International Association of
Machinists,
Machinists Building,
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I transmitted a copy of your communication dated November 29th to the members of the Executive Council for their information and consideration. I am confident that the members of the Council will note, as I noted, your comment regarding the communication sent you by direction of the Executive Council regarding the result which inevitably followed your refusal to pay per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor for the period intervening since November 1944.

The laws of the American Federation of Labor provide that if at the end of three months an affiliated organization has failed to pay its per capita tax, it becomes suspended from membership in the Federation. The records show that the International Association of Machinists failed to pay per capita tax as required by the laws of the American Federation of Labor, for a period of twelve months. The refusal of the International Association of Machinists to pay tax to the American Federation of Labor was voluntary on its part; it made its own decision to refrain from paying per capita tax as required by the laws of the Federation and with full knowledge that to do so meant a discontinuation of its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

When an organization makes its own decision to refuse to pay per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor and does so voluntarily, it is reasonable to conclude that it discontinues its affiliation with the

American Federation of Labor of its own accord and of its own free will. Such action must be interpreted as a discontinuation on the part of the International Association of Machinists of its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. I am sure the International Association of Machinists entertains this same point of view toward its chartered local unions when they refuse to pay per capita tax to the International Association of Machinists, as required by the laws of said organization.

You are wrong in your conclusion that the latest action of the Executive Council, as set forth in the communication sent you, was timed and intended to influence the referendum vote. The Executive Council was tolerant and highly considerate. It awaited the action of the special convention of the International Association of Machinists which convened in New York on October 29th. All members of the Council had hoped that the convention would direct you and your associates to comply with the laws of the American Federation of Labor and to place the International Association of Machinists in good standing with the American Federation of Labor. When your convention failed to do this the Executive Council believed that the time had arrived when it should act and carry out the provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

There is no difference in the refusal of an international union to pay tax to the American Federation of Labor and deferring the payment of per capita tax. You make clear in your letter that both the Executive Board and the special convention of your International Union have refused to pay per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor until certain conditions are met by the Executive Council or by a convention of the American Federation of Labor. I sincerely regret this action, and I regret

more than words can express that the International Association of Machinists is no longer in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Very truly yours,
 (Signed) William Green,
President,
American Federation of Labor.

On February 6, 1946, a communication was addressed to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor signed by the members of the Executive Council of the International Association of Machinists, which reads as follows:

Washington, D. C., February 6, 1946.

Executive Council,
 American Federation of Labor
 Attention:

Mr. William Green, President,
 Mr. George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

Accept this as formal notification that the membership of the International Association of Machinists has by referendum voted in excess of 4 to 1 to continue the deferment of our per capita payments to the American Federation of Labor until such a time that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor demonstrates by conclusive action that it will accord our Organization the same treatment and consideration as it accords other affiliated Organizations.

Specifically our membership has directed that we, their officers, continue the deferment of our American Federation of Labor per capita tax until we consummate a written understanding with your Council, which will, without reservation, accomplish the following results, all of which are consistent with the laws and Convention actions of the American Federation of Labor:

1. When called upon by interested parties the President of the A. F. of L., in his absence the Secretary-Treasurer,

shall by written notice announce that the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists covers

(A) The erecting and repairing of machinery of all description (including trucks, tractors and all other automotive equipment) on construction projects, in buildings (during course of construction or when completed) or elsewhere.

(B) The maintenance and repairing of automobiles, trucks, busses, tractors and any other automotive equipment and machinery of all description operated by or for local interurban or distance transportation companies, individuals or business establishments of any kind.

2. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall notify (in writing) the Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L., and all subordinate Councils thereof, that they shall in no way interfere with the International Association of Machinists' right to negotiate with any employer an agreement covering the erecting and repairing of machinery of all description (including trucks, tractors and all other automotive equipment) on construction projects, in buildings (during course of construction or when completed) or elsewhere.

3. The letter be withdrawn which the President of the American Federation of Labor addressed April 23, 1943, to President William E. Maloney, International Union of Operating Engineers, and any other information he addressed to any party, wherein the President of the A. F. of L. attempted to turn over to the International Union of Operating Engineers the work involved on a ship while the ship is undergoing a trial test, prior to turning the ship over to the owner or purchasers and before commissioned for service to determine if the machinery meets specifications.

Pursuant to this direction from our membership the Officers of the International Association of Machinists stand ready to meet with authorized representatives of the American Federation of Labor to discuss and/or consider any matters that will, or may, lead to the results which will justify resumption of our per capita tax payments.

Fraternally yours,

/s/ H. W. Brown,
International President

/s/ Eric Peterson,
General Secretary-Treasurer

/s/ Harry J. Carr,
General Vice-President

/s/ S. L. Newman,
General Vice-President

/s/ A. J. Hayes,
General Vice-President

/s/ Elmer E. Walker,
General Vice-President

/s/ D. S. Lyons,
General Vice-President

/s/ Harley F. Nickerson,
General Vice-President

/s/ Earl Melton,
General Vice-President

/s/ Roy M. Brown,
General Vice-President

/s/ J. L. McBreen,
General Vice-President

The Executive Council directed that the International Association of Machinists be advised that the Council could not respond to the suggestion made in the communication received from the International Association of Machinists, but that instead it become a part of the American Federation of Labor, and after it places itself in good standing with the American Federation of Labor the Council will take up the grievances enumerated and give them consideration, and sincerely and earnestly endeavor to work out a settlement which will be fair, just and satisfactory to all con-

cerned. This decision of the Executive Council was transmitted to President Brown of the International Association of Machinists on June 19th. As an answer to the aforesaid communication, the following letter was received from President Brown, under date of July 1, 1946:

Washington, D. C., July 1, 1946.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated June 19 wherein you reply to the communication our Executive Council addressed February 6, 1946, to the American Federation of Labor Executive Council.

Recently, the writer appointed our General Secretary-Treasurer Eric Peterson, and General Vice-Presidents H. J. Carr, A. J. Hayes and H. F. Nickerson to represent our Association in any conferences that may be arranged with authorized representatives of the American Federation of Labor to endeavor to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the disputes affecting our Association.

Therefore, I am referring your communication of June 19 to the above referred to Committee for further handling.

Sincerely and fraternally,

/s/ H. W. Brown,
International President

Following the receipt of this letter arrangements were made to hold a conference between the committee representing the International Association of Machinists and the officers of the American Federation of Labor and members of the Executive Council residing in Washington. Said conference was held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on July 25, 1946. A free, open and

frank discussion of the situation took place. It was the opinion of all who participated in the conference that some definite progress was made toward bringing about the reaffiliation of the International Association of Machinists with the American Federation of Labor. It was agreed that further conference between the committee representing the International Association of Machinists and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor would be held on some date which would be mutually convenient about the middle of September.

It is the earnest hope of the Executive Council that further progress will be made at the next meeting of the committees representing the International Association of Machinists and the American Federation of Labor.

(1946, p. 412) The report of the Executive Council relates in detail the steps which led to the dissociation of the Machinists from the A. F. of L.

Your committee is exceedingly sorry that this large, forceful group of trade unionists is temporarily not in the A. F. of L.

It is encouraging, however, to note that negotiations marked by some success have been conducted to effect the reaffiliation of this organization with the A. F. of L.

There are obviously strong differences of opinion regarding jurisdictional matters. Your committee submits that the proper way to settle these differences must ultimately be on the convention floor. We would urge, therefore, that our fellow workers in the Machinists take steps in their organization to bring them again soon into our family—properly, their family—so that as members they may plead their case on the floor of the convention, and as members approach our common problems.

We frankly state we need them and want them in our family, and we

think they need us and we trust they will want to rejoin their family soon. The prospects are brighter now for such a reunion.

(1947, pp. 166, 427). The Executive Council submitted a report on efforts made during the preceding year to bring about reaffiliation of the International Association of Machinists with the A. F. of L. The convention committee which considered this subject submitted recommendations which were unanimously adopted as follows:

(P. 427) The Executive Council renders a detailed report of the special efforts made by its committee to achieve the reaffiliation of the International Association of Machinists with the American Federation of Labor. The committee of the Executive Council approached the matters in dispute between the American Federation of Labor and the International Association of Machinists carefully and sympathetically. It recognized the urgent need to have this great International Union return to the fold of our Federation at the earliest date. Accordingly, it conducted the negotiations in a friendly and fraternal spirit and offered to the International Association of Machinists substantial concessions, bringing the discussions far along toward a settlement. We commend the Executive Council and its committee for the judicious and statesmanlike manner in which it conducted these negotiations.

When final and complete agreement could not be reached, the committee representing the International Association of Machinists, after careful study, placed the views and proposals of the American Federation of Labor before the Executive Council of the International. Our proposals were then submitted to the membership of the International Association of Machinists for a referendum vote. The International's membership failed to

accept these proposals by a small margin of votes.

This action we all in the American Federation of Labor deeply regret. When all organized labor is under concerted attack from anti-social forces, the need for solidarity in trade union ranks becomes imperative. Continued failure to settle past differences will not resolve them, but will only serve to create new differences. Continued absence of the Machinists from the ranks of the American Federation of Labor in this critical time can result only in serious harm to the entire trade union movement. We urge the International Association of Machinists to reconsider their action and re-enter the house of Labor at the earliest date, with confidence that a fair and just basis of accommodation on the jurisdictional question can and will be found.

(1948, pp. 238, 460) Res. 22 requested the officers of the A. F. of L. to "continue their efforts to bring about the reaffiliation of the International Association of Machinists."

(1949, p. 40) Executive Council requested to "take steps to invite the International Association of Machinists back to the House of Labor."

(Reaffiliation)—(1950, p. 84) The Executive Council reported official correspondence between the presidents of the A. F. of L. and of the Machinists leading to reaffiliation of the I. A. of M. with the A. F. of L.

(P. 434) We have carefully considered this part of the Report and the exchange of letters having taken place. We rejoice in understandings and conclusions reached and in the assurance of President A. J. Hayes that these understandings and conclusions will be referred, for final confirmation, to the members of that organization with the recommendation of its officers and Executive Council that reaffiliation to the American Federation of Labor be favored and approved.

We commend the officers and members of the Executive Council for the splendid manner in which these negotiations have been carried on—for their patience, tolerance and sympathetic approach. We likewise commend the officers of the International Association of Machinists for recognition and response to the need of our time for unity of purpose and harmony of action in the field of labor and of labor organization.

We hope and trust the general membership of the International Association of Machinists, for whom we have always had the highest regard, will acquiesce, favor and approve the words and deeds of their officers and Executive Council and bring into early fruition the reaffiliation of this splendid organization.

(1951, p. 45) On January 1, 1951, the International Association of Machinists reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It is now an integral part of our organized labor movement. Its membership numbers over 500,000.

This reaffiliation took place as the result of extended negotiations carried on between committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the International Association of Machinists. As reported to our Sixty-ninth Annual Convention which was held at Houston, Texas, in September, 1950, the Executive Council of the International Association of Machinists recommended reaffiliation and submitted the question of reaffiliation to a vote of the membership. The referendum proposal was submitted to the membership of the Machinists on October 25, 1950. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of reaffiliation. This action of the membership of the International Association of Machinists must be interpreted as meaning that they not only desired reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor, but were of the opinion that such reaffiliation would serve to

promote their economic, social and industrial interests, and in addition would serve to promote trade union solidarity, to advance the common interests of the workers throughout the nation, and thus increase the influence and standing of the organized labor movement.

The importance of this development is reflected in the fact that the International Association of Machinists is one of the pioneer organizations which has long been established and has functioned over a long period of time. The Executive Council extends a hearty welcome home to the membership of the International Association of Machinists. We regard their reaffiliation as highly important and deeply significant.

(p. 409) We welcome the return of the International Association of Machinists to our family. Their reaffiliation means even more than a significant increase in membership; it means greater functional union within the trade union movement.

It brings back to our own family an old union with a glorious history. It assures to them and to us all a richer united effort to serve the common good. We genuinely rejoice at their return.

Machinists vs. Building Trades Department

(Jurisdiction)

(1941, pp. 248, 516) The convention considered resolution No. 16 introduced by delegates from the International Association of Machinists providing that it be

RESOLVED, That this convention declare null and void any and all decisions, orders or awards by the Building and Construction Trades Department or its officers, which aim to interfere, and are in conflict with, the trade rights and jurisdiction, the American Federation of Labor granted the members of the International Association of Machinists over the build-

ing, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used, and that no additional such decisions, orders or awards which interfere with the herein stated trade rights of the members of the International Association of Machinists shall be rendered by the Building and Construction Trades Department or officers thereof; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this decision.

In lieu of the aforementioned resolution, the convention after considerable discussion approved the report of the committee:

Concretely stated, and as developed in the discussions during the hearing on this resolution, the purport of this resolution is to define the authority of a Department of the Federation in matters of jurisdiction.

Your committee is of the opinion that where members of the Department in question have agreed that the Department may consider, define and determine conflicting claims of jurisdiction by such methods as they may approve, that such procedure is clearly within the discretion and authority of such Department. However in the event a ruling or decision thus rendered by the Department affects the jurisdictional right of an organization not affiliated to such Department, and not having previously agreed to such arrangement or procedure, direct or indirect, that such ruling or decision shall not be binding on a nonaffiliated organization to the Department. In other words the Department possesses no authority to render a decision in jurisdictional disputes, between an affiliated and nonaffiliated union to the Department,

unless by agreement of all the unions involved. On the other hand the Department is within its authority to safeguard, protect and promote the jurisdictional rights of its affiliated unions.

(1942, p. 470) Resolutions 2, 3, and 4 of the 1942 convention all dealt with jurisdictional disputes between the International Association of Machinists and other A. F. of L. affiliates. The convention Committee on Resolutions in reporting on these resolutions made the following statement which was adopted by the convention after lengthy discussion:

"... these subjects were not properly before the convention at this time ... and that therefore the convention could not consider those three resolutions or the subjects pertaining to them."

The Council decision was based upon Section 12 of Article III of the A. F. of L. constitution which provides: "No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves."

The Council found that the grievances contained in the three resolutions aforementioned had been decided at the 1941 convention; no recommendation had been made by the Executive Council to the 1942 convention. The constitutional question having been raised, the Executive Council ruled that under the prohibitive restrictions of the constitution, they could not be considered at this (1942) convention.

Machinists vs. Street and Electric Railway Employees (Jurisdiction)

(1940, p. 619) The long-standing dispute between these organizations

was brought to the convention in the form of a resolution. The Committee on Adjustment, to which the dispute was referred, reported that the two organizations at interest had reached an agreement as provided for in the original agreement between them dated October 25, 1923.

(1942, p. 62) The dispute between the named organizations continued despite compliance with action of 1941 convention which directed that conferences be held in an attempt to adjust the controversy.

Pursuant to these instructions, the Executive Council held conferences with the representatives of the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America. In fact, the controversy was considered in some form at every meeting the Executive Council has held during the past year. The last conference was held at the meeting of the Executive Council which convened in Chicago, Ill., beginning August 4, 1942. Representatives of both organizations met with the Executive Council and all efforts possible were made to compose differences, to promote an understanding and to reach a settlement of the jurisdictional disputes existing between these two organizations.

The Executive Council sincerely regrets it failed to bring about a settlement. It was impossible to find a basis of accommodation. Appeals were made to the representatives of both organizations to settle their differences and to establish harmony and cooperation.

(1942, p. 523) This jurisdictional problem again came to the attention of the convention through a resolution proposing to outline jurisdictions. The whole subject was again referred to the Executive Council with the request that it continue its efforts to bring about an adjustment.

Machinists—Engineers (Jurisdiction)

(1944, p. 333) At a meeting of the Executive Council held in Chicago, Illinois, August 21, 1944, consideration was given to a jurisdictional dispute which arose between the International Association of Machinists and the International Union of Operating Engineers regarding the making of necessary repairs on machines operated by members of the International Union of Operating Engineers in order to keep said machines in operation.

A committee was appointed by direction of the Executive Council for the purpose of meeting with the official representatives of the two organizations directly concerned and directly interested for the purpose of working out a solution of the jurisdictional problem and with instructions that said committee report back to the members of the Executive Council.

The committee reported to the Executive Council that it was agreed between the representatives of both unions involved that the dispute was "Whether the Engineers or Machinists would make the repairs on machinery operated by the Engineers at the site of operation." Because it was impossible to bring about an agreement between representatives of the Operating Engineers and the representatives of the Machinists upon the question in dispute, the committee recommended to the Executive Council "that the jurisdiction over all repairs necessary to keep the machine in operation on machines operated by the members of the International Union of Operating Engineers on the site of the operation belongs to the International Union of Operating Engineers." The recommendation made by the committee was adopted by the Executive Council.

Mahon, William D. (Tribute)

(1943, p. 596) In the midst of the pressing affairs which have engaged

the attention of the 63rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, we now pause to pay tribute to William D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, on the occasion of his jubilee anniversary which marks his fiftieth year as president of that magnificent union.

The Federation concurs in the words of our great American poet, Carl Sandburg, in describing this sterling leader of labor: "It would take a man-sized book to tell how and why Bill Mahon is one of the figures to give meaning to the cause of labor and the mystery of democracy. His integrity and sagacity, his fidelity to the plain folks from whom he came, his modest needs and humble ways of living, are worth looking at in this time of world crisis when the war and the peace after the war are to bring such hard tests of labor and democracy."

Bill Mahon spent all his adult years in a ceaseless, relentless struggle against economic and social injustice. And today, as in the early years of his struggle his watchword is, "Freedom Through Organization."

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the lot of the street car workers of America was pitiful indeed. They labored from twelve to eighteen hours a day and for this they were paid from ten to fifteen cents an hour. They were inadequately fed, they lived in slums, their families suffered the social indignities of poverty, want and squalor. They were scorned by the press, sneered at by the politicians and ignored by the general public.

Among the first to work for the organization of these men was Bill Mahon who, together with the immortal Samuel Gompers, decided to organize an international union of street car workers. In 1892 at Indianapolis, Indiana, such a union was

formed. The organization was immediately subjected to hostility of the most vicious kind; men were bribed, detectives and spotters were employed against active members of the union, violence was used and provoked on the slightest pretext. But Bill Mahon and his associates worked ceaselessly and never faltered for a moment, although the early days of the union were frequently black indeed.

Today, Bill Mahon and his early co-workers have been amply repaid, not in terms of personal reward but in the satisfaction of a job well done. Members of the Amalgamated Association today receive from eighty cents to a dollar and twenty-five cents an hour, they are protected against discrimination, they enjoy the rights of seniority; they live as all American workers should live—in decent comfort, worthy of their hire, providing for the comfort, health and education of their families. All these things—and more—the street car men of America and Canada owe in great measure to the labors of William D. Mahon and those who worked at his side.

Although all his life Bill Mahon has been humble and modest, honors came to him at frequent intervals. In 1916 he attended the British Trades Union Congress as a fraternal delegate of the Federation. He was elected vice-president of the American Federation of Labor in January, 1917. Shortly afterwards he was appointed a member of the Federal Electric Railway Commission, created by President Wilson to investigate and recommend a plan for the rehabilitation of the street railway industry. He resigned as vice-president of the Federation in 1923, but twelve years later, in 1935, was appointed vice-president.

We have merely been able to sketch a few of the outstanding achievements in the life of this tireless, outstanding citizen and leader of labor. Much

has been said and written about Bill Mahon. Officials, delegates and guests to the 63rd annual convention observed with regret that, due to ill-health, he was unable to be with us. To the many expressions of admiration, love, and respect which have been voiced on the floor and in the corridors of the convention, the Federation now adds this official and yet warm tribute to an absent colleague.

God grant him added years of fruitfulness, not only for the sake of the splendid union which he heads, but also for the sake of all of us who have been privileged to know him!

Maintenance of Way—Building Trades

(Jurisdiction Dispute)

(1951, p. 47) The jurisdictional dispute which has existed for some length of time between the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and organizations affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department has developed into an acute stage. Efforts have been put forth by the Executive Council to bring about a settlement of this controversy, but no progress has been made and no settlement has been reached.

The records show that this controversy has been dealt with by conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council over a long period of time.

During the past year the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department made vigorous protest to the Executive Council against the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees organization, charging it with trespassing upon the jurisdiction of Building and Construction Trades Unions in the construction and erection of buildings on railroad properties and railroad rights of way.

The Executive Council put forth

special efforts to settle the controversy at its meeting held in Chicago during the month of May, 1951. It failed to promote or reach an agreement because of the uncompromising position taken by representatives of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees. As a result, the Executive Council decided that the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees is not building construction, but is the original jurisdiction of the organization when chartered and as later modified by agreements it signed with various segments of the Building and Construction Trades and which were approved by the 1922 Convention.

The Executive Council, therefore, submits this jurisdictional dispute to the Convention for consideration and action.

(P. 442) Decision of Executive Council (May, 1951) in Chicago, concurred in.

Management Labor Policy Committee (Nat'l) (see: Employment Security).

Manganese Deposits—(1935, p. 587) The A. F. of L. favors government acquisition of the manganese deposits of the U.S. of America.

Manpower (War) (also see: War Production; Conscription)

(1943, p. 8) In his keynote speech to the convention the President of the A. F. of L. said "A complete analysis will be made of the war manpower situation. We will make a survey ourselves and we will endeavor to promote better utilization of the available manpower and womanpower of our nation, because we are opposed to a resort to force or the enactment of forcible measures to compel free American workers to do things against their will."

(National Service Legislation)

(1943, p. 134) There has been consideration of national service legis-

lation. We have opposed such action on the grounds that: 1. The War Manpower Commission has broad powers under its Executive Order which it has never fully used. 2. Employees and employers everywhere are anxious to cooperate with a voluntary program that is adequate. 3. The possibility for improvement, through voluntary cooperative action on the part of management and Labor have hardly been tapped, and until the full possibilities, under the voluntary program have been exhausted, there is no indication for the need for national service legislation.

(Defense)

(1943, pp. 128, 529) The E. C. Report contained a lengthy survey of estimated manpower needs in the national defense program. The convention committee report on the several parts of this survey was unanimously approved:

The Report of the Executive Council indicates the estimated need for manpower, with the labor requirements of essential industries and the estimated national labor force up to January 1944. At that time we shall reach the peak of 65,900,000. The definite effort to use all available personnel is indicated by the decrease in unemployment, gainful employment of women, return of older workers to the labor market, importation of foreign workers, the training programs, the employment of children and soldiers, etc.

We highly commend the organization of representative management-labor committees by districts and areas, with the machinery to appeal to the highest authority. The Administrators have, however, encountered difficulties when they have attempted to bypass this machinery to set up national determination of production urgency to fix local manpower regulations, and squeezing out local civil industries and services. This proposal also puts determination of labor

priorities outside the management-labor committee.

Manpower is the human force necessary to carry out production plans. Such human force is inseparable from the personalities of free human beings just as manpower is inseparable from the managerial and material aspects of production. The key to manpower is consent of the individuals, while the key to production is cooperation.

The War Manpower Commission initiated a program based on consent and cooperation and the results were good. But with the development of stringencies the interests unfavorable to democratic cooperation and local determination of plans began to use centralization of policy-making with orders to localities.

Your committee recommends that we urge the maintenance of voluntary, decentralized administrative machinery and that study be given to improving this kind of machinery rather than to the development of compulsory methods or a National Service Act.

The causes of labor turnover have been lack of adequate housing, transportation, stabilization of wages within industries, between industries and localities, inadequate stores and services to sustain community needs, fatigue caused by long hours and delay in transportation, inadequate medical services, inadequate schools, separation from families, etc. Workers cannot continue to live and work indefinitely under conditions that needlessly undermine their vitality. Efforts should be directed to correct these causes. When the communities and plants are more suitable for workers, then emphasis can safely be directed to mobilize workers in response to needs. Unions are the most dependable and experienced agencies through which to accomplish this end. U. S. Employment Service should welcome trade union cooperation.

Imported Workers

We recommend further that when

foreign workers are imported that, in addition to the safeguards necessary to assure them decent living conditions, safe working conditions and fair compensation, there should be created a commission of wage earners of the country concerned and the United States, to act as a supervisory body to which the imported workers can appeal grievances not otherwise adjusted. Such a commission should inquire into reports of abuses of foreign workers such as already have come from states where Mexicans have been imported.

Prisoners of War

We are deeply concerned as citizens as well as workers over the employment of prisoners of war. Such employment involves the welfare of our soldiers who may become prisoners in enemy countries as well as conditions of work for our citizens here and the reputation of our nation for practices of fair dealing with all men.

Our State Department as well as the War Department should have a part in formulating policies to be followed with respect to prisoners of war.

We recommend that the President of the United States should be asked to create a commission to study this subject and recommend policies to safeguard all interests. Such a commission should include a representative of the State Department, the War Department, but should be mainly civilian with adequate representation of labor, management, and farmers.

The Geneva Convention on prisoners of war stipulates only that prisoners of war shall not be employed on projects contributing directly to the conduct of war, but does not provide for the protection of hostages or deal with employment of prisoners in privately owned undertakings. The way that our country may deal with prisoners of war becomes the justification for similar policies to our soldiers who are their prisoners.

No Compulsory Service for Private Gain

So far the Management-Labor Committee has been fairly successful in keeping manpower a cooperative undertaking. Field Order No. 3 provides for the right of appeal on any order or regulation to management-labor representatives at the next level. While individuals and labor representatives have not always taken advantage of their right to appeal, that right is available to all who believe their rights are invaded and it is only a matter of becoming aware of their rights.

Regulation No. 7 specifically provides that the Manpower Administration shall make the maximum use of existing hiring channels: "To the maximum degree consistent with this regulation and with the objectives of employment stabilization programs, local initiative and cooperative efforts shall be encouraged and utilized and maximum use made of existing hiring channels such as private employers, labor organizations, professional organizations, schools, colleges, technical institutions and government agencies."

Under this provision union locals are authorized to enter into agreements with the local employment office so as to integrate the work with that of manpower, or international unions may make agreements with the U. S. Employment Service.

Under the optional provisions of Reg. 7, regional and area manpower directors, together with Management-Labor Manpower Committees may include in their local stabilization programs planned to meet their special needs, provisions designed to protect individuals from loss of seniority or other reemployment rights to promote effective utilization of manpower by employers, to afford individuals a greater measure of protection against arbitrary discharge, etc. To guide

area and regional manpower committees in protecting workers against undue and unjust hardships the national Management-Labor Manpower Committee worked out a series of recommended provisions. These recommendations have been sent to all labor manpower representatives and may be obtained from national headquarters.

Efforts have been made to circumvent this democratic machinery by giving decisions upon labor priorities to a committee independent of it. According to the West Coast Priority Order, decisions upon production urgency were to be made in Washington and a local labor priority committee would adjust labor priorities to carry out production urgency locally. The Labor Priorities Committees were to consist of representatives of the contracting Federal agencies. The American Federation of Labor representative insisted that all labor priority orders must be referred to management-labor committees for consideration in advance of promulgation.

There are powerful interests seeking to discredit efforts to solve manpower by voluntary cooperation as an excuse for the enactment of a compulsory service law. Organized labor and industrial management must redouble efforts to make cooperation a success. We know that manpower resources are far from exhausted, that labor utilization in many private plants and government institutions is inefficient and very wasteful, that estimates on which manpower policies are based are far from exact. We know also that no outside authority could be entrusted with control of human lives without the most meticulous specification and protection of rights and assurance of fair conditions and under most necessitous emergency. Even then involuntary servitude is not justified.

(1952, p. 177) The vitally important subject of defense manpower was

surveyed in a special section under this title in the Report of the Executive Council. The report stated, in part:

Availability of qualified labor has been, in general, sufficient to meet the requirements of the national defense program during the past year. Nevertheless, many serious manpower problems have arisen and have been dealt with successfully through voluntary action. Experience since the beginning of the present defense program has proved the effectiveness of the voluntary machinery in meeting the nation's manpower needs.

Throughout the past year high levels of employment have been maintained for the country as a whole and on the national basis unemployment has been kept to a low level. Within this general picture, however, two contradictory developments have stood out. One has been the development of labor shortages in certain areas despite the fact that no general labor shortages have been felt. In a number of new plants located in out-of-the-way areas, temporary shortages of workers of certain skills have been experienced. In such areas also recruitment has been hampered by the inadequacy of housing and community facilities, as well as the absence of essential services such as day nurseries, which would make it possible for women workers to accept defense employment. Some shortages have also been felt in a few scientific, professional, and highly-skilled metal-working occupations and in certain skills in the electronics industry and in foundries. Wherever our membership was affected, our affiliates have taken effective action to help overcome such shortages.

On the other hand, in a number of areas, unemployment reached serious proportions. In some of these areas joblessness was traceable to dislocations resulting from the defense effort. In a number of cases extended unem-

ployment was due to plant shutdowns necessitated by the conversion from civilian to defense production. In others, work was curtailed or suspended due to the critical shortages of materials. In still others, it was clear that business firms were taking advantage of tax benefits, as well as local inducements, to shift their defense production away from established plants to little-developed areas where they could maintain lower labor standards. In the case of the building trades there was substantial unemployment last winter in several localities, notably in New York City, due to a combination of factors related to the defense program. There was also substantial unemployment and part-time employment in the textile, apparel, shoe and related industries affecting localities where such industries were concentrated.

All these developments were taking place against the background of increasing demand for manpower throughout the land. The very effect of quick military mobilization bringing our armed forces to over 3,500,000 within a short period of time served to drain the supply to industrial employment, especially younger men. By maintaining the 3,700,000 under arms in the years immediately ahead, the nation's manpower supply will continue to be taxed.

To deal with all aspects of the manpower problem on a voluntary basis a network of labor-management manpower committees on the national, regional and area basis was provided. The program as a whole was guided by the Director of Defense Mobilization with primary responsibility for initiating and carrying out manpower policies resting with the Department of Labor and its Defense Manpower Administration.

Full participation of organized labor at the policy-making level was assured through a 14-man National Labor-Management Manpower Policy

Committee which met regularly twice a month to advise the Director of Defense Mobilization and the Secretary of Labor on all major manpower issues. . . .

Although it was becoming increasingly apparent that management members were intent on either preventing significant action by the Committee or greatly diluting the necessary policies, the Committee has succeeded in making a valuable contribution to the national defense and at the same time keep manpower policies and programs on a voluntary basis.

(Page 408) Convention adopted committee report:

Defense mobilization has given rise to many important developments vitally affecting the wage earners of the nation. To help devise practical programs to deal with these problems, a network of labor-management manpower committees has been established by areas and regions throughout the country with equal participation of labor and management. Guided by the national Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee in Washington, this system of direct participation by worker and employer representatives in the shaping of our manpower policies has become an instrument for a truly voluntary manpower program. It has provided a means for labor participation in policy decisions, as well as a source of information to labor regarding current manpower developments. At the same time, it has given an opportunity for employers and unions alike to contribute to the national mobilization effort through their own institutions.

We commend the American Federation of Labor representatives serving on labor-management committees for their contribution to this activity, and urge them to report to the membership they represent important current developments. We hope that in the future these committees will become

a source of effective guidance to the government agencies concerned and will also provide a basis of labor-management cooperation in programs that will contribute to sound employment practices and develop future employment opportunities.

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(1954, p. 102) Efforts were again made this year, as in 1953, to amend the appropriations bill for the De-

fense Department so as to kill the operation of Defense Manpower Policy No. 4 under which special arrangements are provided for firms located in areas with heavy unemployment to obtain government contracts. While this policy has proved only moderately successful in bringing additional business to these areas, the A. F. of L. has supported Defense Manpower Policy No. 4 since this policy at least recognizes the necessity for distributing government contracts to help reduce unemployment.

(p. 541) Defense Manpower Policy No. 4 is the Federal Government policy which gives firms in areas of heavy unemployment preference in bidding for government contracts.

While this policy has not proved too effective, and during the past year has actually been weakened, it does stand today as the government's only specific program for placing additional government contracts in these labor surplus areas. As such it deserves the support of organized labor.

The A. F. of L. was successful in defeating efforts to have this policy repealed by Congressional action.

Foreign Workers

(1943, p. 132) Since the summer of 1942, there has been pressure from various industries and from agricultural employers to meet the manpower shortage in certain sections of the country by importing foreign workers, chiefly from the Bahamas and from the Republic of Mexico. The management and labor committees, as a whole, have consistently taken the position that the War Manpower Commission should not sanction the importation of foreign workers except where it can be shown positively that there are no American workers available, and in no case should the foreign workers be imported except under provisions that definitely provide that their employment will not under-

mine the wage standards or the working conditions of American workers. The procedures that have been worked out now provide for such guarantees.

(1944, p. 576) Another departure from basic policy appears in the various proposals — some of which have been consummated — to meet stringent manpower needs arising from poor working conditions or from the low wages prevailing in some occupations, or from both by the importation of foreign workers. We recommend that the War Manpower Commission be called upon to establish a policy under which the importation of foreign workers would be permitted only after every other means, including wage adjustment, have been exhausted in meeting manpower requirements, and then only on approval of the accredited representatives of the other workers in the establishment in which they are to be employed.

Hiring Controlled

(1943, p. 134) Under the terms of the Executive Order No. 9279 of December 5, the chairman of the War Manpower Commission was authorized to require in any labor market area where he deemed it would contribute to the prosecution of the war, that all hiring should be done through the U. S. Employment Service. In the development of the national standards implementing this program, in the critical labor market areas, through incorporating provisions for central control of hiring in stabilization plans, we have used the inclusion of a clause to provide for the maximum use of existing private hiring channels, such as trade unions, private industry, etc. Accordingly, such a clause was inserted in the national standards to cover referrals of workers by business agents of unions.

Prisoners (War)

(1943, p. 133) It is now reported that there are some 60,000 Italian

prisoners of war in continental United States. Under the terms of a War Department circular issued some months ago, officers in charge of prison camps were authorized to make arrangements for the use of these prisoners in private employment, subject only to the terms of the Geneva Convention of 1929 and to the security regulations of the War Department. Under the terms of this circular, a number of incidents arose in which prisoners of war were allocated to private employers at wage rates and under working conditions which were substandard. Our Management-Labor Policy Committee has recently taken action which will provide that prisoners of war shall not be used in competition with free American labor and shall not be employed except at a cost to the employer at least equal to the cost of employing free American labor. We have pressed for the employment of these prisoners under conditions that will assure the maximum of good treatment to American soldiers who are captured by the Axis forces. We have also expressed the view that they should be employed chiefly on public work projects other than public building and construction work.

(1944, pp. 83, 536, 555) Two resolutions (Res. 126, 155) were submitted for consideration by the Convention, recommending that the Executive Council be directed to register a vigorous protest with President Roosevelt as Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces against the continuation of the use of prisoners of war for manpower purposes by the War Department, and

That the Executive Council insist upon an administrative policy that will protect International Unions against unfair competition in any corps area caused by the use of prisoners of war in competition with members of the union.

The convention was in accord with

the purpose of the resolutions and they were referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

(P. 576) The report of the convention committee under the title of "Manpower" contained the following:

We note certain departures from the voluntary manpower system which have crept into the program of the War Manpower Commission. One of these is the acceptance of Prisoner-of-War labor as a supplement to the use of free labor. While we approve of employment for prisoners of war as salutary in meeting the desires and needs of the prisoners to escape enforced idleness, we do not approve their being employed in competition with free labor nor in any way which adversely affects the wages, conditions or employment of free labor. We therefore recommend that the War Manpower Commission be urged to discontinue the employment of Prisoner-of-War labor by private employers altogether, and to provide employment for Prisoners-of-War only on such public projects as will not conflict with the employment of free labor.

Soldiers Furloughed

(1943, p. 133) There has been from some quarters increasing pressure to use soldiers furloughed from the army to meet manpower shortages, particularly in agriculture and in non-ferrous metal mining. With respect to these proposals, we have taken a vigorous position to the effect that soldiers should only be used where there was clear evidence that an emergency existed and that no other civilian labor was available. We have also taken the position that when used, members of the armed forces should be paid the full prevailing rate for work of a similar nature in the area where they are employed, so that their employment does not tend to undermine the standards of working conditions for civilian workers. Pro-

cedures have now been worked out effectuating these principles. As a result, the requests for the use of furloughed soldiers have declined, but in some genuinely critical situations, they are being utilized. They are being used with particular effectiveness in non-ferrous metal mines of the West. Their employment in each case, however, is voluntary on the part of the soldier and his placement is worked out in cooperation with the U. S. Employment Service and representatives of the labor unions which are the accredited collective bargaining agencies for the mines in which the soldier is to be employed. This employment is helping to meet a situation which is very critical to the entire war production program.

Emergency Control

(1944, p. 245) The E. C. report contained a lengthy report on the work of the War Manpower Commission, including special subsections on matters of direct and vital concern to the workers. It was pointed out that on August 4, 1944, Director of War Mobilization James F. Byrnes issued a directive "not in harmony with the voluntary program" announced as Government practice:

On August 4, 1944, the Director of War Mobilization issued a manpower directive which, though intended to meet the particularly urgent manpower situations existing in a limited number of critical industries, included provisions which in the opinion of the Management-Labor Policy Committee were not in harmony with the voluntary program. The committee felt particularly that the reference to compulsions contained in this directive threatened the support which had been voluntarily given to effective and operating manpower programs in many areas. Consequently on September 6, the members of the Committee submitted to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission a

series of recommendations. The Committee recommended that the Chairman request the Director of War Mobilization to clarify his position with respect to the use of compulsion and at the same time to make clear the over-all policy under which the Commission could develop programs designed to meet the specific requirements of the few critical industries.

These recommendations were adopted and resulted in the issuance of a "clarifying statement" from Mr. Byrnes and an announcement by the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission to the effect that resort to sanctions and compulsion would only be made in rare cases of refusal to cooperate with a program generally supported by Management and Labor in a locality. He announced at the same time that controls over the free movement of labor would be relaxed just as soon as their wartime necessity ceased to exist.

(See also: Employment Service; Job Freezing)

(1942, p. 200) The Manpower Commission was created by Executive Order on April 18, 1941. Simultaneously with the Executive Order creating the Manpower Commission, two of what had been the main functions of the Labor Division were transferred to the new Commission—labor supply and war training.

The Commission has the following responsibilities:

1. To formulate plans and programs and establish basic national policies to assure the most effective mobilization and maximum utilization of the nation's manpower in the prosecution of the war; and issue such policy and operating directives as may be necessary thereto.
2. To estimate the requirements of manpower for industry; review all other estimates of needs for military, agricultural, and civilian manpower; and direct the several

departments and agencies of the Government as to the proper allocation of available manpower.

3. Determine basic policies for, and take such other steps as are necessary to coordinate the collection and compilation of labor market data by Federal departments and agencies.
4. To establish policies and prescribe regulations governing all Federal programs relating to the recruitment, vocational training and placement of workers to meet the needs of industry and agriculture.
5. To prescribe basic policies governing the filling of the Federal Government's requirements for manpower, excluding those of the military and naval forces, and issue such operating directives as may be necessary thereto.
6. To formulate legislative programs designed to facilitate the most effective mobilization and utilization of the manpower of the country, and with the approval of the President, recommend such legislation as may be necessary for this purpose.

The Commission has twelve regional boards on each of which is a representative of the U. S. Employment Service, the Training Division, the Civil Service, the Army, and the Navy. In each locality one person represents manpower, and there is a local Labor Supply Committee consisting of equal representation of Labor and of Management.

The Chairman of the Manpower Commission on May 25, 1942, issued Order No. 1, creating its Management-Labor Policy Committee, which was authorized to consider and recommend to the chairman matters of major policy, to initiate studies and formulate policies as well as consider those referred to it by the chairman. . . .

The Chairman of the Manpower

Commission assured the President of the American Federation of Labor that the Management-Labor Committee was co-equal with the Commission and that no action would be taken without the approval of the Committee. This assurance is doubly important in view of the great power given to the Commission—power which would amount to control over their work lives. The agency is wise in giving to representatives of Labor and employers a voice in deciding policies and in setting up a nationwide system of representative committees by districts and localities to which appeal may be taken from decisions of administrators carrying out policies of the Commission.

This organization is applying the fundamental principles of democracy in first trying to get voluntary cooperation and when orders must be given developing them in accord with the experience and judgment of those concerned.

As the War Production Board has responsibility for war production, the Manpower Commission has responsibility for the best possible use of our citizenry for the needs of war and the civilian population.

(Management-Labor Policy Committee)

(1943, p. 131) The War Manpower Commission was created by the President on April 18, 1942, by Executive Order No. 9139. On May 25, 1942, the chairman of the War Manpower Commission, issued an order establishing the Management-Labor Policy Committee. This committee was given a new status on December 5, 1942, when in Executive Order No. 9279, the President provided that the chairman of the War Manpower Commission should appoint a Management-Labor Policy Committee, which provided that *he shall consult with the members thereof in carrying out his responsibilities*. This Executive Order also transferred the Selective

Service System to the War Manpower Commission.

In March, 1943, upon the voluntary suggestion of the members of this committee, seven spokesmen for Labor, Industry, and Agriculture conferred with the chairman on the subject of the reorganization of the Management-Labor Policy Committee. In accordance with the suggestions made at that time, the committee was reorganized.

(1944, pp. 238, 575) The report of the Executive Council on this subject is in two sections: (1) a review of Manpower and Production Achievements, and (2) an appraisal of the current situation with respect to Manpower needs and with respect to the policies and program of the War Manpower Commission.

The record set forth in the first section is an eloquent testimony to the production achievement of American labor. This section further indicates that the various phases of manpower requirements that have during the past months been critical have, for the most part, been satisfactorily met. This points to the conclusion that though there remain certain critical manpower needs in relation to the war production program, they are not essentially different from those needs which have been satisfactorily met before and without recourse to compulsory labor legislation.

We are of the firm conviction that with the continued cooperation of organized labor and industrial management with government agencies, these problems too can be solved. We therefore recommend the renewed endorsement of the voluntary manpower program carried out under the provision for participation of labor and management on the National Management-Labor Policy Committee in the War Manpower Commission and the regional and area war manpower committees.

A study of the record of the Na-

tional Management-Labor Policy Committee indicates clearly the quality of the contribution made to the program of this important war agency by the President of the American Federation of Labor and his alternate. The representatives of the Federation have stood four-square for voluntary principles as the basis for our manpower program and have led the opposition to all efforts to substitute compulsion.

We recommend an expression of appreciation of the services of these representatives with instructions to continue their support of voluntary principles. . . .

A . . . departure from basic policy appears in the various proposals—some of which have been consummated—to meet stringent manpower needs arising from poor working conditions or from the low wages prevailing in some occupations, or from both by the importation of foreign workers. We recommend that the War Manpower Commission be called upon to establish a policy under which the importation of foreign workers would be permitted only after every other means, including wage adjustment, have been exhausted in meeting manpower requirements, and then only on approval of the accredited representatives of the other workers in the establishment in which they are to be employed.

Maritime

Legislation (Ship Construction)—(1940, pp. 71-2, 389) Efforts to suspend provisions of the 8-hour law on work covered by contracts of the Maritime Commission for ship construction were introduced to "expedite national defense." The A. F. of L. intervened and succeeded in having the following inserted in the contracts:

That the wages of every laborer and mechanic employed by any contractor or subcontractor engaged in

the performance of any such contract shall be computed on a basic rate of 8 hours per day and 40 hours per week and work in excess of 8 hours per day or 40 hours per week shall be permitted upon compensation for all hours worked in excess of 8 hours per day or 40 hours per week at not less than one and one-half times the basic rate of pay.

Nothing in this Act shall be construed to modify any contracts between management and labor in shipyards which provide for conditions more favorable to labor than the minimum provisions as to hours per day and hours per week and for overtime provided in this Act.

(Construction Loans)

(1940, pp. 93, 408) The A. F. of L. supported bills authorizing the Maritime Commission to make loans on more liberal terms for the construction of commercial fishing vessels. Members of the Atlantic Fishermen's Union were faced with increasing unemployment since the Navy Dept. had acquired, or planned to acquire, a number of fishing vessels, trawlers, draggers, which had been used in the New England fisheries.

(Unemployment Insurance)

(1940, pp. 92, 408. When H.R. 9798 was introduced certain omissions from the coverage of the bill made it objectionable to A. F. of L. affiliates, as likely to interfere with the operation of union hiring halls. Amendments to meet this objection were proffered by A. F. of L. representatives. At time of convention no report had been made on the bill.

(Child Labor on American Vessels)

(1940, pp. 92, 408) A. F. of L. favored passage of legislation implementing provisions of Draft Convention No. 58 (Int'l Labor Conference) providing that minors under 15 years of age shall not be employed on vessels. Attention was directed to the

fact that "the only Federal law requiring a minimum age for child labor in the American Merchant Marine was enacted in 1872 and provided that boys who are to be apprenticed to sea service must have obtained the age of twelve." Subsequent Act of Congress dated June 25, 1936, provided "that no boy shall be shipped unless he meets the physical qualifications contained in regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce." Under those regulations a boy of any age may enter sea service as long as he produces a certificate from a reputable physician "that he is qualified physically." Hearings were held in House Comm. on Merchant Marine and Fisheries in February, 1940, but at time of 1940 convention of A. F. of L. committee had not reported the bill.

(Waiving Navigation and Inspection Laws)—(1942, p. 151) The 77th Congress, prior to our country's declaration of war upon the Axis nations, passed a number of measures modifying or suspending navigation and marine inspection laws during the emergency declared by the President. All these modifications or suspensions will be continued in full force and effect until six months after the termination of the present war shall have been proclaimed. On January 16, 1942, Senator Van Nuys introduced a bill, S. 2208, known as the Second War Powers Act. After brief hearings, in executive sessions only, S. 2208 was enacted into law and approved on March 27, 1942 (Public Law 507). Title V of this Act is a blanket authorization to waive compliance with any and all navigation and inspection laws enacted since the birth of our Republic. It reads as follows:

"Sec. 501. The head of each department or agency responsible for the administration of the navigation and vessel inspection laws is directed to waive compliance with such laws upon the request of the Secretary of

the Navy or the Secretary of War to the extent deemed necessary in the conduct of the war by the officer making the request. The head of such department or agency is authorized to waive compliance with such laws to such extent and in such manner and upon such terms as he may prescribe either upon his own initiative or upon the written recommendation of the head of any other government agency whenever he deems that such action is necessary in the conduct of the war."

(Marine War Risk Insurance)—H.R. 6550 (Public Law 482) extends for six months after the end of the war, the Act to Amend the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, which provides marine war-risk insurance. The law repeals the provision that a vessel or its officers and crew carrying contraband cannot be insured. Approved March 6, 1942.

H.R. 6554 (Public Law 523) enlarges the powers and duties of the Maritime Commission with respect to insurance provided for the waterborne commerce of the United States, authorizes the Commission to insure the officers and members of the crew of American and certain foreign vessels against loss of life, personal injury, loss of personal effects or detention by an enemy. Approved April 11, 1942.

(Medals for Merchant Seamen)—House Joint Resolution 241 (Public Law 524) directs the Maritime Commission to provide and award a suitable medal to each person who in the American Merchant Marine, on or after September 3, 1939, has distinguished himself, or during the war distinguishes himself, by outstanding conduct or service in the line of duty. The Chairman of the Maritime Commission has announced that a famous sculptor and outstanding medal designer, had been requested to create a design for such a medal. This is the first time such recognition has been

extended to the seamen of the American Merchant Marine. Approved April 11, 1942.

(Subversive Activities Among Marine Radio Operators) — H.R. 5074 (Public Law 351) was introduced June 17, 1941, because of certain evidence adduced at hearings that a number of . . . marine radio operators have subversive tendencies. The Communications Act of 1934 does not authorize the Federal Communications Commission to suspend a license because of subversive activities. This bill passed the House on July 22, 1941, and remained in Senate Commerce Committee until December 8, the day after the attack on Pearl Harbor. As amended by the Senate, the bill gave that authority with the right of appeal for any person so charged, and promptly enacted into law, it is unlawful to employ any person or to permit any person to serve as radio operator aboard any vessel if the Secretary of the Navy (1) has disapproved such employment for any specified voyage, route, or area of operation, and (2) has notified the master of the vessel of such disapproval prior to the departure thereof.

(P. 487) Under the subject Maritime Legislation, the Executive Council has reported upon:

Waiving Navigation and Inspection Laws

Marine War Risk Insurance, H. R. 6550

H. R. 6554 (Public Law 523)
Medals for Merchant Seamen

Subversive Activities Among Marine Radio Operators.

Under the subhead "Waiving Navigation and Inspection Laws" your committee notes a measure was enacted waiving certain laws during the period of the war.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be requested to see that all such modifications of existing laws be promptly made null

and void immediately after the declaration of peace.

We note with approval under the subhead "Marine War Risk Insurance" that the Act of 1936 is to be extended for six months after the end of the war, and that officers and crews carrying contraband can be insured.

We note "H. R. 6554" enlarges the powers of the Maritime Commission with respect to insurance provided for the water borne commerce of the United States.

Under the subhead "Medals for Merchant Seamen" the Council reports that the Chairman of the Maritime Commission is the director, and authorized by Congress to provide with proper design, a medal for the seamen of the merchant marine who have distinguished themselves by outstanding conduct or service in line of duty.

We note with gratification that this is the first time in the history of our country where such proper recognition has been given to the seamen of the American Merchant Marine.

Under the subhead "Subversive Activities Among Marine Radio Operators," we note the Executive Council calls attention to the previous employment of . . . marine radio operators who had been engaged in subversive activities, or had shown subversive tendencies.

The Communications Act of 1934 did not authorize the Federal Communications Commission to suspend the radio operators likewise because of subversive activities. After December 8, 1941, Congress enacted a measure making it unlawful to employ any person, or permit any person, to serve as radio operator aboard any vessel if the Secretary of the Navy had disapproved such employment.

Your committee commends the actions of Congress on this matter, for nowhere is it more dangerous to the Nation's interest to have any one but loyal men than in the radio room

aboard each ship. None but loyal Americans should be employed as radio operators, and particularly during a period of war.

Your committee is justified because of some instances which have occurred, in expressing the hope that radio operators who have been suspended because of known subversive activities, will not be permitted employment as radio operators during the period of the war.

Maritime Trades Department Establishment Authorized

(1939, p. 449) Res. 14, calling for the ultimate establishment of a Maritime Trades Department, was referred to the Executive Council "so that it may take up the subject matter of the resolution with the international organizations interested."

(1942, p. 65) Pursuant to instructions of 1941 convention communications were directed to the organizations concerned to determine whether they favored the establishment of a Marine Trades Department. Replies were equally divided between those favoring and those disapproving the formation of such a Department. It was therefore, deemed inadvisable to form such a Department within the A. F. of L.

(1946, p. 84) The convention which was held in Seattle, Washington, in October 1941, approved the purpose of two resolutions which were introduced in the convention calling for the creation within the American Federation of Labor of a maritime trades council or department and directed that the representatives of the national and international unions involved in the formation of such a council or department hold conferences for the purposes of giving consideration to the subject.

Steps were taken following the adjournment of the Seattle convention to create a Maritime Trades Council or Department within the American

Federation of Labor. Inquiry and investigation disclosed that some organizations whose affiliation with such a department would be essential to its success were not ready to participate in the formation of a Maritime Trades Department. Because of this situation, action on the resolutions approved by the Seattle Convention was deferred until it became reasonably clear that the unions whose membership in a Maritime Trades Department was essential to its success were ready and willing to accept membership in a Maritime Trades Department. These facts were reported to the Toronto, 1942, convention.

Recently it became clear that the time had arrived when a successful Maritime Trades Department could be formed. Conferences were held in Chicago, Illinois, August 15th and 16th, 1946, of representatives of unions eligible to membership in such a department. At these conferences, a Maritime Trades Department was formed in conformity with the unanimous vote of the representatives who participated in said conferences. A charter for the Maritime Trades Department was issued by the Executive Council. This department, therefore, has been organized, chartered, and is now functioning as the Maritime Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

(Page 413) Your committee heartily approves the creation of the Maritime Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. The establishment of the department at this time has a two-fold significance. In the first place, it recognizes the great growth in numbers and power of the various maritime unions in the A. F. of L., and their importance, acting as a coordinated group, for the common good of all, with all the strength and prestige that their being a department of the A. F. of L. will afford them.

In the second place, this move at

this time shows our appreciation for the great work of this group of unions in fighting not only for their own economic betterment, but even more in fighting for the security of our nation. No group in America has had to fight more determinedly against the Communists than have our maritime unions. For this, the reason is clear; they are a highly strategic and absolutely essential group in maintaining our country's security.

Your committee would, at this point, recall to our members the heroic fight which this great segment of our organization has made since the work of totalitarian forces threatened our country's security. We would recall how in those dark days of the Nazi-Communist Pact, when the Communist-dominated waterfront unions were refusing to carry food and other supplies to the free nations and free peoples of the world, how our men then risked their lives—and many, indeed, gave their lives—to help those who as free men were fighting for a free world.

We recall that before June, 1941, our men from the maritime unions fought the Nazi terror even as today they continue to fight the forces of Communism and all other forces from the right and the left which seek to exploit and destroy free men on the waterfront and on the seas. . . .

As we recall the great sacrifices of these men before Pearl Harbor, during the war, and since the war, sacrifices which in fact emulate the record of Andy Furuseth, who so magnificently gave his all for the cause of freedom—we pause to give a solemn thought of appreciation to their work, and to consecrate ourselves to help them in their fight to keep our waterfront free.

We are happy to realize that in and through this new department our maritime workers may now the better help themselves, and serve us all.

(Retirement)

(1950, pp. 331, 499) Res. 119 directed attention to discrimination against maritime service during the war in that those government employees who served in this branch of the service lost the time that they so served, and called upon the officers of the A. F. of L. to secure the enactment of legislation to make eligible for employees who resigned from employment with the U. S. Government for the purpose of service in the U. S. Maritime Commission upon being returned to duty shall be eligible to purchase credits for the lapsed time toward retirement.

(1951, pp. 305, 513) Res. 77 provided: That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to secure the enactment of legislation to make eligible for employees who resigned from employment with the United States Government, for the purpose of entering the United States Maritime Commission, upon being returned to duty, be eligible to purchase credits for the lapsed time toward retirement.

Mass Production Industries

(1927, pp. 40, 317) Second among our outstanding problems we list "How to Organize Highly Mechanized Industries." The use of mechanical power and machine tools is characteristic of quantity production, and also of the still more highly specialized method called mass production. So great are the changes constituting mass production that the effect is an industrial revolution with transformations comparable to the first industrial revolution that introduced the factory system. These methods mean for the individual worker highly repetitive jobs and subdivision of the work previously done by craftsmen into repetitive operations performed by a number of workers. For example, in the automotive industry there are 34 job designations given work previously

called the work of one craft. This production technique in quantity and mass production industries requires new kinds of skill and new group bases for organization of the workers into unions. In practically none of these industries are the workers organized. During the past few years has come the development of the automobile industry, aeroplane, mechanical refrigeration, vacuum cleaners, many electrical appliances, radios, etc., in some of which mass production methods are used. Mass production methods have been introduced in other industries. Unless there is definite responsibility for watching for such developments, the industries are organized and operating before the union begins to consider organization plans. It would be much more desirable to have industries initiated with union contracts and under union conditions. If each central labor union had a special committee to be on the watch for new industries, to make reports both to the local body and to the American Federation of Labor, the movement would be in a much better position to make the necessary organization plans. It is obvious we need to have more systematic observation and study to direct organization activity. New industries are constantly developing and it would be well if we had agencies on watch for these new opportunities for organization.

It would be well if at least once a year each central labor union reviewed the census of industries for its jurisdiction and checked the number of organized in each industry against the total number of men and women employed. This would be a definite test of progress. The problem of organizing them presents two aspects: What shall be the basis of union organization and what agency shall be responsible for organizing them.

The work organization in mass production industries is such that there

must be a new basis of appeal. The industry or the plant must be studied in order to find a basis which would introduce elements of unity and joint interests. The responsibility must lie with a federated body—locally the central labor union and nationally the Federation. All unions would gain from such planning and foresight.

There is need for study of the mass production industries in order that we may know the probability of industrial development in this direction.

Marine Hospital Services, Restoration Requested

(1952, pp. 26, 462) Res. 13: Whereas, The first Congress of the United States recognized the need for the establishment of hospitals for sick seamen, and

Whereas, Congress passed a law on July 17, 1798, providing for the establishment of marine hospitals, and

Whereas, The Federal government ever since passage of the law establishing marine hospitals has consistently realized the need for hospital service for seamen and has provided this service, expanding it as the merchant marine operations of the U. S., and

Whereas, These marine hospitals now under the administration of the U. S. Public Health Service are located at appropriate points throughout the country, and

Whereas, These marine hospitals are essential to the maintenance of a healthy merchant marine personnel valuable for this nation's maritime needs, and

Whereas, The U. S. Public Health Service has found it necessary to close facilities because of the lack of necessary funds in its budget, and

Whereas, This curtailment of operations will immediately work undue hardship on merchant seamen requiring the services of these institutions which have provided seamen with the

best possible medical service in a manner that properly takes into account the industry's problems, and

Whereas, The Seafarers International Union of North America, A. F. of L., has registered individual and collective protests against this curtailment of medical service as being against the best interests of a healthy merchant marine personnel to serve the nation, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as being vigorously opposed to this retrenchment of marine hospital services and vigorously opposed to any possible future curtailment, and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor inform the Federal Security Agency, Bureau of Budget, Congress and the President of the United States in this regard and urge them to affect restoration of the curtailed facilities immediately, as being in the best interests of this nation and of the working people directly involved.

Marine, Merchant (*Ship Subsidy*)

(1924, p. 295) Favored new law that would maintain the American Merchant Marine to the end that American commerce shall be carried in American ships under the American flag. This support will not under any circumstances mean support for a ship subsidy.

(1925, p. 52) A ship subsidy in a new dress is proposed by the chairman of the U. S. Shipping Board. He suggested that the government pay what he termed a retainer of \$20 a month to seamen employed on U. S. ships. The seamen were to become members of the merchant marine reserve.

Protest was made against this method of bringing about subsidy legislation in the interest of American

ship owners. It was contended that if the ship owners lived up to the Seamen's Act in the employment of skilled seamen and its other provisions there would be no need of the subsidy. There can be no doubt that if such a subsidy were granted the ship owners would get it and not the seamen, as the ship owners would simply reduce the wages of seamen so that with the added \$20 a month the wages would be the same as now. (P. 319) We are opposed to any ship subsidy of whatever nature being granted.

(1927, p. 345) We will do our best to sustain Congress in any effort to build up a real merchant marine and a real sea power for our country whenever such effort shall be seriously made, whether such merchant marine is to consist wholly of vessels owned and operated by private capital or is to consist in part of vessels owned and operated by the government and in part of vessels owned and operated by private owners.

(1935, p. 576) The A. F. of L. urges the continuance of Federal aid to our American merchant marine and shipping in order that this most necessary adjunct to the National defense may be available at all times; provided That ships receiving any Federal assistance be required to employ only American-born seamen or seamen who are completely naturalized citizens of the U. S.; and provided further, That the officers and crews of all commercial ships flying the American flag be thoroughly trained and disciplined aboard American merchant ships.

(1938, pp. 160, 550) Congress enacted many amendments to the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. These amendments authorized the purchase of ships, merchant marine training, maritime service, differentials between the foreign and domestic construction of ships, subsidies to offset foreign subsidies, directing the Maritime Commission to hold hearings with respect to changes in manning scales, wage

scales and minimum working conditions, and the 8-hour work day for Great Lakes tugboat men.

The new Title "X" was added to the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 providing for the creation of a Maritime Labor Board which is authorized in regard to maritime labor matters to insist on the maintaining of agreements and the interpretation of agreements in existence.

It is also to use its good offices in the mediation of maritime labor disputes except unfair labor practices and questions of employee representation, which will remain under the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board.

It provides that maritime employers and employees shall exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements and to settle their differences in conferences, but no penalties are prescribed. The mediation machinery provided is of a purely voluntary character.

The E. C. unsuccessfully sponsored an amendment to the National Labor Relations Act which aimed to create a special board of three members to whom should be given exclusive authority to administer the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act in the shipping industry, including seamen, longshoremen and other maritime workers. It would take from the National Labor Relations Board the supervision of labor relations in the maritime industry. Bills providing for an extension of social securities laws to seamen could not be moved from the House Ways and Means Committee notwithstanding approval by the Secretary of Labor and the Social Security Board.

S. 2580 was introduced to give effect to the terms of the treaty for promoting safety of life at sea. It provided greatly improved quarters and sanitary accommodations for crews on American ships. The bill passed the

Senate but could not be pried out of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

An amendment to have all ships constructed by the Maritime Commission come under the Walsh-Healey Act passed the Senate, but was eliminated in conference.

(1939, pp. 135, 416) One of the five treaties (No. 53) adopted by the International Labor Conference at Geneva in 1936, and ratified by the U. S. Senate on June 13, 1938, provides for certain minimum requirements with respect to the professional capacity of officers. The treaty also provides that vessels under 200 tons may be exempted by supplementary legislation. The National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots submitted an amendment to lower the exemption to 15 tons "for all vessels propelled by machinery, but not including pleasure craft and fishing vessels under 200 tons." The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries rejected this amendment and the bill (H. R. 950), providing for a 200-ton general exemption, was enacted into law. This treaty provides certain additional rights to sick and injured seamen. It does not take away any rights, remedies, etc., to which a seaman was entitled prior to ratification of the treaty. The new right provides that if a sick or injured seaman has dependents, the ship owner must "pay his wages in whole or in part as prescribed by national laws or regulations from the time when he is landed until he has been cured of the sickness or incapacity has been declared of a permanent character." The treaty also provides that such payments may be limited to not less than sixteen weeks.

The House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries reported a bill (H.R. 6881) defining the word "dependents" and limiting the amount payable to such incapacitated seamen to \$10 per month for a period of

sixteen weeks only, from the time when he is landed. The bill passed the House and was then referred to the Senate Commerce Committee where it was held over because of numerous protests against the penurious \$10 per month allowance approved by the House. This treaty will take effect on October 29, 1939, and in the absence of any permissible modifying legislation, it being assumed that the treaty is self-executing, ship-owners will be required to pay full wages to any incapacitated seaman who has dependents, after he is landed. This treaty (No 58) provides that minors under 15 years of age shall not be employed on vessels. American Federal law does not contain such minimum age requirements (except for apprentices). As a matter of fact, however, the generally prevailing minimum age for employment on American ships is 18 years. Therefore, it would seem desirable to eliminate the employment of minors under fifteen years of age from the vessels of our competitors. The treaty will be effective on October 29, 1939, but no action was taken by Congress to pass any implementing legislation. Two days before adjournment the President sent a Message to Congress submitting the draft of an implementing bill prepared by an interdepartmental committee and stated that "it is a matter of great importance that legislation be enacted at this session of Congress." Since only two days of the session remained, no action was taken by Congress. It is not generally known that the laws relating to the inspection of steamships do not apply to the ever increasing Diesel and motor-driven vessels. To remedy this anomalous situation the A. F. of L. supported H. R. 3837, sponsored by the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots. A hearing on H. R. 3837 and related bills was held on April 11 by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Although

the only issue involved was safety, the various organizations of engine and boat manufacturers, river and harbor contractors, yacht and power boat owners objected most strenuously to any such regulation. Because of this protest the Committee took no action on the bill.

However, the committee reported favorably on H. R. 6039 which amends the Motorboat Act of 1910 in several respects. The most important change is in the issuance of licenses for persons operating motorboats carrying passengers for hire. At the present time licenses are issued upon application without examination. The bill as passed by the House, provides: "Whenever any person applies to be licensed as operator of any motorboat carrying passengers for hire, the inspectors shall make diligent inquiry as to his character, and shall carefully examine the applicant orally as well as the proofs which he presents in support of his claim, and if they are satisfied that his capacity, experience, habits of life, and character are such as to warrant the belief that he can safely be entrusted with the duties and responsibilities of the station for which he makes application, they shall grant him a license authorizing him to discharge such duties on any such motorboat carrying passengers for hire for the term of five years". The bill remained on the Senate Calendar the day of adjournment. Three minor sea safety measures were enacted at this session: S. 1583 (Public No. 92), amends the Load Line Act of March 2, 1929, to bring it in line with the International Load Line Treaty, ratified in 1933, by requiring a load line on foreign going merchant vessels of 150 tons, or over. H. R. 7090 (Public No. 371) relates to the Governmental supervision over the disengaging apparatus and the character of lifeboats, floats, etc. H. R. 7091 (Public No. 372) relates to the use of hand worked fire pumps. H. R. 199 (Public No. 99)

amends the Act relating to allotments of seamen's wages to certain relatives by requiring the shipowner (when requested by the seaman) to deposit in a savings bank or in a U. S. postal saving depository, as designated by the seaman, such portion of wages earned as may be stipulated in the shipping articles. No allotment is valid unless in writing and signed and approved by the Shipping Commissioner. H. R. 4592 and 4593, and H. J. Res. 344 and 347 were introduced at the instance of two whaling companies using foreign-built killer boats under foreign flags. The objective was to permit these foreign-built killer boats to be documented as vessels of the United States. With this accomplished the two companies could introduce whale oil into the United States free of the tax of \$67.50 per long ton. The legislation was opposed by the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. as discriminatory against American shipbuilders. If such special privileges were granted to the whaling industry it would serve as a precedent to grant it also to the other branches of the American fishery such as salmon, tuna, cod, halibut, and other fisheries, since all American fishing vessels are now required to be American built. It may be noted that there is no requirement under Federal law for the employment of American citizens in such an enterprise, except that the master of the vessel, and in the case of a steam vessel, the licensed officers be American citizens. It developed during the hearing that only five per cent of the crews of these vessels are American citizens, that a Norwegian Seamen's Union contract governs wages, hours and working conditions, and that the Norwegian language is spoken exclusively. There has been no action upon either of these bills or resolutions. As is well known, one of the most serious problems confronting the American Merchant Marine in the off-shore trade is the fact that some

of our competitors man their ships with the cheapest available labor. For instance, many British ships in direct competition with American ships, trading regularly to American ports, are manned almost wholly by Lascar crews with a monthly wage of \$9.40 for able seamen as against \$72.50 for able seamen on our ships in the same trade. With a view of ascertaining the facts in this connection at the request of the A. F. of L., H.J.Res. 194 was introduced. In accord with the usual custom the resolution was referred to various Departments of the Government which are concerned with the subject. A public hearing on the resolution was held on June 16, 1939, and it then developed that the Secretary of the Department of Labor had recommended favorable action on the resolution, that other branches of the Government were non-committal, and that the Department of Commerce alone opposed the adoption of H. J. Res. 194. There was no opposition whatever from any private source. Upon our President's representation to the Secretary of Commerce, that Department finally withdrew its opposition but it was then too late in the session and the Resolution could not be moved from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. S. 1454 and S. 2305 were introduced at our request to make applicable to inland water craft the provisions for an eight-hour working day already in effect on ocean-going ships. In reporting on S. 1454 the Department of Commerce stated that this bill, if enacted, would require the appointment of forty-eight additional assistant inspectors at the various ports requiring an appropriation of \$170,000 per annum to cover the salaries of these additional assistant inspectors, and to provide the funds for the necessary traveling expenses in connection with this work. Hearings on these bills

have been postponed until next session.

(Training Schools)

(1942, p. 682) Res. 128 related to the operation of Merchant Marine Training Schools through the following "resolves":

Resolved: That the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to the duplication of maritime academies by the States, and be it further

Resolved, That we favor permanent U.S. Merchant Marine Academies under the sole control of the Federal Government, and the incorporation of the present state academies under the supervision of the U.S. Government-operated training schools, and be it further

Resolved, That we petition and request the War Shipping Administration to the effect that the education and training of officers and personnel of the Merchant Marine of the United States, both publicly and privately owned, and under the control of the Federal Government, be exclusively in the hands of those who have gained their knowledge and practical experience in the U. S. Merchant Marine on either public or privately owned vessels, and who have proved by their experience that they are the only ones able and qualified to understand the problems that are peculiar and exclusive problems of the U. S. Merchant Marine.

The following convention committee recommendation was unanimously approved: Since the Committee did not have sufficient information upon which to render an intelligent judgment of the subject matter of the resolution and since none of the delegates appeared in defense of the resolution the Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Permanent Committee on Education for further study and disposition.

(Recognition of War Work)

(1942, p. 588) Resolution No. 81:

Whereas, The personnel of the United States Merchant Marine did its part for this country in World War I, and

Whereas, The A. F. of L. seamen who are now taking most of Victory Merchant Fleet to sea and delivering goods to our armed forces and our Allied armed forces all over the globe, and

Whereas, Many have given the supreme sacrifice in performing these duties for their country, and

Whereas, The merchant seamen are fighting our fight as strongly as are the armed forces and are as vital to this effort as if they were on the direct firing line, and

Whereas, The federal government now owns and/or operates all the United States Merchant Marine vessels through the War Shipping Administration, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor go on record to have introduced as soon as possible in Congress suitable legislation to the effect that any seaman who has made a voyage to sea on the United States merchant vessel during this war, and whose character and loyalty warrant it, be given an honorary discharge from the United States Government after this war, and be it further

Resolved, That this discharge shall have the same recognition as the one given to persons serving in our armed forces, and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the senators and congressmen from the State of California, to the Administrator of the War Shipping Administration, to the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War.

Your committee in recommending

the adoption of the resolution calls attention to the initiative taken by the Seafarers International Union of North America in securing for seamen now employed on United States merchant marine vessels, a discharge at the end of the war, equivalent to the honorable discharge given to the armed forces when they are mustered out.

(Equal Rights With Armed Forces)

1944—pp. 61, 436 (Res. 69):

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge upon the Congress of the United States of America that any and all rights accorded to the men and women in the armed services of the United States be extended with equal American justice and generosity to the men in the Merchant Marine for their valiant conduct throughout the war, in the face of serious submarine warfare waged by the enemy for many months and for the Merchant Marine's subsequent heroism under fire, and be it further

Resolved—That all present legislation be amended so that equal rights shall be provided for all members of the Merchant Marine on the same basis as that accorded to all members of the armed services, and be it further

Resolved—That in the future all legislation include rights and benefits, in equal share, for all members of the said Merchant Marine.

This resolution requests support by the American Federation of Labor of legislation to provide that men in the Merchant Marine service shall be granted benefits equivalent to those provided for those in the armed services for service during the present war.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to confer with the Maritime Unions in reference to it.

(Continuation Urged)

(1944, p. 539) The following resolution No. 131 was unanimously adopted:

Whereas—The American Merchant Marine has always played a definite part in the nation's economic and industrial welfare, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor declare, without qualification, that it is the duty of the American workers and manufacturers and American shippers in protecting the future safety of our Republic, to build and maintain an American Merchant Marine sufficient in size to meet all of the nation's needs and requirements, and that this Merchant Marine must be owned and maintained so that all ships of the American Merchant Marine shall be built in American shipyards under American standards and be operated by American seamen.

(Hospitalization)

(1946, pp. 474, 475) Resolutions 61 and 62 both requested the A. F. of L. to have introduced in Congress legislation which will restore to American merchant seamen separate hospital and medical facilities which were originally established for them. Res. 61 requested support of legislation making merchant seamen eligible for hospitalization under certain prescribed conditions. Both resolutions were unanimously concurred in.

(Reemployment Rights)

(1946, pp. 229, 608) The convention unanimously approved A. F. of L. support for legislation which was enacted by the 79th Congress, providing reemployment rights for members of the Merchant Marine, similar to those accorded members of the other armed services.

(S. 1619)

(1947, p. 550) The A. F. of L., through adoption of Res. 89, went on

record in opposition to a proposal in Congress providing for the chartering of government owned war built ships to foreign operators. Res. 96, covering the same subject matter, did not require separate action. The following was adopted:

Whereas—A serious threat to the American Merchant Marine, and one which will seriously aggravate the growing unemployment of American seamen, is embodied in Senate Bill 1619, introduced, upon request, in the United States Senate, and

Whereas—This Bill would authorize the President to charter government-owned, war-built ships to "any foreign operator," and

Whereas—The chartering of these American ships to non-citizens would not constitute any saving, and would not, in any manner, improve the efficiency in the providing of relief cargos to the countries in Europe in need of them, and

Whereas—A number of countries which have bought many of our ships, such as Norway, for example, supposedly for its own transportation and economic requirements, which ships are now owned and manned by Norwegian personnel and are in competition in non-Norway trades with our ships from the Pacific Coast to the East Coast of South America and the Pacific Coast to the Far East, and

Whereas—Norwegian interests have offered to charter ships to American operators in New York, at rates below which they could be operated by Americans, establishing that Norway was not in need of these ships as badly as it was claimed, and

Whereas—Should this Bill be enacted, the American Merchant seamen will be forced to compete with foreign seamen whose wages are incomparably lower, while American shipyard and metal trades workers will be deprived of employment, thereby placing in jeopardy the whole concept of

maintaining the American standard of living, and

Whereas—This does not in any way involve the question of helping the relief needs of the world, in which objective the maritime unions are second to none in their support, and

Whereas—Should this measure be adopted, it would be in flat contradiction to the declaration of policy in the Merchant Ship Sales Act of 1946, which provides that the United States have an efficient and adequate American-owned Merchant Marine, sufficient to carry its water-borne commerce, capable of serving as a naval and military auxiliary, owned and operated under the United States flag, by citizens of the United States, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 66th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to S-1619, and do all in its power to defeat this Bill.

(Reserve)

(1949, pp. 211, 383) "... (legislation proposed) to provide for the creation, organization, administration and maintenance of a Merchant Marine Reserve ... vigorously opposed. It is our belief that there is no need to authorize the U. S. Maritime Service to develop and maintain a Merchant Marine Service for training for service in war, and that the underlying purpose of the Merchant Marine Reserve would be that of a strike-breaking agency—the phrase "national emergency" has become familiar to us in the various proposals to limit workers' right to strike. It is our firm belief that H. R. 4448 is not needed. The Navy already has authority to maintain services of both licensed and unlicensed personnel which has been exercised for licensed personnel, but not for the unlicensed. We opposed the proposal because of the vast unemployment that now exists among trained unlicensed personnel and the

potential danger of the use of the Reserve in strikes designated as national emergencies. If there should be a legitimate need for non-licensed personnel reserve for other than strike-breaking purposes, the Navy would have exercised the authority delegated to it.

The American Federation of Labor will continue its efforts to defeat this legislation.

(Retirement Credits for War Service)

(1949, pp. 51, 388) Res. 44 approved of legislation to allow employees who resigned from employment with the U. S. Government, for the purpose of entering the U. S. Maritime Commission, to be eligible to purchase credits for the lapsed time, toward retirement.

(Drafting of Personnel)

(1950, p. 411) The Maritime Trades Department is at the moment confronted with great and grave problems. It must help preserve the integrity of its member unions; subversive groups are eager to take over this key industry. It must protect the economic security of its members against unscrupulous employers who, putting aside all loyalty to our government have transferred ships to foreign flags—just to help them make more money from the blood and brawn of our men.

It must help recruit and maintain personnel of a quality and capacity to serve us as well as our seamen of yesteryear served us in keeping a mighty merchant marine ready for service in any emergency as well as for the usual continuing day by day needs.

Elsewhere in this convention will come detailed reports on specific pending legislation through which to protect our Merchant Marine. We would here, however, call attention to a specific shortsighted policy. Our government is drafting young men away from this vital line of defense. How foolhardy!

During the American Revolution and during the War of 1812 seamen were kept on ships they had been trained to man, for there it was felt they could do the best job. Today they are drafted away from the skilled and essential jobs for which they have been especially trained.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor give full and active support to the program of the Maritime Trades Department and to its affiliated unions in their effort to keep trained seamen on their jobs.

(Reactivation Program)

(1950, p. 331) Whereas—Labor has always advocated an adequate United States Merchant Marine and Shipbuilding program second to none, adequate to sustain this country in time of peace, and to support a program of national defense, and

Whereas—Following World War I, American ships were scrapped in unlimited numbers, competent shipbuilding mechanics were idled and shipbuilding facilities were scrapped or abandoned, resulting in the United States Merchant Marine practically being no factor in world trade, and

Whereas—World War II found the Merchant Marine practically nonexistent and with tonnage of shipbuilding in this country at rock bottom, with the result that available shipbuilding facilities were very limited, as were competent shipbuilding mechanics for the immediate needs of an expanding shipbuilding defense program, and

Whereas—There were practically 30,000 mechanics engaged in shipbuilding previous to World War II on the west coast, and this figure going to 365,000 in peak war years, but today on the Pacific Coast from Bellingham, Washington, to San Diego, California, there are less than 5,000 shipbuilding mechanics engaged in shipbuilding and ship repair by private employers, and most ship construction

facilities are either scrapped or deteriorated to a point of much needed repair, which in the present international crisis endangers the security of the country and its citizens, therefore, be it

Resolved—That we condemn the actions of those public officials that have allowed the merchant ships of this country to be scrapped, and in allowing a number of remaining ships to be put in foreign registry to evade hiring American crews, support a program of 10,000 foreign shipbuilders being kept busy in one town of a country that remained neutral in recent hostilities which is practically at the doorstep of a potential enemy nation, and yet these same officials do not see fit to institute and support a program that would continue shipbuilding on the west coast and maintain facilities in an area that has set records in ship construction and repair and which area by all present and past international trends and events will be called upon to again engage in a full speed ship reactivation program, and be it further

Resolved—That American money be used to launch a shipbuilding program in the United States and not in foreign countries, and that any reactivation of ships now deactivated to be done by private employers in private shipyards, and be it further

Resolved—That the Merchant Marine be rebuilt second to none, that Congress and agencies of government cease to support foreign shipbuilding programs, which are all detrimental to the economy of American shipbuilding workers, and those engaged in the shipping trade, but mostly to the safety of the country, and be it further

Resolved—That a copy of this resolution be sent to all members of the Senate and the Congress of the United States.

(p. 461) The Council reports the effective organizing campaign of the

Department and the economic gains of the workers after being organized.

The report calls particular attention to the urgent need for developing a U. S. Merchant Marine which is vitally essential to our national welfare, both for national defense and for peacetime economic security. It is to the nation's discredit that we have neglected the development of a large U. S. Merchant Marine. It must be developed and maintained.

Your Committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor take a leading part in bringing to the attention of the President, the Congress, and the American public the urgent need for the development and maintenance of a large and strong U. S. Merchant Marine for our peacetime economic program and for use in any emergency that may arise.

(1951, p. 97) The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated maritime unions have a vital stake and interest in the maintenance of a strong and adequate first-class American Merchant Marine. This, we believe, is essential for both defense and economic purposes. Its importance at this time cannot be over-emphasized.

During World War II, and for a short time after, our country had the largest Merchant Marine in the world. It had all types of ships, fitted for any trade and any route—in fact, the American Merchant Marine was so capable that it carried a major part of supplies, troops, etc., to the various military fronts of the world. Today, however, this situation has materially changed. The American Merchant Marine is rapidly dwindling and it is safe to say there are less ships sailing the American flag than there were prior to the War.

Since the war, the transfer of American ships to foreign registry, to evade taxes and escape paying decent wages, has caused thousands of our seamen to become unemployed. This growing

evil is a serious threat to the American Merchant Marine and is endangering the safety of our country.

Up to this time, Congress has not seen fit to do anything about it, and the U. S. Maritime Commission has sadly neglected its duties and totally disregarded the need of American-flag ships in this country. This indifferent attitude is causing the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated maritime unions grave concern.

On the other hand, we are able to report that Congress has continued to make it a public policy by enacting into law a provision that at least 50% of all foreign-aid cargoes must be carried by American-flag ships. This act by Congress has given some relief and security for the present, to the American seamen in the maritime industry.

In addition, the study and investigation of the maritime industry that was made by the Senate in the 81st Congress has brought about favorable results. Both the House and Senate Merchant Marine Committees are now considering legislation to correct some of the problems in this industry. . . .

(Page 101) The Executive Council recommends that the American Federation of Labor continue to work closely with our Maritime Unions and extend to them full assistance on matters affecting this Industry.

(Page 443) The American Federation of Labor has taken a leading role in legislative efforts to obtain satisfactory relief for American seamen and shipyard workers in the maritime industry and to re-establish the American merchant marine under American standards of maritime employment.

The Committee on Legislation recommends that the convention concur in the recommendation of the Executive Council, which is as follows: "The Executive Council recommends that the American Federation of Labor continue to work closely with our

maritime unions and extend to them full assistance on matters affecting this industry."

(Smuggling of Alien Crewmen)

(1951, pp. 108, 526) The E. C. reported on efforts made to pass legislation providing heavy penalty for smuggling alien merchant crewmen into the U.S. The convention commended these efforts and directed their continuance.

(Pp. 309, 565) Res. 90 directed attention to the importance of having an adequate merchant marine as follows:

Whereas—The Metal Trades Department, and its affiliated unions, has stressed, time and time again, the necessity of maintaining our shipbuilding industry in a condition which will make rapid expansion possible in time of emergency or war, and

Whereas—Representations to this effect have been made repeatedly to the Congress, the old Maritime Commission, the new Maritime Administration, and to the President, and

Whereas—The present Korean crisis as well as our decision to send troops to Europe and other areas has focused attention upon the grave deficiencies of our American merchant fleet, and vividly portrays our national indifference to the lessons we should have learned as a result of both World Wars I and II, and

Whereas—There has not been planned, even at this crucial date, any substantial privately owned and operated merchant fleet expansion in order to guarantee our nation merchant ships of sufficient speed for modern war, and a fleet sufficiently well balanced to assume a vital role as a military auxiliary in event of global conflict, and

Whereas—This nation is now seriously, even desperately, deficient in fast passenger carrying vessels quickly convertible to carry military per-

sonnel, and needs additional fast, large ore-carrying ships and tankers to serve our remobilization and military preparedness, as well as an expanded economy, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention of the American Federation of Labor again protests vigorously, and with all the force at their command, the repeated delay and national neglect in this matter, and be it further

Resolved—That we condemn as shortsighted any policy that would have the United States place its reliance upon the shipping, shipbuilding or ship repair of other nations in time of danger and peril, and be it further recognized that there can be no dependency placed upon other nations to protect the United States in time of crisis, and further that we must be self-sufficient in the carrying of our commerce, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its consistent policy, and urge the Congress of the United States, and such other agencies of government responsible, to implement our merchant marine; and further that the declared policy of building, operating and maintaining a strong American Merchant Marine by private enterprise be encouraged and aided by the Government, to the extent necessary to guarantee a merchant fleet sufficient in numbers, tonnage and speed to adequately serve the needs of our domestic and foreign commerce and national security.

(Medical Care)

(1953, pp. 443, 656) Res. 124 called attention to order issued by the Director of the Budget excluding the public health service formerly provided for merchant seamen and

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its Seventy-second Convention in the City of St. Louis in September 1953, does hereby instruct its President, Execu-

tive and Legislative Committee, to take all appropriate steps necessary to have this order of the Director of the Budget rescinded, and to obtain necessary assurance that the Public Health Service Program for American Seamen shall be continued.

(Expansion)

(1953, pp. 448, 609) Whereas—The American Merchant Marine comprises an important peace time industry, employing 80,000 men in seagoing capacities, plus thousands more in shoreside capacities, and

Whereas—Both of these industries furnish employment directly and indirectly to hundreds of thousands of workers all over the United States, and

Whereas—Both of these industries are as vital as the Army, Navy, Air Force to national defense and indispensable to the maintenance of American freedom in a world half enslaved and half free, therefore, be it

Resolved — By the 72nd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor

(a) That the United States Government assist the privately owned shipping industry by construction assistance and other means to build new passenger and cargo vessels, and keep the merchant fleet up-to-date by replacing war built tonnage with new ships;

(b) That a fleet of cargo ships capable of carrying at least half of the nation's foreign trade and sufficient to provide an adequate auxiliary to the armed forces in time of war be kept on the seas as an essential part of national shipping policy;

(c) That the policy be continued of American ships carrying at least 50 percent of all foreign aid cargoes as a means of affording employment to our merchant ships when "gift" cargoes replace normal freight;

(d) That the Government begin

planning and constructing as soon as possible a nuclear-powered prototype merchant ship and that it consult with the Maritime industry on this project so as to keep American shipbuilders, marine machinery manufacturers and ship operators abreast of technical developments in this field, and competitive with foreign maritime nations who are now planning for nuclear powered merchant ships;

(e) That any national shipping policy formulated as a result of maritime hearings now being held by a Committee of the U. S. Senate be based upon provisions of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act, which is the cornerstone for a progressive shipbuilding and ship operating program under the American Flag;

(f) That first reliance by the United States Government for the transport of persons or material be placed on ships of the privately-owned and operated American Merchant Marine insofar as these ships are available at fair and reasonable rates for American ships;

(g) That all supplies purchased overseas by and for the military be transported on privately-owned and operated U. S. Flag ships; and be it further

Resolved—That this convention of the American Federation of Labor protest to the President of the United States, to the several Departments and Bureaus of the Federal Government, and to all members of both Houses of Congress, over the practice of appropriating taxpayers' dollars to build ships and other seagoing equipment in the shipyards of foreign countries which are to be given away under the Mutual Security program or any other program; it is our confirmed opinion that the dissipating of the taxpayers' dollars in this manner is an offense to the private shipbuilding industry of the United States and to the workers employed therein; there

cannot be a healthy privately owned shipbuilding industry in this country nor can the skills of the experienced workers be preserved by this unfair subsidizing competition; and be it further

Resolved—That this convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its support of the American Merchant Marine and endorse this program aimed at guaranteeing a maritime industry which will be a healthy, productive part of our national economy in peace time, and which will serve the demands of national security in time of war.

(*Hospitalization Program*)—(1953, p. 641) Included in the report of the convention committee under the title of "Health" was the following statement:

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare has announced that she has under active consideration, following instructions of the Budget Director, the abandonment of the entire marine hospital program under which, since the year 1798, medical services have been rendered to merchant seamen by the Public Health Service. This is a truly shocking announcement. The abandonment of a program inaugurated over one hundred and fifty years ago by the founding fathers of this republic would spell Reaction with a capital "R". The welfare of thousands of members of the American Federation of Labor unions in the maritime industry is directly at stake. We must prevent any move to abolish this program, and insist that the marine hospital program be maintained intact.

(1954, p. 98) Several bills designed to improve the maritime situation were reported by the EC in its annual report which also stressed the plight of the American merchant marine as follows:

The plight of the Nation's shipbuilding industry has been a matter of

increasing concern to the American Federation of Labor. Our nation's ability to mobilize quickly in the event of a national crisis is a matter of utmost importance to all of us.

United States shipbuilding is an industry subject to extreme ups and downs. In wartime, it has always been greatly expanded, but in peace has been allowed to languish. During World War I, for example, ship output was boosted from 24 vessels to several hundred. In the 1920's and 1930's production fell almost to zero.

During World War II, United States Shipyards were reactivated, with the result that between 1940 and 1945, this country turned out about 5,000 vessels, more than any other nation. But by this spring, with only 35 ships on order, America has fallen to seventh place among the world's shipbuilding countries.

The current maritime crisis presents several dangers to this nation. One is economic. Thousands of shipyard workers are now either unemployed or facing dismissal. The most recent available figures of the Department of Labor show that private yards employed in March 1954, a total of 115,000 workers, in contrast to 1,400,000 at the height of World War II. Today's employment, therefore, represents only 8 per cent of the peak reached late in 1943.

Another danger is that lack of a modern Merchant Marine may have serious effects on foreign trade. At present only about one-fourth of America's trade moves in U. S. ships.

Perhaps the greatest threat of all is that, in the event of war, the United States will be caught with an obsolete Merchant Marine Fleet, incapable of discharging its maritime defense needs. The shipbuilding facilities of the nation are part and parcel of our nation's defense program. The success of any overseas operation depends directly on the availability of speedy

modern vessels to transport both men and equipment.

Considerations of national defense require that sufficient shipbuilding facilities be maintained in operation, together with the employment of the necessary skills to constitute a nucleus of facilities and manpower adequate for rapid expansion in the event of full mobilization.

It is clear that under today's conditions, this requirement is not being fulfilled. In fact, this is the specific conclusion which has been reached by a most careful and thorough study of the entire maritime industry made by the Department of Commerce and the Maritime Administration. This report, which reviews the nation's policies regarding both the shipping and shipbuilding industries, is very emphatic about the conditions which have recently developed in the shipbuilding industry.

The report recognizes that the most critical factor with regard to shipbuilding facilities is a lack of skilled and trained manpower. The report analyzes the manpower requirements necessary in the event of full mobilization and concludes that a total of approximately 479,000 workers will be required for merchant ship construction in the event of another emergency.

(Page 529) The report of the Executive Council and the several resolutions which have been introduced on the general subject of our maritime policy as a free nation, presents the highlights of the deplorable destruction of

- (1) Our Merchant Marine.
- (2) Our shipyards.
- (3) The dissipation of a substantial army of skilled and competent workers.

It is inconceivable that our Nation has permitted these vast resources to disintegrate to the degree that they have.

For centuries the rallying cry of the British Empire was "Britannia Rules the Waves."

She not only ruled the waves with combat vessels, but with a far-flung array of merchant ships.

The above slogan was an inspiration to every citizen of Great Britain.

In the light of these facts and supporting history of other maritime nations, how can we expect to continue to command the respect of the free world when the Stars and Stripes are so infrequently seen in foreign ports?

Moreover, a capable merchant marine is the second arm of our military strength in the event of any emergency.

Furthermore, we have had two costly experiences in both World Wars, when hundreds of thousands of people were called into shipbuilding without any previous knowledge, and in many cases, without any mechanical skills of any kind, which resulted in the expenditure of billions of dollars which was virtually wasted, and could have been avoided if a far-sighted and long range program had been in effect.

This vast sum of money is now being dissipated because of the virtual abandonment of ship construction and the forces of management and the skills of experienced labor are being diverted into other channels, with the result that if an emergency should again occur, we would have to go through the delaying and expensive period of recruiting and training personnel to construct, maintain and repair ships.

No other subject is of greater concern to our Nation than the maintenance of facilities and skilled workmen in sufficient numbers to fill key positions in the event of a national emergency and also to keep our Flag flying in every maritime port of the world.

Marine Association, Merchant (U.S.)

—(1940, p. 410) Res. 143 before the 1940 Convention called for an investigation of the anti-union activities of the U. S. Merchant Marine Association, among the sponsors of which are high-ranking Navy officers as well as men holding high positions in both financial and industrial institutions.

Marshall Plan (Mutual Security Agency) (also see: E.C.A. and Economic Aid, International)

(1947, p. 464) It is to the self-interest of every American worker that the rehabilitation of war-torn Western Europe be successfully accomplished. Economic disintegration, privation and hunger are the generators of totalitarianism whether of the right or the left. The preservation of world peace and the bolstering of free governments in Western Europe are directly dependent upon immediate American economic aid as envisaged in the proposal of Secretary of State Marshall.

The cost to the American people in assisting the sixteen nations of Western Europe to rehabilitate their economies will be small as compared to the alternative of an unaided Europe falling under totalitarian domination with the ultimate possibility of war.

We recognize that the sharing of our domestic production with other nations involves some personal sacrifice. But, as in war, so in this great program for peace, such sacrifices as must be borne by the American people should be borne equally. Speculation and profiteering in relief materials have no place in this humanitarian project. American Business as well as American Labor must sacrifice. Serious inflation will not only cause grave suffering to the American wage earner, but will place popular support of the program in jeopardy.

The responsibility is placed directly upon free labor and free management to demonstrate by concerted effort and

voluntary self-restraint that we are able to aid the rest of the world and satisfy our own demands without disruption of our domestic economy. Not only must we produce the things needed for the relief and reconstruction of Europe, but every individual must help increase total supplies by his self-discipline in his personal uses.

At present it is only in the export of grain that the drain on American resources is sufficient to cause serious inflation. Disastrous weather in Europe last winter and summer lowered crop yields to starvation levels. Western Europe has always been a heavy importer of grain. With the traditional source of supply cut off behind the "Iron Curtain," starvation and political upheaval are certain this winter unless America ships the 570,000,000 bushels of grain recommended by the President's Committee on Foreign Aid. The plan to ship this amount, which constitutes 40 per cent of our total grain crop this year, has already proven a serious incentive to speculation and price inflation. However, because of our all-time record wheat crop this year, shipment of this amount will cause no serious domestic hardships if there are proper safeguards and restraints.

Because of the urgency of the food situation in Europe large purchases and shipments must be made now. Without specific authorization from Congress the administration has no power to impose governmental safeguards against price inflation and speculation in relief materials. Upon the voluntary organizations of our nation rests responsibility for mobilizing public support to make this plan effective. These groups should be consulted in working out detailed co-operation.

The American Federation of Labor gives complete endorsement and support to our Government's appeal to the American consumer, producer, dealer, and processor of foodstuffs to

conserve grain by voluntary self-restraint.

In giving our complete support to a program of economic assistance to Europe, the American Federation of Labor advocates the exploitation of every type of voluntary action to prevent domestic economic disruption that may be threatened by extensive exports to Europe.

However, if serious shortages develop in grain or other commodities, or if groups refuse to abide by voluntary regulations necessary to the success of this undertaking, our Government must be prepared to act to conserve our resources and check speculation and inflation.

(1947, p. 474) Res. 2 was endorsed by the convention and referred to the Comm. on International Labor Relations with instructions that the committee survey thoroughly the situation with a view of learning the possibility and the time for holding such a conference and then placing its findings before the E.C. for final decision and appropriate action.

Whereas—The reconstruction of Europe is of profoundest importance to the American people and to all mankind, and

Whereas—In order to speed the reconstruction of Europe and build a sound economic foundation for lasting peace, our government has, through the Marshall Plan, offered to aid all nations of the continent of Europe in a joint endeavor to rebuild their countries, and

Whereas—Sixteen European nations have agreed to cooperate on a continental basis for the purpose of rebuilding their economies with the aid of the Marshall Plan, and

Whereas—This reconstruction involves many social, economic, and human problems vitally affecting the welfare and future of the working people not only of Europe but of our own country as well, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention

herewith endorse the idea of the American Federation of Labor taking the initiative in calling a conference of the free trade union organizations in all the cooperating countries with a view of:

(1) taking the necessary steps for insuring the active role of labor in helping economic reconstruction.

(2) protecting the rights of labor to genuine collective bargaining and the basic human rights of all workers; and

(3) promoting the improvement of their living standards, wages, and conditions of employment, and be it further

Resolved—That the convention authorize the Executive Council to take the required steps toward convoking such a conference when, in their judgment, they find it feasible.

Your Committee has given the most careful consideration to Resolution No. 2, introduced by the delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Your Committee fully approves the spirit and aims of this Resolution and draws attention to its putting into sharp focus some of the heavy responsibilities now facing the A. F. of L. as the strongest body of free trade unions in the world.

This Resolution calls for A. F. of L. initiative and leadership in mobilizing the trade unions of Western Europe for the protection of labor's rights and freedoms, for the improvement of the working conditions and standards, and for the workers taking their rightful place in advancing the reconstruction of Europe on a firm and just foundation.

Loans for Education (E.R.P.)—(1950, pp. 41, 482) Res. 57 directed attention to the exchange differentials which will be felt when Marshall Plan funds are refunded. The resolution provided:

Whereas—Billions of dollars in

Marshall Plan funds and other European recovery funds are being made available to the Marshall Plan countries of Europe to assist in the program for European recovery, and

Whereas—These funds are sent as American dollars to the countries which are benefiting from the program, but are expended by the governments of these countries in such a way that they will eventually be returned as counterpart funds in native currency, and

Whereas—The Marshall Plan funds and other European recovery funds have been made available in such a way that the major portion of these funds which accumulate in native currency will not be returned to the United States in dollars but will be used for certain services within the countries to which they have been granted, and

Whereas—There is a dire need for additional educational services, including school buildings and technical assistance, as the foundation for democratic government in the countries which are benefiting under the plan, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor throughout its entire history has taken the position that democratic government cannot succeed without adequate public education, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in Houston, Texas, in September 1950, strongly urges the governments of the United States and of the countries benefiting under the European recovery program, to make available for educational purposes whatever part of the counterpart funds may be necessary for financing adequate democratic school systems in the European countries which are receiving economic assistance, and be it further

Resolved—That the Committee on International Relations of the American Federation of Labor be requested

to study this problem and to attempt to secure for educational purposes whatever portion of the counterpart funds may be necessary for building a democratic program of education in the countries which benefit under the plan.

Mutual Security Agency and Point Four Program—(1953, p. 269) From the beginning of the Marshall Plan, the A. F. of L. has given its full support to the program of rebuilding the war-torn countries and, in later years, toward the task of welding together a community of interest among democratic nations of the world to defend their freedom. The past year has been characterized by hesitation and delay in pressing toward the established goal of mutual security and economic reconstruction. To a certain degree, this was unavoidable, as our allies were waiting to see whether a change of administration in Washington would bring about a change in the future policy objectives in the United States. It was reassuring to us and to our allies to note that President Eisenhower called upon Congress to affirm our purpose to carry on the mutual security effort.

We have reached a crucial point in the task of welding together a community of free nations to resist Communist aggression. The aims of the Kremlin to drive a wedge between the United States and Great Britain, to split off France and other associated nations, and to break the bond of unity among them continues undeterred by the death of Stalin. However, the change in the Kremlin rule has brought about internal conflict and weakening in the political controls indispensable to dictatorship which offer us at this juncture a unique opportunity. Meeting this challenge calls for no half-hearted leadership or "economy sized" assistance programs. It calls for positive, aggressive assumption of the full responsibility of world leadership on the part of the

United States, extended in a friendly and cooperative manner to all the free nations of the world.

It is for this reason that the American Federation of Labor has given its full support to the President's request for \$5,250,000,000 for defense and defense-supported assistance, and for \$550,000,000 for technical and economic aid and assistance to economic development, and has opposed all efforts to reduce this minimum amount.

When urging the Congress to meet the President's request in full, we have further proposed that funds be made available for two-year, rather than one-year, programs. Defense build-up sufficiently effective to deter aggression calls for a sustained effort over an extended period of time. Experience has shown that programming for only one year ahead is an expensive and in some ways wasteful procedure. . . .

(Page 272) The American Federation of Labor desires to cooperate in every way possible in the important program of building the mutual defense of the free nations of the world. We are convinced that no secure or lasting defense can be built within the democratic nations without the full and enthusiastic participation of the free trade union movements within those nations, and it is our conviction, born out of experience, that men having experience within the trade union movement are best equipped to secure this understanding and cooperation from among their fellow trade unionists within the other free nations. We will stand ready to provide experienced personnel for effective trade union participation, but cooperation cannot be forced by one party.

(P. 659) In recommending your acceptance of this section, we welcome particularly its call for "positive," aggressive assumption of the full responsibility of world leadership on the part of the United States, extended

in a friendly and cooperative manner to all the free nations of the world.

Your Committee notes with regret that the plan proposed in October, 1952, by the A. F. of L and C. I. O. for the reorganization of the M.S.A. labor offices in Washington, Paris, and in the various country missions have not been acted upon by the Mutual Security Director. Since February, 1953, when it was presented directly to him, nothing has been done to deal with this problem.

In connection with the Point Four Program, we call for making available more capital funds and for a policy which encourages the development of free trade unions as the most effective instruments of raising living standards and promoting democratic rights and institutions.

In the light of the aggravated world situation, we propose:

1. Increased contributions by our government to the Technical Cooperation Administration and to the U.N. Technical Assistance Program.

2. The Mutual Security Aid Program should be continued but more and more through indirect assistance instead of direct outright grants. Such assistance should increasingly be given on the basis that the country thus benefited will reciprocate with help to our country or to NATO through services, supplies, various off-shore projects or mutual security arrangements.

3. In rendering such aid to specific projects rather than to general economic revival or expansion, our government should, in advance, secure an agreement with the nations concerned that this American help will be so utilized as to assure that the broadest sections of the people rather than small privileged groups will be the principal beneficiaries.

4. In this spirit, we heartily approve the humanitarian course of our government in granting to the rising progressive democracy of Pakistan one

million bushels of wheat to help overcome the threat of famine. At the same time, we underscore the advisability of our government calling for the free trade unions and farm organizations being represented on the Pakistan Government Board administering the distribution of the American wheat relief program with a view of assuring that the proceeds from the sale of American wheat, at a reasonable price, will be set aside as a fund for promoting education, health, and housing.

(P. 272) The Executive Council included in its regular report, a special section on Point Four, including a brief description of activities under this Program. The conclusion of this section of the E.C. Report stated:

The American Federation of Labor, having been among the first to demand that the free world offer the backward nations a constructive alternative to Communism has consistently and strongly supported the Point Four program, and the United Nations Technical Assistance program. The monumental task which economic development presents cannot be accomplished without the help of the free trade union movement. Nor can its objectives, of elevating living standards and strengthening freedom and democracy, be gained without the encouragement of the development of strong free trade unions in the nations we seek to aid. We have insisted, therefore, that trade union training, workers' education, and the promotion of fair labor standards and full worker participation must be accepted as an essential feature of technical assistance programs.

Capital funds must be made available in greater volume for the purposes of the development program. Private foreign investment, accompanied by strict political and social safeguards against the abuse of power

by outside interests, must of course be stimulated and encouraged. But private capital alone cannot do the job, for there are many necessary projects which are inappropriate for private investment and which private capital would not undertake. For these purposes, an International Development Fund, financed by the economically-advanced countries, is needed as a source of capital.

In the final analysis, however, the success or failure of economic development will depend upon the readiness of the nations involved to help themselves, by doing their utmost to increase their own capital funds through progressive tax and other policies, and to take the steps necessary to make the most of their own resources and opportunities in conjunction with outside aid.

We deplore the inadequacy of the funds made available to date for aid to underdeveloped countries. Both TCA and the United States contribution to the multi-lateral United Nations Technical Assistance program should be greatly expanded.

The UN Technical Assistance program has been meeting serious financial difficulties in recent months. Not only have the financial resources of the program not reached the expected size, which was said by U.S. representatives to be about \$100 million a year when the program was begun three years ago, but it has never gone beyond \$21 million a year. Yet the U.S. contribution very narrowly escaped a further drastic reduction—which would have wrecked the program if allowed to stand—in the last session of Congress. Only the most vigorous protests, by the American Federation of Labor and other interested groups, succeeded in preventing such a ruinous cut.

(Pp. 409, 668) Res. 43:

Whereas—The Point Four program, now officially the Technical Cooperation Administration, which has carried

"know-how" to the underdeveloped peoples, has not only helped the aforementioned peoples to help themselves, against hunger, poverty and disease, but also is a fine testament of the vision and moral strength of American democracy, a lesson the Asian and African masses cannot miss or forget when the agents of Moscow swoop down upon them to capture their minds, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this Seventy-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in St. Louis, Missouri, September, 1953, go on record as reaffirming its endorsement and support of the Point Four Program, and call upon the President and the Congress to expand it—both because it is a sound gesture of humanity toward peoples in dire need of economic aid and technical knowledge and also as a sound phase of the psychological warfare against Communist imperialism.

(Page 668) Convention adopted report of its committee considering international matters as follows:

Your Committee has considered this resolution and recommends its adoption as fully in accord with the policy of the A. F. of L.

We especially commend this resolution for its emphasis on the objective of Point 4 being to help the people of the industrially underdeveloped countries to help themselves, thereby providing "a fine testament of the moral strength of American democracy."

(Pp. 104, 633) Although unduly severe cuts in the appropriations necessary to carry on the Mutual Security Program and the aid to underdeveloped areas of the world under the Point IV Program have sharply and prematurely curtailed our country's great effort to build the free world and its defenses, continuation of these modified programs was authorized for the coming year. The Thye Amendment to the Mutual Security

Act, enacted with the support of the American Federation of Labor, helped to overcome the ill-advised and short-sighted attempt in Congress to wipe out entirely all phases of the labor program under the Foreign Overseas Administration. We should make every effort to insist on the retention of the labor program in the foreign aid legislation in the coming year and to assure better understanding by the general public and by the Congress of the vital role of free labor unions in the world struggle against Communism.

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor was the first labor organization in our country to indorse and actively support the Marshall Plan, and

Whereas—Upon the adoption of the Marshall Plan and the subsequent Mutual Security Administration, the A. F. of L provided these agencies with personnel for responsible posts in order to help rally world free labor to the support of the program for post-war economic reconstruction, the improvement of the conditions and standards of the great mass of people, and the national security especially of the countries of free Europe, and

Whereas—The plan proposed by the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. in October 1952 for the reorganization of the M.S.A. labor offices at home and overseas has to date not been acted upon by the Mutual Security Director, and

Whereas—The Labor Advisers in both Washington and Paris have resigned, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the Convention declares that henceforth all A. F. of L. members still on the staff or in various country missions of the M.S.A. are not to be considered as representing in any way whatsoever the A. F. of L. and, furthermore, that the A. F. of L. is in no way to be considered responsible for their activities in executing the policies of this federal agency.

Referred to the Executive Council for implementation.

Materials Policy Commission—(1952, pp. 177, 405) The President's Materials Policy Commission recently completed and made public the results of a comprehensive two-year study and evaluation of the nation's long-term requirements of materials needed to sustain expansion and growth. As our country becomes more dependent on the supply of raw materials from abroad, such a survey of the potential supply of materials at home and their prospective need is of special timeliness and importance.

A study of this kind, however, is only the first step. The task is a continuing one and should be carried on by the National Security Resources Board and other appropriate agencies of the government. Resources of our nation are not turned into real wealth until they have been put to productive use. The question of what use we make of materials we have thus becomes even more important. While the urgent problems today are those of national security, long-term considerations are those of national welfare.

The guiding objectives in what we do with our fuels, power, our forests, our metals and other raw materials, are the objectives of full employment and steady growth in the standard of living of our people. How we meet these objectives as a free nation is a challenge that must be successfully met. Labor is ready to assume its share in meeting this challenge. We ask therefore that the officers of our Federation seek effective labor participation in the work of agencies dealing with materials resources and their use.

McCarran Amendment (also see: Canal Zone)—(1954, pp. 405, 541) Res. 88 proposed that the A. F. of L. seek the repeal of the McCarran Act on the grounds that it has created difficulties and hardships on millions of foreign-born; and that its provisions have also created difficulties in issuing passports

as well as admitting people from other countries into the United States. It was pointed out that the labor movement of the U. S. had opposed this legislation, and that its repeal had been recommended by a special committee appointed to study this Act; and that President Eisenhower had recommended changes in the law.

The resolution was referred to the E. C. for such action as may be warranted in view of convention action on the general subject of Immigration.

McCarthy, Jos. R.—(1954, p. 580) Res. 15 as originally submitted was not acted upon by the convention which adopted in its stead the following:

Whereas—Only on rare occasions does the American Federation of Labor single out any individual for specific mention for any convention action, and

Whereas—One individual U. S. Senator has, by his own actions, drawn such public attention that he has become a public issue, and

Whereas—This individual, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy, has drawn this public attention by his reckless disregard of traditional democratic procedures and his contempt for individual liberties, and

Whereas—Communism is able to grow by exploiting substandard conditions produced by low wages, insufficient education, slum housing, denial of civil rights, including denial and abuse of fair judicial processes, and

Whereas—Since his first election in 1946, Senator McCarthy has been recorded by Labor's League for Political Education as having voted against the interests of working men and women on every single major issue including questions of minimum wages, social security, public housing, the Taft-Hartley law, control of inflation, education, taxes, and civil rights, and

Whereas—He has voted to cut military and economic aid to free countries fighting Communism, and

Whereas—This voting record is sufficient evidence that the Senator's self-appointed role as America's champion fighter against Communism is not confirmed by the voting record, therefore be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby condemns the conduct of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy as unworthy of the American tradition.

McGuire Memorial Proposed—(1948, p. 248) Res. 49 proposed support to campaign being conducted to raise funds for a suitable memorial to P. J. McGuire:

Whereas—The Central Labor Union of Camden County (New Jersey) and vicinity is, through its Peter J. McGuire Memorial Committee, endeavoring to raise a fund of \$100,000 to erect a permanent and fitting memorial on the grave of that great pioneer leader of labor, father of Labor Day, and co-founder of the American Federation of Labor, and

Whereas—Such a cause is a worthy one, meriting the support of all working men and women since it is designed both to pay appropriate tribute to an outstanding contributor to the labor movement and to provide a shrine which labor people from all over the world can visit and gain inspiration and renewed courage for the unceasing fight which he espoused, therefore, be it

Resolved—By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that this organization of men and women who have benefited from the far-sighted vision, aggressive leadership and fearless courage of Peter J. McGuire expresses its endorsement of the aims of the Peter J. McGuire Memorial Committee and pledges its support toward the successful realization of its goal, and be it further

Resolved—That all locals affiliated with this organization be and they are hereby urged to lend their financial aid to the campaign to raise \$100,000 necessary to create the memorial shrine.

(1948, p. 463) Resolution referred to the Executive Council.

McMahon, Brien, Nobel Prize Nomination to—(1952, pp. 52, 470) Res. 83 proposed that the A. F. of L. submit the name of the late Brien McMahon, as candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize for 1952.

Means Test—(1935, p. 801) The federal government, and the agencies which administer relief, have placed in operation, a means test, which test forces the applicant for relief to prove, in order to obtain relief, that he is absolutely destitute, and further to prove that no member of his family is earning anything, and that neither he nor any member of his family holds a job, not even a casual one for a day or more per week. This practice is anti-social in principle and in practice, for it forces a worker to a statement that he has become a pauper, and further results in a worker's hesitating to accept work which is not permanent, lest he, therefore, be denied needed relief. The moral degradation which this test forces upon the workers and their families is extremely harmful. The free trade unions of other countries have found that this so-called means test results in tragic consequences, and they have therefore vigorously and successfully opposed the continuance of it. The A. F. of L. condemns this so-called means test (actually a destitution test) and directs the E.C. to use every means at its command to bring about its elimination.

Medical Care (see: Health).

Medical Care of War Workers—(1942, p. 592) The convention considered two related resolutions, Nos. 97

and 99, both calling attention to the need for adequate medical care and hospitalization for war workers. The convention approved the purpose of the resolutions and referred them to the Committee on Social Security of the A. F. of L.

Membership Transfer—(1942, p. 593) Res. 110 requested the convention to take action reducing the initiation fee at present being charged and facilitating the transfer of membership of one international to another, particularly during the period of the war. The report of the convention committee was referred to the E.C. with the request that it take all steps within its authority to facilitate the transfer of membership. The committee report follows:

Your committee concurs with the view that every possible assistance should be given to facilitate entrance into the trade union movement or transfer of membership.

Your committee, however, is aware that many International Unions pay substantial sick, death and other benefits, and a large portion of initiation fees is transferred to the maintenance of these funds.

Your committee is further aware that this convention has no authority, neither should it attempt in any way to regulate or supervise the initiation fee charges by International Unions, for to do so would violate the definite guarantee of autonomy given to every International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

(1946, pp. 269, 449) Res. 47:

Whereas—The 1946 convention of the Oregon State Federation of Labor adopted a resolution favoring the interchange of union cards by all American Federation of Labor unions, and

Whereas—The practice of international unions of requiring an applicant for membership in local unions to pay an initiation fee into each union, even if such applicant is a member of a

union of another craft, is a hindrance to organization effort and may, in many cases, place an undue and difficult burden upon members of American Federation of Labor unions who desire to change from one craft to another, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor appeals to the international unions to voluntarily consent to receiving, without exaction of an additional initiation fee, the application of any one who presents evidence of his membership in good standing of another union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and, be it further

Resolved—That no union under such circumstances shall be required to accept the application of a person unless he be qualified in the craft in which he seeks membership, and that in case a member of one craft seeks membership in a union of a craft having a higher initiation fee, and commanding a higher wage scale, the applicant may be required to pay as an initiation fee the difference between the higher fee of the union to which he seeks membership and the lower fee of the union in which he holds membership.

Your committee discussed Resolution No. 47 carefully and after due consideration recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

Memorial Property Employees (National) (see: Civil Service Extension Proposed).

Menninger Foundation—(1954, pp. 377, 464) Res. 14:

Whereas—Mental Health is the Number One Health Problem in America, with 700,000 persons now hospitalized for mental illness, 250,000 persons being admitted to mental hospitals each year and 250,000 persons being treated in out-patient clinics and by private physicians each year, at a total cost of \$3 billion in

public expenditures and loss of earnings, and

Whereas—More than one-half of all the hospital beds in the nation are occupied by mental patients, and one out of every 12 persons sometime in his life will suffer mental illness severe enough to require hospitalization, and

Whereas—98% of those hospitalized with mental illness are hospitalized in public mental hospitals, and

Whereas—There is an extreme shortage of psychiatric and allied personnel in public mental hospitals and out-patient clinics upon which the working people of America depend to restore and maintain the mental health of themselves and their families, when they become ill, and

Whereas—Less than two cents is spent for research into mental illness for every dollar spent to hospitalize and treat mental patients, and

Whereas—The working class of people bears the brunt of this lack of psychiatric treatment and research, and

Whereas—The Menninger Foundation of Topeka, Kansas, has achieved world renown for its outstanding contributions to mental health by (1) training more psychiatrists than any other single institution, (2) expending more funds for research than any other private psychiatric institution, and (3) consulting with public mental hospitals in Kansas which has made them models for other public mental hospitals, and

Whereas—All of these contributions significantly enhance the health and welfare of the American working man, and

Whereas—The Menninger Foundation is a non-profit psychiatric treatment, training and research center supported by public subscription, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the delegates at-

tending the convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse and support the Menninger Foundation, financially and otherwise, and to recommend concurrence by the affiliated bodies which they represent.

(Page 464) Convention referred the resolution to the Executive Council for inquiry and appropriate action.

Merchant Marine (see: Maritime).

Mergenthaler, Ottmar — (1954, pp. 450, 491) Res. 138 paid tribute to the genius of Ottmar Mergenthaler on the hundredth anniversary of his birth. A. F. of L. joined with American Printing Trades Unions in marking the occasion.

Metal Polishers, War Production— (1942, p. 598) The following resolution, No. 139, was unanimously adopted by the convention, together with the recommendations of the convention committee:

Whereas — Restrictive orders on metal work and bright work, issued by the Office of Production Management and its successor, the War Production Board, have created extensive unemployment affecting many thousands of members of the Metal Polishers, Platers and Helpers International Union, and

Whereas—These restrictive orders, in addition to throwing thousands of these skilled mechanics out of employment, has forced the closing down of the polishing and plating department in many hundreds of companies in the polishing and plating business, and

Whereas—Both private capital and Government financing has led to the construction of many new plants, and the expanding of established plants, and during this building and expansion program there has been installed new polishing and plating equipment, while at the same time an enormous amount of such equipment in plants formerly operated by members of the Metal Polishers and Platers Union re-

mains idle because their doors were closed due to the above mentioned restrictive orders by Government agencies, and

Whereas—To manufacture and install new machinery for polishing and plating is requiring tons upon tons of metal vitally essential to war production, and

Whereas—Where this new machinery is being installed it is the common practice of the employers not to use the skilled workmen who were idle because of restrictive orders, but invariably to attempt to employ unskilled help and train this class of labor to do the skilled work, a condition which materially impairs efficiency, and results in curtailing production and spoiling valuable castings and valuable metals because of the inefficient operation of these insufficiently skilled and untrained employees, and

Whereas—Since October 1941, the officers of the Metal Polishers, Platers and Helpers International Union, with the assistance of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., have brought this serious condition to the attention of many of the Government agencies in Washington, D. C., and have presented volumes of factual data to substantiate the statements being made in regard to the above unjustified conditions affecting metal polishers and platers, and although the Government agencies visited agreed that the practice of installing new equipment, and attempting to train new employees while adequate equipment is already installed in metal polishing and plating establishments throughout the country, and their former skilled employees are idle, was a most impractical situation and should be immediately corrected, yet none of the Federal agencies have as yet taken steps to prevent the installation of new plating and polishing equipment, therefore be it

Resolved—That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and are hereby, requested to give every possible assistance to the Metal Polishers, Platers and Helpers International Union in securing an early adjustment of the problem presented in this resolution.

Your committee in recommending approval of this resolution calls attention to the economic waste caused by the closing down of metal polishing plants, the disuse of their mechanical equipment while new plants and new machinery are being installed in other places for metal polishing and plating.

It is evident that the Metal Polishers and Platers have been unable to secure adequate consideration of their situation by some Federal agencies.

Your committee believes that the full influence of the Executive Council should be asserted without delay, so that this unsound as well as unjust economic condition will be corrected.

Metal Trades Councils (FLU Membership in)—(1943, p. 463) Res. 22. Resolution referred to the Executive Council:

Whereas—As now constituted under the American Federation of Labor Metal Trades Department by-laws, federal labor unions and local trade unions, even though engaged in metal trades work, cannot obtain full-fledged membership in the American Federation of Labor metals trades councils, and

Whereas—This means that while they may be permitted to affiliate with a local council they cannot vote nor hold office in the council, and are only permitted to pay per capita tax and give cooperation, and

Whereas—This old rule of the Metal Trades Department not specifically adopted to bar federal labor unions and local trade unions, nevertheless affects them adversely and keeps out the potential backbone or nucleus for any metal trades council, and

Whereas—The skilled trades in the metal industry are more or less now organized in their own particular district councils, and

Whereas—A similar resolution had been introduced at the Sixty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Toronto in 1942 as Resolution No. 20 and was referred to the Committee on Resolutions and the Committee recommended the resolution be referred to the Metal Trades Department which recommendation was unanimously adopted and although the Metal Trades Department has had a year to act on this resolution without any known action having been taken on this resolution, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record urging the Metal Trades Department to amend its constitution and by-laws so as to permit full-fledged membership in metal trades councils to those federal labor unions and local trade unions engaged in the metal industry, and be it further

Resolved—That the international unions now affiliated or eligible to full-fledged membership in metal trades councils be requested to extend their aid and influence to the end that federal labor unions and local trade unions be granted full-fledged and *bona fide* membership in all metal trades councils, and be it further

Resolved—That the Metal Trades Department be called upon to immediately make known to the state federations of labor and city central bodies their action on this resolution.

Mexico (Proposed Treaty Protested)
—(1944, p. 537) Res. 127:

Whereas—There is pending before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate a treaty between the United States and the Republic of Mexico, relating to the waters of the Rio Grande, the Colo-

rado River and the Tijuana River; and

Whereas—Said treaty authorizes an international boundary and water commission, and the American section thereof, without adequate congressional controls, to plan and construct vast works on the main stream and on all tributaries of said rivers, and to control all labor on such construction work, and expressly permits the free passage of labor into the United States for use upon such works "without any immigration restrictions, passports or labor requirements," and further expressly permits the free passage into the United States of "materials, implements, equipment and repair parts" fabricated by foreign labor for the construction, operation and maintenance of such work; and

Whereas—Under the method of performing such work authorized and permitted by the said treaty, low-cost Mexican labor may be used upon any job done in the United States along the International border, to the exclusion of American labor; and

Whereas—The pending treaty guarantees a minimum of 1,500,000 acre feet of water per year to Mexico from the Colorado River, which guaranteed minimum exceeds by 750,000 acre feet per year the quantity of water which Mexico could use from the unregulated river, and such additional water is available for use solely by reason of the expenditure of American money and the use of American labor on American soil in the construction of the Boulder Project, and such guarantee of water to Mexico would deprive the southwestern part of the United States of water required for its growth and expansion, both industrially and agriculturally, and would curtail the opportunities of American labor in such development; and

Whereas—The application of such water to agricultural use in Mexico, where cheap labor is available, would enable Mexican farmers to undersell

American farmers using American labor, and would tend to reduce American standards of living; and

Whereas—The United States has entered into solemn contracts for the use of all of the waters of the Colorado River stored by the Boulder Project, in consideration of which public and private organizations within the United States have agreed to repay to the United States the entire cost of such Boulder Project, and have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in the construction of works to utilize such water, and such contracts cannot be fully performed by the United States in the event of ratification of the pending treaty, and breach of such contracts on the part of the United States would be contrary to American principles and sound business practice and would deprive American agencies of water supplies upon which they have relied, and which have been made available at their expense; therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor vigorously protest the ratification of this said treaty.

Mexican Farm Labor (see: Immigration)

Mexican Federation of Labor—(1924, p. 221) A resolution adopted by the Mexican Federation of Labor (CROM) was submitted to the convention by a representative as follows:

Whereas—The A. F. of L. has given unequivocal proofs of solidarity to the Mexican labor movement and has defended energetically the Mexican Federation of Labor from all the attacks from which we have been victims in the U. S., reciprocating loyally to this noble attitude; be it

Resolved—That the Mexican Federation of Labor will oppose all attacks which the enemies of the A. F. of L. will attempt to undertake against it in any part whatsoever of the Mexican Republic.

(1925, p. 83) The Fourth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor was held in Mexico City, Mexico, December 3-9, 1924, inclusive. The Mexican Federation of Labor invited the A. F. of L. convention, held in El Paso, Texas, to visit Mexico and hundreds of delegates with their wives and friends went to Mexico to take part in the ceremonies of the inauguration of President Elias Calles. The American delegates and visitors received the most generous hospitality from the Mexican government and the Mexican Federation of Labor. The inauguration of President Calles immediately followed the Congress. Calles, the choice of Mexican labor for the presidency, was the first president for decades to reach that office by constitutional procedure. He represented a national movement in Mexico and was the exponent of constructive reform of the government and social institutions. The labor movement he held necessary to that end. More than any previous Congress, this one marked the Pan-American Federation of Labor as an established organization, indispensable to the progress of the workers of the American Republics and to good relations between the American peoples. This convention established the fact that Pan-American labor has carried its international movement beyond the stage of experiment. The Mexico City convention always will be memorable for its work and for the fact that it was the last gathering of organized labor over which Samuel Gompers presided. The great leader of American labor gave his last effort to the workers of Pan-America, his last concern was for the solidarity, stability and constructiveness of their movement. His last public appearance and public work was in occupancy of the presiding officer's chair on the rostrum of their convention. This convention laid down one of the clearest statements of trade union policy ever written as its decla-

ration of purpose and principle and this declaration was adopted by unanimous vote. The Pan-American labor movement is committed to a policy of constructive trade unionism of unmistakable clarity and logic. There are evidences among many of the groups of people in a number of Latin-American countries of a feeling of apprehension regarding the attitude of the U. S. toward them. Certain commercial undertakings have not always been guided by high ethical standards, and their acts have been interpreted as indicative of the attitude of our whole nation by politicians and others whose personal interests would be served by such perversions. Our A. F. of L. seeks to bring to Latin America the idealism and the humanism of our nation. Through the Pan-American Federation of Labor we hope to achieve this purpose. The one hope of release for oppressed peoples is through the growth of the labor movement. The labor movement offers the one opportunity for bringing to these oppressed and frequently almost benighted peoples the freedom that will permit education and free expression of opinion. The history of European peoples is repeating itself in Latin America to a considerable degree. The trade union movement is and must be basically economic or industrial, but there can be no free functioning economic movement in Latin America until political despotism has been removed. In more than one Latin-American country the arm of the state is used to prevent organization of the workers. Venezuela is a notable example of this condition. It is a sad commentary on the state of affairs in that country when it must be reported that the seat of the Venezuelan labor movement is New York City. On the other hand, Mexico, having achieved political freedom through the overthrow of political autocracy, has developed a labor movement that might well be the pride of any country. Until the politi-

cal despotism was dethroned in Mexico there was no open, free labor movement. There were only secret, fearful groups. There must be opportunity for freedom of expression, through speech and the press before there can be a real trade union movement in any country. The development of freedom in Mexico and the building of a great trade union movement has so changed the thought of the people of that country that it would be today impossible to provoke misunderstanding between the two peoples through the misrepresentation of any group. The two labor movements, representing the backbone of both populations, understand each other and have every confidence in each other. It is that condition that the Pan-American Federation of Labor aims to create throughout all Latin America, bringing the peoples together in understanding from the frozen northern boundaries of Canada to the last outpost of civilization at the southern tip of South America. The Pan-American Federation of Labor conceives it to be its duty to promote freedom and democracy on these two united continents and in that freedom to erect a trade union movement that will guarantee freedom and democracy. The labor movements of the United States, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Santo Domingo, Guatemala, Colombia and Puerto Rico were represented by a total of twenty-six representatives. Important decisions of the Congress occurred upon resolutions. Of primary importance was the declaration dealing with the nature and activities of the trade union movement. This declaration will serve as a guide to many of the workers in Latin-American countries where the movement is just taking shape and direction. The Congress approved the principle that Labor ought to be represented in connection with the consular service of all countries. The Congress endorsed the principle underlying the Pan-American Union as of

importance in developing effective world organization and urged upon the labor movements of Latin-American countries to promote the best development of the Pan-American Union and recommended to national labor organizations that they endeavor to secure representation on their national delegations participating in the Latin-American financial conferences. The Congress placed itself on record as opposed to secret treaties. The Congress recommended that an effort be made to help the trade unionists of Pan-America develop constructive policies for dealing with the immigrants from Jamaica and Barbadoes, brought to Panama for the construction of the Panama Canal. It was decided to hold the next Congress in Washington in 1925 in deference to the late Samuel Gompers, but his death following this Congress, as related elsewhere, made necessary the selection of another chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Accordingly, a meeting was held in the A. F. of L. Building on February 20, 1925, in which the labor movements of the United States, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Venezuela and Puerto Rico were represented by delegates. The President of the A. F. of L. was duly elected chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor by unanimous vote, upon nomination made by the Mexico Federation of Labor. On the second meeting held on February 23, 1925, he was duly installed as chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Canuto Vargas, Spanish-speaking secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, having been appointed as Labor Attaché to the Mexican Embassy at Washington by the President of the Mexican Republic, resigned his position as secretary. The Mexican Federation of Labor was requested to nominate a successor and proposed the name of Santiago Iglesias, President of the Puerto Rican Federation of Labor, for Spanish-speaking secretary

of the Federation. He was appointed and arrived in Washington July 21, 1925, to take charge of the office. Following the conference between the Mexican Federation of Labor and the A. F. of L. on Immigration a meeting of the E.C. was held in Washington, D. C., August 28, at which all officers were present. As the meeting was the first held since the death of the first president of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, the first action was to authorize the secretaries to draft memorial resolutions. The meeting considered the possibility of developing plans to organize the workers of all Pan-American countries and directed that everything possible be done within the resources of the Pan-American Federation. So far as the resources of the Federation will permit and so far as its influence can be made felt through correspondence every effort will be made to carry out the declarations of the Mexico City Convention. The E.C. discussed fully the financial resources of the movement. It was decided that the question of deciding the date of the next convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor should be postponed until after the Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L. In addition to the activity reported under the section on Pan-American Federation of Labor the following international records are of historical importance as disclosing American Labor's concern for international justice and peace. When the Secretary of State issued a public declaration which seemed likely to jeopardize the amicable relations and good will existing between the peoples of Mexico and the U. S., the President of the A. F. of L. sent the following letter of inquiry to the Secretary of State: June 15, 1925. "Sir: It is with the gravest concern I have followed the statements issued by you on behalf of the American government and by President Calles on behalf of the Mexican Republic. Your statement

came with most startling surprise because of the friendly relations of mutual faith and good will existing between the people of this country and the people of Mexico and the economic rehabilitation of Mexico which has been in progress in Mexico under Presidents Obregon and Calles. As you know, no other group of American citizens has done more to make possible a situation in Mexico under which constructive development is possible than the American labor movement. Because of the sense of very grave responsibility that I feel as the official representative of the A. F. of L., I wish to be in a position to decide wisely policies concerning not only the millions that constitute the labor movement of the U. S., but our fellow workers in the labor movement of Mexico. At the earliest opportunity that it has been possible for me to do so I am seeking from you such additional facts and information as will make it possible for me to interpret your public statement on relations with Mexico. If it is not incompatible with the best interests of our country, I should appreciate it very much if you will let me have specific instances of cases of failure to secure proper indemnification of property losses in Mexico and especially would I like to have the details of the specific instance cited in which the Mexican government at the request of Labor took over property for which no compensation has been made. Of course, I know there are exigencies of state which make it impossible at times for an official to disclose information but as the matters of complaint to which your statement makes reference are concerned wholly with adjustment of property claims there seems to be no impropriety in the request hereby submitted. I am seriously concerned that there should be even the implication that our government would lend aid and support to a movement against the constitutional government of Mex-

ico. It is unthinkable that our government should contribute to the development of a situation that might lead to military intervention in Mexico and I hasten to seek information that may clarify the situation." The President of the A. F. of L. held conferences with Secretary Kellogg in which the whole international situation with Mexico was fully discussed. Because American Labor deems it essential that understanding and good will be maintained between the peoples of Mexico and the United States, a conference between representatives of organized labor seemed expedient to prevent misunderstanding attending the declaration of Secretary Kellogg. In addition to this purpose, there was need to discuss another problem in which labor interests were vitally concerned, a greatly increased Mexican immigration into the United States stimulated by the operation of the selective immigration law, which gives exemption to native born Mexicans from quota restrictions. President Green felt that constructive results would be forthcoming through discussion of resulting immigration problems by the organized labor movements of Mexico and the United States. He proposed to the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana a conference on immigration, suggesting that if an agreement could be reached between the two labor movements much could be done by advising workers as to how to protect their own best interests through voluntary cooperation and pursuance of any policy agreed upon and also that the labor movements could recommend to their respective governmental authorities whatever policies Labor might determine were for the best interests of their respective nations. The Mexican Federation of Labor accepted the conference suggestion and a conference was held in Washington, August 27, 1925. The conference lasted through two days and adopted the following recommendations:

Time and experience have demonstrated that the progress of mankind, ethically, spiritually and economically, is best achieved under the great principles of freedom, democracy and the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. History shows the constant tendency of man to congregate in groups and the beneficial results of such groupings are clearly discernible throughout the ages. Groups everywhere strive to create their own cultures, to cultivate their own lands, to create their own institutions and establish their own customs. Always they seek means of protecting their group integrity and the integrity of their boundaries. We hold that the ultimate condition of mankind should be such that all men should enjoy the greatest possible right to travel freely to every part of the world in pursuit of happiness and well-being. But we assert that there is an obligation, universal in character, which makes it obligatory upon every person to refrain from so ordering his movements or his conduct as to endanger the standards and conditions of life and the progress achieved on the part of any group which he may seek to enter. And groups have the right to protect themselves against such intrusion. There is, we maintain, a further obligation upon every individual which makes it a duty to work within his own group for the safeguarding of the standards and conditions built up elsewhere; and instead of seeking improvement elsewhere at the expense of others it is his duty to work for improvement within his own group. The duty of his group is but an enlargement of his individual duty, identical in principle. Nationhood is but another term for group. Thus we have presented to us what we know as the problem of immigration and emigration, complex and difficult, but resting in its entirety upon the principles which we have just stated. Our conference considered both of these problems as joint phases of a single prob-

lem. Furthermore, the problem was considered in its relation to the economic organizations of the workers with their voluntary character and methods and in its relation to the state with its machinery for action in the political sphere. On the subject of immigration we feel deeply the necessity for careful consideration by every nation of the effect of incoming peoples on moral, physical, political and economic integrity. Hitherto nations throughout the world, including our own nations, have sought only to exclude other peoples, either partially or wholly, wisely or unwisely. Nations have acted solely on the defensive. They have failed to recognize their own obligations to restrain their own people from moving across boundaries in such a way as to menace the conditions of life and the institutions of other peoples. We believe we can now set up at least in the Western Hemisphere this great principle of self-restraint and we recommend to this conference the establishment of that principle. In this way there is brought into being an abandonment of the principle of compulsion and the adoption of the principle of voluntary action which underlies our labor movements and governs our action as trade unionists. We call upon the A. F. of L. and the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana to press their respective governments for adoption and enforcement of this new principle of voluntary restraint. While we recognize clearly that at all times each nation must be the final judge of what constitutes a menace to its standards and its institutions, we are confident that the labor movements of our two nations, working in cooperation and with a common ideal in mind, can arrive at conclusions and agree upon measures that will meet the requirements of the time. Human progress is always best safeguarded by agreement and cooperation and we believe this field is a proper one for the exercise of those qualities. We ap-

preciate fully the instructions which impose upon us the duty to prepare specific recommendations as a basis for legislative or executive action on the part of our respective nations. We are, however, of the opinion that definite recommendations cannot be set forth at this time. There are various reasons for this, chief among them being our lack of sufficient detailed information. We find another road to our goal and we ask for its consideration. We recommend, therefore, the creation of a joint commission to represent the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana and the A. F. of L. for the continuous study of immigration and emigration, and problems arising therefrom, to work through the Pan-American Federation of Labor, for the continuous study of the question and for the preparation of satisfactory detailed recommendations or measures for submission to the governments of the respective countries by the respective labor unions. As an immediate means of safeguarding and improving the moral, material and civil conditions, of the workers of both countries we urge and recommend that workers crossing international boundaries immediately join the union of their trade in the country to which they go and abide faithfully by the laws and rules of the movement to which they go and we pledge our efforts to the full to bring about observance of this principle by our respective affiliated memberships. In that manner we can give a large measure of protection to the economic, social, civil and political institutions of both countries and assist in the development and advancement of our respective peoples in accordance with their own requirements and ideals. We shall by this means also promote mutual good will, respect, understanding and confidence. In conclusion we believe it appropriate to include in this report a renewal of our long-standing pledge of brotherhood, mutual good will and confid-

dence and lasting friendship. As the years have passed we have witnessed the great mutual advantage of our faith in each other. We have learned to place in each other implicit faith and confidence and we have seen the great practical results which have had their genesis in this fraternal relation, as well as the great spiritual satisfaction which it has given to us. Upon each succeeding occasion we come together in better understanding and with fuller knowledge and we look to the future with confidence and supreme faith. It is with pride that we face the world in this harmony of understanding and idealism, calling upon the workers of all countries to know each other and to give their energies to the promotion of human progress through a common idealism and mutual understanding and good will. The above agreement was unanimously approved." After adopting this declaration the conference instructed the chairman of the Pan-American Federation to appoint a commission of four to carry out its purpose. It was agreed that the president of the A. F. of L. take up with the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana by correspondence designation of two representatives of Mexico and upon receipt of that information announce the commission.

Mexican Nationals, Exploitation Opposed

(1948, pp. 244, 462) Res. 40: Resolved, That the 67th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to the violation of our immigration laws and the use of Mexican nationals who have been so exploited, and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor use all available resources and take whatever action may be necessary with our State Department, or any other proper government or state agency, to discontinue further exploitation and use of Mexican nationals as described herein.

Mexican Railroad Workers—(1924, p. 181) Resolution adopted urging that the sixth annual convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor in session at Juarez, Mexico, pass a resolution calling upon their countrymen working upon the railroads in the United States to affiliate with the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, for their protection as well as for the protection of the other employes working in this and other departments of the railroads in which they may be employed.

Mexican Revolution and Labor — (1927, p. 264) The Executive Council made a report of an investigation requested by the 1926 convention of the relations existing between the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Mexican government.

Mexican Trade Unions, Cooperation Between U. S. Organizations and

(1951, pp. 285, 560) Res. 28 directed attention to the problem of migration of workers across the international boundary and proposed as a solution: That this seventieth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, instruct the president of the American Federation of Labor to initiate such procedures as may be necessary to develop the program outlined herein, and to improve the relationship with the approved Mexican labor movement and the American Federation of Labor, and to conduct such meetings and conferences as may be necessary to improve and protect the best interests of wage earners in both the United States and Mexico.

(1951, pp. 294, 425) Res. 49 and 50 called attention to problems caused U. S. workers by migratory workers from Mexico and called upon officers of A. F. of L. to assist in working out and enforcing agreements between border state federations and Mexican unions to protect the interests of both the Mexican workers and union members in the United States.

Your committee moves that Resolutions Nos. 49 and 50 be referred to the Executive Council, with the recommendation that all necessary action be taken to achieve their objectives in cooperation with the Latin-American Department of the American Federation of Labor, the Inter-American Regional Organizations of the ICFTU and the Free Trade Union Organization of Mexico, particularly the two organizations affiliated with the ICFTU—the National Confederation of Labor and the National Proletarian Confederation.

Mexican Nationals, Illegal Entry

(1952, pp. 27, 463) Res. 18. Resolved, That the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor express its horror that the processes of democratic government have been so perverted by selfish interests as to prevent the enforcement of our laws and the Convention go on record as demanding the enforcement of our immigration laws and call upon the next Congress to appropriate necessary funds to prevent the illegal entry of Mexican wetbacks.

(Wetback Problems)

(1953, pp. 152, 499) The problems facing American migratory farm workers incidental to competition of Mexican workers, and those illegally entering the country to enter farm work, was presented briefly by the Executive Council. The convention in turn adopted the following committee report on the subject (p. 499):

The major condition handicapping America's migratory farm workers has been increasing competition from imported Mexican workers. This competition is of two types: Mexican workers legally entering this country under contract authorized by law and so-called "wetback" Mexicans who illegally cross the border, evade the border patrol, and obtain farm employment.

During the past year, Congress has

extended through 1955 the authority for the program of contracting Mexican nationals, but it failed to adopt the recommendations urged by the A. F. of L. to safeguard the program against abuse.

Even more important are the steps this country must take to cut off the flow of Mexicans illegally entering our country, which has reached the alarming figure of 100,000 a month.

The Department of Justice is now reviewing its enforcement program in an effort to reduce the flow of wetbacks across the border. In so doing, the Department has been subject to intense pressure from Texas and California corporation farmers who have been eager to exploit the illegally entering Mexican workers as a source of cheap farm labor. We urge the Justice Department resist this pressure and formulate an effective program to enforce our immigration laws against "wetbacks." Additional funds are needed to reinforce the border patrol and must be provided by Congress. In addition your Committee recommends legislation be introduced into the next session of Congress penalizing employers who employ illegal entrants.

Conference—(1953, pp. 415, 651) Res. 56 called for active participation of A. F. of L. affiliates in conference called to work out problems of Mexican wetbacks in competition with American workers.

Mexico (Joint U. S.-) Trade Union Committee

(1955, p. 289) The American Federation of Labor took part in the Third Conference of the Joint U. S.-Mexico Trade Union Committee, held in San Diego, California, August 23-25. . . .

The conference approved the principle of an International Agreement for the use of Mexican contract workers in the United States, called for legislation to penalize persons who

hire or transport illegal workers, asked an increase in compliance staff of the U. S. Labor Department to one compliance officer for each 2,000 braceros, and asked consultative status for labor at future negotiations between the two governments on the International Labor Agreement.

The conference endorsed the principles of the Rio Grande Pact and recommended that all labor organizations of both countries having common problems along the border unite under such pacts to assist each other in eliminating the differential in wages and working conditions that exists between the two countries, and in the accomplishment of all other purposes of trade unionism.

The Rio Grande Pact covers the Brownsville and San Antonio Building Trades Councils and the appropriate Building Trades Councils across the border, belonging to the Mexican Confederation of Workers (CTM). It provides for the setting up of a commission with an equal number of representatives from each side. The joint commission itself negotiates and bargains with any employers, who are normally contractors. The first project to be covered by the Pact is expected to be the construction of a bridge at Laredo.

The success of the Pact as applied to the Lower Rio Grande Valley has prompted the Texas State Federation to meet with the Mexican CTM State Federations bordering Texas and work out a comprehensive program for mutual cooperation not only in the building trades but in all fields. Subsequently, negotiations have been concluded on a pact between the Teamsters and the Freight Handlers in Laredo and Nuevo Laredo, setting up a commission also. However, this commission does not set bargaining rights but supervises problems on international traffic. These pacts have been approved by the local negotiators

and are in the process of being ratified finally by the CTM and the Teamsters' International Union. Plans are under way to extend these pacts to other fields—Garment and Textile Workers, Hotel and Restaurant, Retail Clerks and any other industry which normally hires workers living on the Mexican side of the border.

After the adjournment of the San Diego conference, meetings were arranged between a number of Mexican delegates and representatives of the San Diego Central Labor Council, with the view of formulating plans to try out the same method of cooperation with Mexican unions of Lower California, just across the border, particularly in the building and fishing industries where disturbing conflicts of interests have been recorded in the past. These preliminary meetings were followed by joint conferences between the San Diego Central Labor Council and the Lower California CTM, one in Tijuana, and the other in San Diego, with the possibility that a formal pact of cooperation will be signed in the near future.

Michigan (Workers) Educational Service

(1948, pp. 376, 508) Protest against the arbitrary suspension of the workers education service in the State of Michigan was called for by Res. 138 adopted as follows:

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor has promoted and urged the establishment of workers education services both federally and state supported, and

Whereas, The Workers Educational Service in the State of Michigan has been carrying on a program with the advice and cooperation of the labor movement in that state, and

Whereas, This program was arbitrarily suspended on July 1, 1948, and subsequently definitely terminated by the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan contrary to the ad-

vice of President Ruthven and the administrative officers of the university, and

Whereas, This action in terminating the program by the Board of Regents was clearly at the instance and under pressure from Governor Sigler and the General Motors Corporation as evidenced by testimony given by a representative of that corporation before the House Sub-Committee on Education in Washington, therefore, be it

Resolved, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled register a protest at the manner in which the summary action was taken, constituting as it does a violation of academic freedom, and a denial to the workers of Michigan of services which the universities are freely giving to other groups in society, and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor urge the immediate restoration of the Workers Educational Service program in Michigan as it had been carried on prior to its suspension on July 1, 1948.

Migratory Labor

(1940, pp. 74, 390) A. F. of L. actively supported authorization for much needed investigation into the interstate migration of destitute citizens, to study, survey and investigate the social and economic needs, and the movement of indigent persons across state lines to obtain all facts possible in relation thereto which would not only be of public interest but which would aid the House in enacting remedial legislation.

The Executive Council successfully urged adequate appropriations for a continuance of the migratory labor camp program of the Farm Security Administration. Available records show that at least 350,000 American families—more than a million men,

women and children—are wandering from state to state in a desperate effort to earn a living as migrant farm laborers. These families probably have the lowest living standards of any group in the United States. Their incomes usually range between \$200 and \$450 a year. The camp program, inaugurated by the Farm Security Administration, is the very least the Government should do to alleviate the suffering of these migratory farm families.

The Federation strongly opposed the proposed curtailment of the farm tenant purchase program. This program is of immediate interest to organized labor because it constitutes one of the most promising methods of halting the drift of surplus labor from the farms to the cities. During the last decade many thousands of displaced tenants and sharecroppers have moved to the cities in search of jobs or in hope of relief. These job hunters have, of course, thrown a depressing burden on the labor market, which is growing heavier year by year. The tenant loans under the Bankhead-Jones Act have proved highly effective in checking this trend by anchoring farm families on their own land. In addition, the tenant-purchase loans have increased actively in the rural-housing field and furnished considerable employment for building trades workers. Tenant-purchase loans are made large enough to cover not only the cost of the farm land, but also the cost of placing the farm buildings in good repair. In many instances this has required all new construction.

(1940, p. 490) Res. 8. The convention recognized the problems of migratory and transient workers both as it concerns them, and in relation to the effect of their increasing numbers and sub-standard conditions on other workers. The Executive Council was instructed to study the problem presented by the migratory and tran-

sient workers, and to take such steps as will safeguard and protect the social and civic rights of these workers.

(Defense)

(1942, p. 162) During the past year the special committee has continued pursuant to H. Res. 63 (76th Congress) and H. Res. 16 (77th Congress) to investigate problems of national defense migration. In response to an invitation from the committee, President Green in February, 1942, presented a statement on the question of the labor market policy of the United States, as part of a symposium published by the committee in Part 28 of its hearings. The statement by President Green anticipates many of the steps subsequently taken by the President's Executive Order establishing the War Manpower Commission, and proposes certain additional measures which the Tolan Committee has also endorsed and urged upon the Administration. In his statement President Green declared that the Federal Government must take responsibility for planning for the fullest use of production facilities and workers to assure adequate material equipment for our armed forces when and where needed. He pointed out that in order to plan effective transfer of workers to war work, two kinds of information are needed by plants, localities, and regions: (1) a continuous inventory of plant facilities and their potential war production, and (2) a paralleling inventory of work skills available and the work experiences of all employees. He advocated setting up an adequate national system of unemployment compensation to tide workers across the period between jobs if they are not placed immediately in war jobs when civilian work is stopped. Among other proposals, in his statement, was one calling for widespread placing of war contracts so that workers may be effectively used on jobs in their home communi-

ties. As to training he pointed out that confusion arose through failure to use existing agencies to the fullest extent, and that practically 90 per cent of all training must be done on the job. To effectuate a national labor market policy he called for locating responsibility in some one person or agency and giving representation to those concerned in the formulation of guiding principles — employers and workers. President Green indicated that he regarded the Employment Service as the primary agency for planning labor supply, working in close coordination with the Selective Service. He stated that for purposes of policy making the agency responsible for mobilizing labor supply should be independent of the agency mobilizing for the material side of production. Such an agency, he held, should be directed by a civilian and that personnel and procedure should be civilian. Finally he called for advisory policy committees of employers and employees not only at the Federal level, but at each level of operation.

(Inter-agency Committee)

(1950, pp. 32, 479) Whereas, The best authorities agree there are some two million people existing as migrant workers, and

Whereas, These workers are denied most of the protections of other workers and their families, a decent wage, schools, medical service, decent housing, workmen's compensation, unemployment compensation, etc., and

Whereas, This problem is increasing each year, therefore, be it

Resolved, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, instruct the incoming officers to use every effort to have the Secretary of Labor revive the Inter-agency Committee on Migrant Labor, and further be it

Resolved, The American Federation of Labor registers its protest against

these deplorable conditions by endorsing the Report of the National Inter-agency Committee, together with the Model Federal and State Bills included in the report of this Committee. Referred to president of A. F. of L. for proper consideration and action.

(1952, p. 275) In reporting on the efforts made to secure the passage of an adequate migratory labor bill, the Executive Council Report said in part:

We gave our wholehearted support to this legislation in the hope that worthwhile results could be achieved. Testimony before the Subcommittee was preponderantly in favor of results. We maintained that an over supply of labor increased by the importation of alien labor in direct competition with our own farm organization's membership could only serve to continue low wage rates.

(p. 494) Convention action. The difficulties involved in the protection of wage standards and other conditions for migratory workers was the subject of considerable activity by Committees of the House and Senate. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor and its constituent organizations were successful in preventing harmful legislation, but were unable to secure enactment of satisfactory measures. It is pointed out, however, that through the airing of conditions in hearings some improvements were made in administration of existing laws. It is recommended that these activities be continued.

(Migratory Labor, Federal Committee On)

(1952, pp. 52, 494) Res. 81: Whereas, The President's Commission on Migratory Labor in American Agriculture in its report made public early in 1951 made certain recommendations both for legislative and administrative action to improve the conditions of agricultural workers, and

Whereas, The U. S. Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee early in 1952 held exhaustive hearings before which workers, employers and other persons interested in the welfare of migratory agricultural workers appeared, and

Whereas, The Senate Committee unanimously reported a bill to establish a Federal Committee on Migratory Labor for the purpose of coordinating work of the various agencies of government which should be concerned in this grave social and economic problem but this legislation was not considered in the final session of the 82nd Congress, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, call upon the incoming Congress to enact legislation providing for the inclusion of agricultural workers under all types of appropriate legislation accorded other American workers, and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the new Administration to sponsor such needed legislation and to carry out other recommendations made by the Commission of Migratory Labor in American agriculture.

(1954, p. 111) The Executive Council reported on continued efforts to secure the establishment of a Federal Committee on Migratory Labor during 1954. The Executive Council report stated: The need for such a commission (Federal Committee on Migratory Labor) as a central coordinating body of agencies dealing with the problems of migrant farm workers has been further emphasized since the last report (1953) of the Executive Council was presented. The report continued:

Thousands of families have again been struck by drought in the Dust Bowl embracing portions of the States of Texas, Colorado, Oklahoma, and

Kansas. Many of them have been forced to seek a livelihood elsewhere, principally on the Pacific Coast, where they joined the ranks of migrants who are facing unemployment and the lowest wage and living standards in the national economy.

The urgent necessity for establishing such a Committee has also been underscored by the backwash of unemployment in some areas of the Southwest resulting from decreased production in industry. Again it has been shown that industrial workers have a vital stake in raising the wage levels and working conditions in agriculture, to which thousands of them must return from time to time during periods of readjustment in industry. The proposed Committee could render invaluable service in correlating information from various sources that would lay the foundation for a constructive national policy on seasonal and migratory labor. The American Federation of Labor will continue to press for early consideration and action on this proposal.

(p. 542) This section of the Executive Council's Report reviews the efforts by the A. F. of L. to obtain enactment of legislation establishing a Federal Committee on Migratory Labor. Such a Committee, with a Chairman appointed by the President, would stimulate more energetic action by the Federal Government to aid America's migrant workers. The necessity for government action is urgent, since the special employment, health and educational needs of these workers have been almost completely neglected by state and federal legislation.

After Congress adjourned without taking action on this legislation, the President did appoint an Interdepartmental Committee on Migratory Labor composed of representatives from six federal agencies with the Secretary of Labor as Chairman. While

this constitutes a constructive forward step, this Committee would operate with greater effectiveness if its authority were established by congressional action. We should continue to seek enactment of state and federal legislation to achieve this purpose.

Militarism (Civil Affairs)

(1924, p. 74) A bill introduced in the Senate provided that officers of the United States, civil and military, including retired officers, may at any time be specially assigned by the head of any department to duty with or in any branch, agency, or political division of the government whenever authorized by the President of the United States. The A. F. of L. opposed the measure, it being recognized as an attempt to militarize the civil service. No action has been taken. (p. 265) While we justly and rightfully condemn and resent all efforts and tendencies toward pacifism, we likewise condemn and resent all efforts and tendencies toward militarism. The veiled attempt being made to militarize the civilian service of our national government requires our constant and persistent opposition.

(1926, p. 214) Under the present laws of the U. S. of America, active service men of the armed forces of the U. S. of America are not permitted to compete with American citizens in private life under the Act of June 3, 1916 (39th Stat. 188), which provides as follows: "Hereafter no enlisted men in the active service of the United States army, navy and marine corps, respectively, whether a non-commissioned officer, musician or private, shall be detailed, ordered or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business or performance in civil life, for emolument, hire or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilians in the respective arts, trades or

professions." The Executive Council is instructed to have legislation introduced in Congress whereby the quoted law be amended by inserting after the word "permitted" the words "or shall volunteer."

(1939, p. 455) The federal laws contain a provision that army and navy officers shall be limited in their supervision and control of civilian labor, particularly in the naval and marine establishments, such as navy yards and arsenals. There has been a definite tendency in recent years on the part of the naval and military officers in control of arsenals and navy yards, to ignore this law, and to place commissioned officers in charge of labor direction and control which should properly, and under the law, be confined to civilians. There is a steady tendency for this supervision and control of labor by army and naval officers to extend itself to civilian labor outside of navy yards and arsenals. We note that in connection with public works and the administration of labor legislation that more and more commissioned officers of the army and navy are being appointed to executive and supervisory positions, bringing the atmosphere of military discipline, military orders and military control where civilian control alone should exist. The Executive Council is directed to take such steps as are necessary to prevent any development of supervision and direction of civilian labor other than by civilians.

Military and Civilian Strategy (Board) Proposed

(1942, p. 548) Centralization of military procurement is basic for planning for contract allocation, the most efficient use of production resources, for providing raw materials, planning manpower, and for the necessary planning and scheduling that alone can give adequate military supplies and meet the basic civilian needs. Civilians are ready and willing to

make the utmost sacrifices provided they thereby make contributions that are utilized with the care and efficiency that befit the sacrifice.

We therefore further recommend an over-all Board of Military and Civilian Strategy to decide as between military and civilian uses, upon procurement policies which affect the fundamental structure of our economy, and similar over-all policies which concern prosecution of the war, our foreign and domestic policies, and the policies to be followed by all operating agencies.

This strategy board should be created by the President of the United States with the Vice President as chairman and should consist of key persons in the war administration such as the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Director of Economic Stabilization, the Food Administrator, the Director of War Transportation, and have as civilian members two representatives each of labor, employers, and agriculture.

Military Encroachment on Civilian Jobs

(Navy Yards and Arsenals)—1927, p. 72) At a conference held December 2, 1926, of representatives of international unions, it was decided to present a bill in Congress to provide that American citizens shall be employed exclusively on government work whether done by the government or private contract. It was impossible to secure the legislation but another attempt will be made in the seventieth Congress.

(1928, p. 81) When the navy bill was before the House an amendment was adopted at the request of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. to construct eight of the fifteen cruisers provided for in the navy yards and arsenals. After the bill reached the Senate an amendment was made val Affairs Committee which excepted

to the House amendment by the Navy "such material or parts thereof as the Secretary of the Navy may find procurable by contract or purchase at an appreciable saving in cost to the government." This practically nullifies the House amendment as the greater part of the eight cruisers to be built in the navy yards would be constructed by private contractors. The bill did not come to a vote but will be considered at the next session of the Senate. Efforts will be made to have the Senate amendment stricken out. An effort was first made to have \$4,000,000 appropriated in the navy appropriation bill for immediate use in reconditioning destroyers. This failed. (P. 273) We declare as a matter of principle that private profit should be eliminated from the production of munitions and vessels for national defense, that as a matter of policy we favor the construction of cruisers in the government navy yards and indorse the provision that eight of the fifteen cruisers now provided for in the naval construction program should be constructed in the government's navy yards; that we endorse the amendment to the Fifteen Cruiser Bill that provides that eight of these cruisers shall be constructed in navy yards and that the Executive Council is hereby instructed to use its influence in connection with the naval construction bill so that all material going into the construction of these eight cruisers, which can be manufactured in our navy yards and arsenals, shall not be let out to private industry.

(1929, p. 247) Convention adopted resolution objecting to sailors on naval vessels doing repair work on them while in home ports; that this work should be done by civilians.

(1930, p. 374) We believe our national navy yards and arsenals are a vitally important element of our national defense and therefore should be

maintained in an efficient and effective condition. This can only be done by employing a full force of skilled mechanics. We therefore urge that not less than 50 per cent of all government work, both new construction and repairs, be done in government shops.

(1932, p. 388) The Executive Council is directed to give its active support to prevent any action by Congress as the result of the submission of the Shannon Committee's report, which would permit private industry to construct or fabricate vessels and materials for national defense which can be produced in the nation's navy yards and arsenals. This Convention endorses the principle that private profit must be eliminated from the production of material for national defense before the sinister activities of the war mongers and patriots for profit can be abated and eliminated.

(Employment)

(1937, p. 329) Legislation for the purpose of allowing retired military officers to assume desirable positions, including those of supervision, was introduced in the last session of Congress. A. F. of L. emphatically opposes such an unwarranted invasion of the rights of civilian workers in government service and therefore endorses this resolution.

(1949, pp. 53, 389) Res. 53 protested the use of military personnel in government positions.

(1950, p. 326) Res. 105: Whereas, There is considerable concern about the general encroachment upon the rights of civilians by those charged with the administration of the military branch of our government, and

Whereas, The gradual usurping by the military of functions which are essentially civilian does not augur well for the future of our nation, and

Whereas, In the formation of our government it was never supposed that the military branches should be

a law or body unto themselves, and that the Constitution of the United States provides for a civilian Commander-In-Chief of the military in the person of the President of the United States, and

Whereas, This principle has been further carried out by the selection of civilians to be heads of the various departments of defense, and

Whereas, Americans must never forget that our government is one of laws, one of representatives chosen by the people of the nation in free elections, and as such is a government responsive to the wish of the majority, or as has been expressed, "of, for and by the people." The Metal Trades Department views with alarm the departure on the part of the military from this traditional policy in the form of enlisted personnel performing the work normally considered as coming within the scope of work to be performed by civilians, and further departures from a normal civilian operation, and

Whereas, If this practice is permitted to continue it will eventually result in complete domination by the military of all work being performed by civilians in both the military establishments and those where military contracts may be let, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council give this subject of vital interest to the people of our nation, their profound consideration and conduct a thorough examination into the activities of the Department of Defense or any other federal agency which is departing from the traditional practices, as envisioned by the founders of our nation; and, where these practices are found to exist, that they be objected to with all the force at the command of the American Federation of Labor to the President of the United States or if necessary to the Congress.

(1950, p. 486) Convention referred the resolution to the officers of the A. F. of L.

(1950, pp. 327, 486) Res. 108; Whereas, In naval shipyards, including those at Portsmouth, N. H., Boston, Mass., New York, N. Y., Philadelphia, Pa., Norfolk, Va., and Charleston, S. C., approximately one-third of the work involved in the repair, overhaul, and modification of naval vessels in active service is being done by the Navy Department's enlisted men, and

Whereas, The enlisted men doing this work must be regarded as a military labor force rather than employees, since they live under a complete military authority and receive food, clothing, shelter, family allowances, medical care, and other emoluments and subsidies which are not received by the civilian employees of the Navy Department, and

Whereas, The men comprising this military labor force are necessarily beyond the reach of the beneficent laws and customs established by American organized labor, since they have no voice in fixing their pay, hours of work, or other conditions of their service and, above all, lack that ability to accept or reject employment which is the basis of the freedom of the American workman, and

Whereas, The Navy Department, being free to assign work to either civilian or military labor, has adopted a policy which results in giving to the civilian only that work which cannot be done by the enlisted man, and

Whereas, This policy has been deliberately sanctioned and perpetuated by the Secretary of Defense in a statement of personnel policy dated December 14, 1949, which says, in part, that "... whenever military personnel are available because, temporarily they are not required for primarily military duties, they shall be utilized, in the interests of econ-

omy, to perform necessary repair and maintenance operations on military equipment and facilities," and

Whereas, This policy makes it impossible to maintain a clear and safe distinction between the proper functions of civilian employees and those of military personnel, and

Whereas, The lack of this distinction results in competition for work between civilian labor and military labor, and

Whereas, This competition is inevitably destructive of the standards of pay and conditions of employment established by American organized labor, and

Whereas, This destructive competition sharply limits the ability of the civilian employees of naval shipyards and other naval activities doing industrial work to improve their working conditions, better their wages, and make their proper contribution to the continued growth and development of American organized labor, and

Whereas, In view of the unprecedented size of our peace-time military establishment and its increasing influence on the life of the nation, this growing inability of the Department of Defense to distinguish between civilian and military functions is a potentially serious threat to civil liberties and the American way of life, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the 1950 convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, September 18, 1950, go on record as being opposed in general to competition between private citizens and military labor, and, in particular, to the present practices of the Navy Department in this respect.

(1951, pp. 308, 565) Res. 87 called upon the A. F. of L. to endorse proposal to investigate if jobs are military or civilian in the Department of Defense and cited instances where navy yard employees are affected by

navy repair ships doing the work normally coming under civilian employment.

(1953, pp. 452, 657) Res. 142: Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, condemn the practice of using military labor in competition with union labor as uneconomic and unjust, and that the Secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force be so advised with a request that appropriate action be taken.

(1954, pp. 414, 593) Res. 116 protested against the practice being followed by the Navy Department of assigning more and more work to sailors under the guise of training, resulting in a reduction in the civilian force at military establishments all over the country; and called for the enactment of a law prohibiting repair work being done by military personnel in government establishments while the U. S. Bureau of Employment Security reports critical employment conditions in any labor area.

(1954, pp. 409, 489) Res. 101: Whereas, The use of enlisted military personnel on work regularly performed by craftsmen of all branches of labor has created an untenable situation, and

Whereas, The Secretary of the Navy has promised in speeches before International Conventions of organized labor (and was so quoted by Admiral Holderness at the International Convention of the Metal Trades Department at St. Louis) that military personnel will not be used to replace civilian personnel, and

Whereas, The Navy Department is assigning more and more work to sailors under the guise of training and the civilian work force is being reduced at military establishments all over the country, therefore, be it

Resolved, That a law be passed in Congress prohibiting overhaul and

repair work being done by military personnel in Government establishments while the United States Bureau of Employment Security reports critical employment conditions in any labor area, and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution, upon approval of the delegates to this 73rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, be presented to the International Conventions of the Metal Trades Department and all affiliated International Unions.

(Forces As Strikebreakers)

(1954, pp. 375, 462) Res. II: Whereas, Members of the Air Force personnel of the Hamilton Air Force Base, Hamilton, California, have acted as strikebreakers for H. Koch and Sons of Corte Madera, California, and our local affiliate. Leather and Novelty Workers' Union, Local 31, has made representations to the Group Commander to order withdrawal of the men who are giving aid and comfort to an anti-union employer bent upon running a non-union shop, and

Whereas, The Group Commander of the 566th Air Defense Group, Hamilton Air Force Base, went on record in a letter to our Leather and Novelty Workers' Union, Local 31, dated August 10, 1954, as follows:

a. "Air Force Regulation 24-1, Paragraph 9. (10 U. S. Code, Section 609) prohibits off-duty employment of enlisted men on active duty where it shall 'interfere with the employment of local civilians.' There are nowhere that we can find any regulations or laws of the United States specifically prohibiting military persons working in a plant where a labor dispute is in progress or which is being picketed, or prohibiting military persons crossing a picket line."

b. "As we interpret it Air Force Regulation 24-1, Paragraph 3, does not imply such prohibitions."

c. "While we may have sympathy

with the merits of your case it is beyond the scope of my authority to order these airmen not to work in the H. Koch Luggage Company."

d. "I would personally prefer that no airman be required by force of financial circumstances to engage in any outside employment. Most of these airmen have wives and children and are forced to supplement their inadequate military pay in order that their families may live in a degree of decent comfort," and

Whereas, Said interpretations and conclusions of the Group Commander allow not only coddling strike-breakers but in giving full approval to members of the Air Force personnel, off-duty, to work as strike-breakers in order that they may "supplement their inadequate military pay in order that their families may live in a degree of decent comfort," and

Whereas, Such coddling of strike-breakers and approval of members of military establishments, off-duty, acting as strike-breakers poses a grave problem for all union labor who may find themselves at one time or another in open combat with anti-union employers, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, go on record that we disapprove the interpretation placed by the Group Commander of the 566th Air Defense Group, Hamilton Air Force Base, on Air Force Regulation 24-1, Paragraph 9, (10 U. S. Code, Section 609), and that we urge that the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take all necessary measures with the higher authorities to make sure that there is a clear-cut definition of said Regulation prohibiting members of the military establishments, off-duty, to engage in strike-breaking and in replacing civilian strikers on strike and crossing the

picket line for union standards and conditions.

(Page 462) The convention committee report was approved, substantially as follows: The strike referred to in the Resolution is settled, but to prevent recurrence of anti-labor interpretations of military regulations, your Committee recommends that the A. F. of L. officers insist through proper governmental authorities that the practice should not be allowed to happen again.

Military Governments, Labor Representation in U. S. A.

(1947, p. 184) Consequent to our victory in the war against fascist aggression our nation in the interim shares with our fighting allies responsibility for military government in those countries which are denied self-government. The United States flag flies over part of Austria, Germany, Korea, and Japan. In Germany and Japan a representative of the American Federation of Labor is on the staff of the head of our military government in order to advise on labor services and legislation needed for orderly progress of wage earners in those countries. In addition these representatives are available for consultation with local labor representatives to put the experience of United States trade unionists at their service. Their work will be influential in shaping future labor policies in those countries and developing understanding between the workers of the United States and the workers of these former enemy countries.

However, unless production can get under way in these occupied countries so that workers have employment to earn a livelihood and make available the things they need, our flag will continue to wave over starving, helpless people. The level of production must be raised so that civilized life is again possible. Protection against future rearming will be less expen-

sive through inspection of key industries. All countries should be self-sustaining.

Military Personnel (Retired) in Private Industry

(1952, pp. 59, 474) Res. 104: Whereas, There has been a great expansion in military forces in the United States during the past decade, and

Whereas, This expansion results in the retirement of an increasing number of higher ranking officers of the armed services, many of these officers, who upon their retirement, enter into private industry, and

Whereas, There is grave danger that the influx of high military officers into private industry may have a tendency to develop military expansion of our economy, far beyond discernible need, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor take cognizance of this problem, and through its executive officers and Executive Council conduct such investigation, and report to the 1953 convention of the American Federation of Labor the effect upon the welfare of our nation of this growing military force within private industry.

Military Prisoners

(1953, pp. 420, 652) Res. 66 protested against practice being followed at Ft. Benning, Georgia, whereby military prisoners are being used to do work formerly done by civilians. The practice is described as very distressing to the morale of other civilian employees.

Military Supervision and Control of Civilian Workers Protested

(1939, pp. 242, 455) Res. 18 was unanimously adopted as follows: Whereas, Ours is a civilian government and all other agencies of government are subordinate to this civil authority; and

Whereas, The trend at the present time is to appoint in administrative positions officers of the armed forces of the United States, in control of purely civil activities of our government; and

Whereas, This is contrary to all principles of government by the people, as we understand it; and

Whereas, It is common knowledge that these officials by their very training, have little sympathy for the rights of the workers; and

Whereas, Such officials have been guaranteed high salaries for life, too often have been used by big business and the politicians to throttle the liberties and the rights of the workers, and their being placed now in control and supervision of civilian activity is detrimental to the rights and continued liberties of the organized, as well as the unorganized workers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, call upon the Senators and each of the Congressmen from our commonwealth too seek legislation which will prevent any army or naval official being placed in control of civilian activities; and be it further

Resolved, That our delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to present to that convention a resolution requesting that the American Federation of Labor seek legislation which will prevent army or navy officials being placed in control or supervision of any governmental activity performed by civilian workers.

Your committee is advised that there is upon the statute books a provision that Army and Navy officers shall be limited in their supervision and control of civilian labor, particularly in the naval and marine establishments, such as navy yards and arsenals.

Your committee is further informed that there has been a definite tendency in recent years on the part of the naval and military officers in control of arsenals and navy yards, to ignore this law, and to place commissioned officers in charge of labor direction and control which should properly, and under the law, be confined to civilians.

Your committee further finds from information brought to it that there is a steady tendency for this supervision and control of labor by Army and Navy officers to extend itself to civilian labor outside of navy yards and arsenals.

Your committee notes that in connection with public works and the administration of labor legislation that more and more commissioned officers of the Army and Navy are being appointed to executive and supervisory positions, bringing the atmosphere of military discipline, military orders and military control where civilian control alone should exist.

So that this growingly serious situation may be adequately handled, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make such a study and take such steps as are necessary to prevent any development of supervision and direction of civilian labor other than by civilians. Your committee approves of the purpose and principle of the resolution and therefore recommends adoption of the committee's report.

Military Training, Compulsory (also see: **Military Reserve Program, Draft of Nurses**).

Military Service, Compulsory (also see: **Defense, Armed Forces and Manpower**).

Training (Compulsory)

(1924, p. 296) Pacifism in any form is as obnoxious to your committee as it is to those having presented this

proposal. It is in agreement with the purpose of amply and fully safeguarding our nation and its people and democratic institutions against any and all invasions. It, too, believes that every effort should be made and every opportunity should be availed of that will develop the physical and mental well-being and stimulate the patriotic spirit of the youth of our land. It is the conviction of your committee that however meritorious the purposes embraced may be that it is of first importance that we assure ourselves that these military training camps are operated in practice for the up-building of the mind and body of our young men and that these camps are not so conducted as to inculcate the spirit of militarism or tend toward the exaltation or glorification of war.

(1925, p. 304) While the A. F. of L. is emphatically opposed to militarism, it is likewise opposed to that pacifism that believes that never under any circumstances should we prepare for our national defense. Many pacifists are honest, sincere believers in the doctrine they preach. Others, who call themselves pacifists, constantly preach the overthrow of our government by force and violence and do all in their power to create a state of civil war. Then, too, these latter pacifists never utter a word of condemnation against the army of Soviet Russia, 1,750,000 strong. Nothing is more provocative or tends more toward militarism than the pacifism which parades under the insidious, pernicious and treacherous doctrine of Communism that would destroy the democracies of the world by destructive discontent and force, violence and by bloodshed if needs be.

(1926, p. 56) The El Paso convention referred to the Executive Council the subject of Citizens' Military Training Camps that were established by the government. Conferences were held with the Secretary of War with reference to working out

the spirit and intent of Resolution No. 75 introduced at the El Paso convention. Members of the Executive Council had an opportunity to visit the Citizens' Military Training Camp at Plattsburgh, New York. They were accorded every opportunity by the officers in charge of this camp to come into contact and to understand every feature of the training of the boys. Our investigation disclosed the fact that the boys who were taking advantage of this military training were all interested in the work of the camp and were enthusiastic in their praise of the benefit they derived from this training. We found that the military part of the training occupied the smallest part of the day. Most of the waking hours of the boys were spent in athletic sports of all kinds and were thoroughly enjoyed and participated in by all of the boys. This kind of training is building up the mind and body of the American youth. It stimulates the patriotic spirit of the youth. He is taught citizenship. The Citizens' Military Training Camp has no compulsory features. It is voluntary, as the boys themselves elect to participate in this training. They benefit by the discipline of the camp. It is remarkable the benefits that accrue to a boy after spending one month in this camp. In the judgment of the A. F. of L. we believe it would be advantageous to all of the boys of our country to take advantage of the opportunity afforded to them in these camps. (p. 320) The A. F. of L. directs the greatest vigilance to prevent the passage of legislation providing for compulsory military training. Labor is unalterably opposed to both the principle of compulsion and to militarism.

(High Schools)

(1931, p. 129) Where military training exists in public high schools, it is not because of any activity of the War Department in promoting it but because of the individual action and

decision of the local school authorities, who have introduced military training for two purposes: First, to adjust growing youth to discipline and habits of orderliness and tidiness; and second, to improve his carriage and his physical condition in general. Neither does military training in high schools imply connection with the War Department, except to the extent of assigning an instructor and military trainer when the War Department is formally requested to do so. Such high school then becomes part of the Reserve Officers Training Corps. Official records of the War Department disclose that there are fifty-seven units comprising 151 high schools, with an annual average of 32,778 students now taking up military training under the direction of the Department. A unit is comparable to a city, so that it will be observed that there are only fifty-seven cities in the U. S. where the War Department is cooperating with high schools in military training. Naturally, the efforts of the War Department in this direction are to secure proper personnel for commissioned and non-commissioned officers in time of war. The schools are used as feeders for Citizens' Military Training Camps. Credit is given to those taking up military training. The completion of a three or four year course in high schools together with the training received in the Citizens' Military Training Camps, insures eligibility for a commission in the officers reserve. In considering Res. No. 90, it was deemed wise, at first, to investigate as far as possible the situation as it exists today in the various states. A communication was addressed to all State Federations of Labor, requesting them to advise us how many high schools in the states have military training, the number of students affected thereby, whether military training is voluntary or compulsory, and if compulsory, what exemptions are allowed.

Seventy-six high schools in the country have military training with an approximate enrollment of 10,000 students. In every instance, except the two high schools in Wyoming, this military training is optional. Of the seventy-six schools noted, forty-eight are affiliated with the War Department through Reserve Officers Training Corps activities. (P. 406) The A. F. of L. opposes the introduction of military training in the public schools and the establishment of compulsory military service or training as unnecessary, undesirable and un-American.

(Conscription)

(1940, pp. 68, 550) A conscription law was enacted providing for compulsory military service for all males from 21 to 36 years of age. After the bill was introduced, the American Federation of Labor suggested that before applying conscription in the United States a voluntary enlistment plan be applied. It was felt that this was the American way, particularly during peace-time periods. When it became obvious that Congress intended to enact a compulsory conscription bill our cooperation was promptly forthcoming for patriotic reasons. We endeavored to protect, as best we could, the interests of those who were to be inducted into armed forces. The bill originally provided for the registration of all men from the ages of 18 to 64, but these ages were reduced to 21 to 36 with selections from this group not to exceed 900,000 in time of peace for one year's training. Monthly pay was also increased to \$30 per month. Public officials, persons in agriculture, industries or public employment necessary to national health, safety or interest were exempted, as were students entered in a recognized college or university for the 1940-41 academic year, ministers, divinity students and conscientious objectors due to religious training or belief.

Another provision dealt with recalcitrant, non-cooperating employers as it permitted the taking over of plants on a rental basis.

After much consideration there was also written into the law a clause guaranteeing to United States Government employees the return to their positions after completion of their military service. The following subsections aim to give like protection to those in private employment and to employees of any state or political subdivision thereof:

"If such position was in the employ of a private employer, such employer shall restore such person to such position or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay unless the employer's circumstances have so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to do so;

"If such position was in the employ of any state or political subdivision thereof, it is hereby declared to be the sense of the Congress that such person should be restored to such position or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay."

Seniority rights, insurance and other benefits were protected for both government and private employees with appeal to the United States District Court provided against non-complying employers in private industry.

Provisions were also made "that no men shall be inducted for training and service until adequate provisions shall have been made for housing, sanitary facilities, water supplies, heating and lighting arrangements, medical care, and hospital accommodations."

(1940, p. 550) The convention concurred in statements of Executive Council and added the following: The existing conscription law covers a five-year period. It is the sincere hope of your committee that conditions abroad as they affect the defense of our continent, will be such that there

will be no continuation of a conscription system when the present law expires.

(Reemployment Rights)

(1940, p. 533) A. F. of L. policy provided that any man called for military service by the government should be assured of reemployment at his old position upon return to civilian life. A resolution unanimously adopted by the convention reaffirmed the above and further provided "That we call upon the International Unions and local unions of the American Federation of Labor to give assurance to any of their employees and officers that should they be called to military service during the present emergency that they will be returned to their old positions upon return to private life."

(1944, p. 532) Res. 36: Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor convention go on record as opposed to permanent compulsory military service through conscription.

Because of the uncertainty of the future, your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor should wait the results of the Peace Treaty and of the international commitments which may be included before making any positive declaration upon the subject of compulsory military training.

(1946, pp. 197, 607) Unanimous approval was given to the report of the Executive Council relating the successful opposition of the A. F. of L. to the enactment of the proposed "work-or-jail" bill. The formal action of the convention on this subject follows: Your Committee notes with gratification this portion of the Executive Council's report on the infamous "Work or Jail Bill" H.R. 1752, passed by both Houses of Congress. The House adopted the Conference Report. However, despite the support given to this bill by the President of the United States and every high government executive officer, the American

Federation of Labor was successful in preventing its approval by the Senate. Your Committee voices the same appreciation as the Executive Council for the outstanding support in defeating this infamous bill given by the affiliated international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions.

(Forced Labor)

(1946, p. 487) Res. I, referred to the Executive Council for investigation and action: Whereas, The Selective Service Act provides that conscientious objectors shall be either retained in work essential to the war effort, or sent to internment camps known as Civilian Public Service Camps, where they are compelled to work at whatever the Selective Service Directors order, without receiving any remuneration for their labor, and must either supply their own bedding, food, clothing, fuel for cooking and heating the camps, or have some friends supply these necessities of life, or starve to death, and

Whereas, Interned men working in the Civilian Public Service Camps are not covered by Workmen's Compensation, therefore, if injured must pay for their own medical attention, or have friends take care of them while incapacitated. If killed while at work in the camp and leave dependents, the latter may become a burden on the common taxpayer, and

Whereas, If these men were sentenced to prison for violating a law, they would be fed, clothed, housed, and receive medical attention at the expense of the state, and

Whereas, These men are compelled to work in open competition with free labor, working as carpenters and joiners, driving trucks, operating power shovels and doing other manual labor—skilled and unskilled, and

Whereas, The Federal Government and most states do not use convict labor in competition with free labor,

as the conscientious objectors are forced to do in Civilian Public Service Camps, and

Whereas, Forcing conscientious objectors or any other person to work for nothing and in competition with free labor is involuntary servitude and in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and

Whereas, The Selective Service Act has been amended to draft men up to forty-five years of age, which with the existence of the Civilian Public Service Camp will make it easy to further amend the Selective Service Act to draft workers, while on strike, therefore, be it

Resolved, By this convention that we condemn this practice of forced labor in Civilian Service Camps as a practice worthy only of Fascism and Nazism, as violative of every principle of democracy and Americanism, in direct violation of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and a violation of the very principles of liberty and freedom which thousands of American soldiers have given their lives to preserve, and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor call upon our Senators and Representatives in Congress to amend the Selective Service Act to eliminate this violation of the Constitution of the United States, so that all Americans may again look humanity proudly in the face with the certain knowledge that the rights and liberties so grandiosely claimed by our American declarations are not being violated by our own government.

(Peacetime)

(1946, p. 196) In the section of the Executive Council Report under this title, the established policy of the A. F. of L. in opposition to compulsory military training was set forth as follows:

The Executive Council took the following action at the February 1945, meeting:

We are opposed to compulsory military training service, and that in no event should the matter be given consideration until demobilization of the armed forces. In the meantime, the American Federation of Labor advocated a comprehensive program of improved education and health service for the youth of the nation.

(1946, p. 467) The reaffirmation of the above policy was approved by the convention.

(1947, p. 656) Res. 50 and 51, both opposing compulsory military service during peacetime, were referred to the Executive Council for investigation and study, and such action as seems appropriate:

Res. 50: Whereas, In violation of our American ideals and principles that have stood against militarization of our democratic institutions, and since the forces of reaction are now seeking to harness our American institutions and youth with peace-time conscription laws, and because the peace-time conscription army may be used by the forces of reaction to disrupt and destroy our trade union movement, and since peace-time conscription constitutes a form of involuntary servitude in violation of our Federal Constitution, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this sixty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, go on record as opposing all forms of peace-time conscription and delegate its officials to employ every lawful means of organization, education, and agitation to defeat legislation now pending in Congress or which may be presented to Congress for peace-time conscription.

Res. 51: Whereas, American democracy has grown in a climate free from compulsory military training in peacetime and the nations who adopted

compulsory service were constantly militarized (as in the case of Germany), and

Whereas, A twelve months general military training period and the large mass army it would create is no aid to military protection against attack (as was proved by France), and

Whereas, The size and equipment of our armed forces today and until demobilized are and will be sufficient protection, so that this decision need not be rushed through now merely because certain army officers, whose power it would increase, desire it now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates to the sixty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, California, October, 1947, commend the American Federation of Labor Executive Council for declaring its opposition to compulsory military training.

(1950, p. 160) Our traditional position opposing peacetime conscription and universal military training was maintained during the Eighty-first Congress. We pointed out to both Houses of Congress that now, even more than previously, the proponents of peace-time draft had weakened arguments for enactment of such law. Immediately upon the Korean crisis arising, the Congress passed a one-year extension of the draft law which was promptly approved by the President.

Agitation on the part of the Defense Secretary to bring about enactment of Universal Military Training was begun in the Congress. We have traditionally opposed Universal Military Training.

(1947, p. 237) Hearings were held in the House on the subject of military training over a period of weeks and a bill was finally introduced known as H.R. 4278 which was reported to the House, but no further action was taken.

In the Senate, two bills were introduced, S. 651 and S. 652, but no hearings were held on these bills.

On July 24, 1947, the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments unanimously approved and submitted a report to the House with respect to publicity and propaganda of Federal officials of the War Department relating to universal military training (House Report 1073—80th Congress). The gist of the report was that "the evidence submitted to the Committee shows that the War Department is using government funds in an improper manner for propaganda activities supporting compulsory military training: That the use of federal funds for the purpose of influencing legislation before Congress is unlawful under Section 201, title 18 of the U. S. Code. We, therefore, brought these matters to the attention of the Department of Justice with the request that the Attorney General, at once, initiate proceedings to stop this unauthorized and illegal expenditure of public moneys." The report further shows that not only was personnel of the United States Army engaged in these activities, but civilians employed by the Department, which the report names, received a per diem of \$25 with a \$6 per day expense allowance and with payment for travel. Much of the travel of these persons was done by military plane.

We recommend that our opposition be continued to compulsory peacetime military training.

(1947, p. 521) Recommendation of the Executive Council unanimously approved by the convention.

(1948, p. 245) Res. 43 related to the newly enacted Selective Service Act as follows:

Whereas, Previous experiences in legislation providing for job and seniority protection, for these people inducted into military service from in-

dustry under selective service laws as well as the assimilation into industry after their term of military service of those inducted from outside industry, have been, to say the least, unpleasant, confused, unrealistic, impractical and many times unfair to the returning servicemen and the worker in the shop, and

Whereas, Many of these same complex problems will again arise as a result of the newly enacted Selective Service Act, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the 67th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record requesting the President of the United States and the Congress to immediately establish a tri-partite committee composed of equal numbers representing organized labor, industry, and the public to make a thorough and complete study of the questions involved and who would also be authorized to make recommendations to the President of the United States, the Congress, and the Director of the Selective Service Act as to rules and regulations to govern the return of men to jobs in industry and the assimilation into industry of returned servicemen inducted from the outside of industry.

(1948, p. 462) Report of the convention committee adopted as follows:

Your committee is in concurrence with the purpose of the resolution, but finds that the question of returning men to the jobs they formerly held in industry presents some difficulties which your committee is unprepared to pass upon at the moment.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council so that a study can be made of the problems involved in returning men to their jobs after their services with the armed forces have terminated.

(1948, p. 161) In its report on the subject, the Executive Council referred to the A. F. of L. position

taken by President Green before the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments in March, 1948, as follows:

"We do not believe that peacetime conscription is consistent with the American way of life, nor do we believe that it should be accepted as a permanent part of our national policy." "Rather," he stated, "the American Federation of Labor would favor the application of selective service on a limited and temporary basis solely because of the present emergency with which we are confronted. We would favor authorization of selective service only as a means of enabling the American Government to make effective its work for an enduring peace and effective prevention of military aggression from any source. If we are to support our commitments abroad and if our foreign-policy decisions are to carry any weight, it is paramount that we maintain our armed forces at authorized strength."

The Congress did not enact any legislation providing for universal military training but did enact the Selective Service Act of 1948 (Public No. 759—80th Congress), which was approved by the President on June 24, 1948 and which provides for a limited draft. As originally introduced, the bill contained a super-seniority clause guaranteeing reemployment rights to those drafted under it, not only reinstating draftees to their old jobs with rights unimpaired, but giving them the added privilege of "bumping" veterans of World War II as well as other workers even though these draftees had less seniority.

This clause would have wrecked seniority rights on railroads and in industries. We stood firmly with the railroad brotherhoods in opposing this clause and it was stricken from the bill when it was under consideration on the floor of the House.

We recommend that our opposition to universal training be continued.

(1948, p. 450) Convention approved report of the Executive Council and committee recommendation that our policy of opposition to universal military training be continued.

(1949, p. 38) A proposal to endorse the institution of a system of compulsory military training was presented to the convention through Res. 9 as follows:

Whereas, The tension in international relations, which developed immediately after the war ended, was largely a result of the unilateral disbanding of its armies all over the world by the United States of America, in its attempt at cooperation and conciliation in the face of an aggressive, expanding, imperialist Soviet Russian regime, and fortunately, strong, positive action by the United States, in reaction to Soviet conquest and terror, has reduced somewhat this tension through the creation of a growing structure of security via the Truman program, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Pact and the Military Aid Program, and

Whereas, Judging from its past behavior, Soviet Russia will soon move ahead again, after reconsolidation of its position, and this is, therefore, the time for us to push ahead with positive action for American and World security, and

Whereas, An important gap in our national security program has been the failure to create a system of universal military training for all young men in the United States, despite the fact that all experts on military defense, the President's Commission on Universal Military Training and all former Secretaries of State, have agreed that there is no other way to assure ourselves of the manpower required to fulfill all the necessary services of a nation at war, and the United States today is the only major power without any system

of universal military training for its citizens, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Congress recognize the importance of this gap in our structure of defense and create such a system without further delay.

(1949, p. 480) The convention refused to approve this resolution and reaffirmed traditional position in opposition to measures providing for compulsory military training and its acceptance of selective service on a limited and temporary basis. Established policy to be continued.

(1951, pp. 102, 443) The Committee on Legislation recommends that the convention concur in the recommendation made by the Executive Council in January 1951, which reads as follows: "In view of the present war emergency, the Executive Council favors limited universal military training, however, that it shall end with the emergency, that it shall not become part of our educational system and that it shall in no way transgress upon or become part of our civilian system of service, production and distribution, or be used in any way to limit, restrict or interfere with the rights of Labor individually and/or collectively.

(1951, p. 196) We believe that every citizen should share, to his utmost capacity, in the protection of our nation.

Today, the threat from Communist activities is very grave. We are willing and ready to meet that threat. We believe that in a period of war or when a war threat is imminent, as it is today, every able-bodied man should be subject to call to serve his country in the armed forces, and that all who answer that call should be assigned where it is believed he may best serve his country.

No man should be exempted or excused from such a call because he is rich enough to enjoy certain benefits or because a certain set of social-economic circumstances have made it

possible for him to be placed in a particular group. Yet, today the Selective Service Act of the United States is administered under a plan which gives special consideration to the young man who is able to go to college, either because his parents are rich enough to help him, or because he can arrange his personal affairs in such a way that he can go to college. Unfortunately, however, all young men cannot be helped by these special advantages. The farm boy who cannot leave his farm for a part-time university course, perhaps because there is no university located near enough to his farm, the city boy who has no free college near him, and who after he has made his contribution to the low family budget can not afford to pay college tuition at this time, the mechanic who at the end of the hard work day is too tired to take up college work, right now, the skilled young learner whose apprenticeship will equip him to render specially important service to our country—are all, under the program now used by our government, classed as “not good enough for deferment.”

College youth is deferred—because it is college youth, and, therefore, presumably mentally superior.

We subscribe wholeheartedly to the premise that the best young minds, the best young leaders, the best trained youth should be saved for the nation. But we do not agree that attendance at college is a fair or accurate means of making the broad basic selection as to who shall be tested for deferment. We hold that some of our best young men are today not in college, and are therefore being discriminated against by the administration of the Selective Service Act.

We therefore recommend that immediate steps be taken to modify the present administrative policy of the Selective Service, either by the Director of Selective Service, by Executive Order, or by Act of Congress.

A democratic, fair and comprehensive administration of the Selective Service Law which will give all youth similar opportunities is absolutely essential.

(1951, pp. 397-8) . . . Under the heading of “Undemocratic Administration of Selective Service Law,” the Executive Council condemns the practice of deferring military service purely on the basis of the economic ability of a student to attend college. The Executive Council contends that mere attendance at college should not, in itself, serve as a basis for deferment and that many young men who are not in college deserve deferment more than many who are in college because of special qualifications other than financial ability to attend college.

The committee agrees with this position and recommends that the Standing Committee on Education attempt to secure a more equitable program of deferment under the Selective Service Law.

(1952, pp 264, 493) The E.C. recommended reaffirmation of the 1951 convention position:

In view of the present war emergency, the Executive Council favors limited universal military training; however, that it shall end with the emergency, that it shall not become part of our educational system and that it shall in no way transgress upon or become part of our civilian system of service, production and distribution, or be used in any way to limit, restrict or interfere with the rights of labor individually and/or collectively.

(1953, p. 170) The Executive Council, in its annual Report, called attention to the recurring subject of universal compulsory military training. The previous position of the A. F. of L. on the subject* was quoted:

(Page 171) The change in attitude of the President since the Korean

* During Korean crisis.

truce, with the creation of the National Security Training Commission and his direction that a study be made of the feasibility of inaugurating compulsory training, prompted the suggestion by the E.C. that "we anticipate revival of this legislation and that we re-examine our position on the subject of UMT in the line of the Korean Truce, but in view of the still unsettled condition world wide." The E.C. pointed to the evidence of a changed Administration policy as follows:

Although the President had been a supporter of UMT, during the 1952 campaign, he opposed the program so long as selective service continues and heavy calls were being made to meet the demands for the Korean Campaign.

In his speech at Decatur, Illinois, he said:

"We have the select service—let us not have anything else pile on top of that until we solve this problem. Then, let us all sit down together, mothers, fathers, and young men.

"Let us sit down together and decide what we must do because in the combined genius in America, ladies and gentlemen, there is all the promise for the future that we need if we will just give our people fair play and their decisions a right to control instead of listening to too many bureaucrats in Washington."

As the congressional session closed, the Secretary of State announced that the President had approved the use of American troops for labor battalions to rebuild war-ravaged Korea. He went into considerable detail to describe what he said the President had endorsed in the direction of Korean highway, hospital and school construction. He said the President was "enthusiastic" for this program and the deploying of American soldiers to this task.*

This forced labor idea has been the

basis for our resistance to UMT. We have called for guarantees against such plans. We have told the Congress just why we have been unable to give unequivocal endorsement of UMT until such limitations are written into the law against the draft-labor plan as explained in detail by the Secretary of State.

(Page 633) Recent action by President Eisenhower reconstituting the National Security Training Commission, once again brings to the fore the issue of universal military training. The membership of the new Commission includes a number of those who in the past consistently favored adoption of a universal military training system.

It is therefore likely that the Commission's report will strongly favor universal military training and thus add to the pressure on Congress to enact UMT into law. This makes it especially urgent for us to express the position of the American Federation of Labor on this issue in clear and unmistakable terms.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly expressed paramount concern with the preservation of America's freedom and full protection of her national security. We have spoken out boldly for the continuation of an effective defense program. We see no evidence that the Kremlin has abandoned its aggressive designs and believe that the fullest measure of military preparedness is the wisest course, offering the greatest promise for the preservation of peace.

We gravely doubt, however, that universal military training would contribute to the nation's defense strength. At the same time we are most apprehensive of the threat to our free institutions and to our whole American system of education, based on free choice, contained in a system of compulsory training of our youth.

These doubts and apprehensions on

* Subsequently disavowed by White House.

our part are not new. We have always opposed any move in the direction of conscripting labor. We have also been mindful of the instances where the armed forces and the national guard have been used against unions in industrial disputes in time of war.

In considering similar proposals in the past, we have insisted that compulsory universal military training "shall not become part of our educational system and that it shall in no way transgress upon or become part of our civilian system of service, production and distribution, or be used in any way to limit, restrict or interfere with the rights of labor individually and/or collectively."

In World War II, our system of Selective Service has proved workable and effective. Further experience with the Selective Service System since Korea indicates clearly that the country can safely rely on Selective Service to maintain the needed effective strength of its armed forces.

Under these circumstances, a system of UMT would only create an unnecessary burden upon the availability of civilian manpower supply, wrench the lives of our nation's youth and submit our young people to compulsion, without making a positive contribution to our military preparedness. We, therefore, express opposition to the adoption of Universal Military Training legislation.

(1954, p. 261) Another current manpower issue of particular concern to American workers is the developing controversy over a system of Universal Military Training. Defense Department officials have long conducted a campaign for Universal Military Training under which every young man reaching the age of 18 would become subject to military training and service. In recent years, a number of special commissions have formally recommended the adoption of UMT, but Congress and the country as a whole has always opposed this

type of compulsory service. Instead this country has relied on the Selective Service System to maintain required strength of our armed forces.

The American Federation of Labor has always favored the maintenance of the armed forces at whatever strength is necessary to assure our national security. Reliance upon the Selective Service program has proven generally to be an equitable and effective method of achieving this objective.

Any system of compulsory training for our nation's youth poses a threat to our American system of education and to our free institutions. Any new proposal will receive our thorough consideration. We doubt, however, that a UMT program in any form is likely to make a positive contribution to the nation's security.

(Page 523) The American Federation of Labor has opposed enactment of any system of universal military training, while upholding the present operation of the Selective Service System. Congress has also rejected the various proposals which have been made for a U.M.T. system.

In recent months, reports in the press indicate that the Administration is currently discussing various proposals to strengthen the military reserves of the nation. At a press conference the former Assistant Secretary of Defense, stated that the Administration has endorsed a proposal that in effect would constitute a system of universal military training. While the Administration was quick to deny this implication in his remarks, no clear-cut statement has been issued giving the details of the proposal which the Administration is now considering.

The American Federation of Labor will naturally cooperate in any genuine effort to improve the quality and standards of the nation's reserve forces. Any new proposal in this direction will be examined very closely. It

is clear, however, that any proposal for U.M.T. could not be an effective instrument for improving the nation's security.

(1955, p. 113) We continue to withhold endorsement of UMT and so stated in both houses. At the same time, we said we have examined all phases of the reserve program and have failed to find any resemblance or any likelihood of its leading into UMT despite the wishes of the Pentagon.

We did offer ideas for improvements and stated certain technical objections. These were accepted largely.

We stated that this Nation pays many billions for defense, but still lacks a manpower reservoir so sorely required even in a machine war age. The need for riflemen today proportionately is as acute now as in the days of the forerunners of infantry—the broadswordsmen, archers, mace-men, spearsmen and all the others.

In the House, opposition developed in the form of the Powell antisegregation amendment affecting the National Guard. The amendment drew the votes of all who oppose a strong reserve.

After weeks of delay, the legislation was revived and passed 315-78.

The Senate passed its version, 80-1. The bill became Public Law 305.

It imposes upon all draftees or enlistees who enter the Army hereafter a total of five years of active and reserve duty and three years inactive reserve. There are several incentives to speed up the program and to shorten the obligation.

We are mindful of the tremendous changes ahead for all young men, their jobs, education, families and the economy nationally. We told Congress we expect a policy to result which will not deprive the new generations of fair-dealing by employees-military leave, summer training leave without prejudice to earned vacations, etc.

Organized employers have been

quick to catch the significance of our position. Already they are planning to recognize the gradual, but assured changes just ahead. To each proposed change in the new law, we will give our continued attention. We may offer some ideas ourselves for changes as experience suggests. . . .

As expiration of the Selective Service Act neared June 30, 1955, we endorsed extension of the Act for another two years. This was the first time we backed the draft in peacetime, though we did not oppose the draft at the time the Korean war burst forth.

At the same time, we supported the draft of doctors for another two years. Many young men have received their medical training at Government expense. Yet, though the demand for medical men continues high and \$100 a month is added to their military pay, the Congress decided the draft is the only method for getting a sufficient number. The new act is Public Law 118.

(1955, p. 179) As reported in the section on National Legislation, Congress this year adopted a new program for the military reserves.

In essence, the program establishes a system of compulsory reserve training for all individuals entering the military service after August 9, 1955, the date the bill became law. For individuals inducted through Selective Service or enlisting for two or more years, Congress has established a six-year period of military service, with compulsory reserve training once the individual has been discharged from active duty. In addition, a new program has been approved under which no more than 250,000 young men a year can volunteer for active duty of from 3 to 6 months, which in turn would be followed by compulsory reserve training of 7½ years.

The adoption of this program, therefore, gives each young man a choice

as he reaches maturity. If he volunteers for any of the services or is drafted, he will have at least two years' active duty and a total obligation of 6 years' service. If he volunteers for the new type training, his active duty period is reduced to 3 to 6 months, but he must then serve a longer period in the reserves to make up a total of 8 years' military obligation.

The compulsory feature in reserve training does not apply to any individual already in the service as of August 9, 1955. For those to whom it does apply, it means 48 training periods a year (2 hours each) together with 17 days' active duty service at some time during the year.

For some branches of the armed forces, week-end training is substituted for night training periods. Another alternative permitted by law is to substitute a period of 30 days' active duty each year for the 48 training periods and the 17 days' active duty.

The compulsory feature of reserve training raises new questions for both management and labor. Up to the present time, few problems have arisen because for the individual reservist training has been on a voluntary, rather than compulsory basis. Those undertaking reserve training, have worked out individual arrangements for taking military leave from their employer. However, with compulsory training, an individual might be obligated to engage in reserve training at times that conflict with his employment status.

Among the types of problems that may arise are the following: (1) individuals who work at night who might be required to engage in reserve training at times they are scheduled to be at work, and (2) questions will arise concerning the individual's employment status while he is away from his job from 2 to 4 weeks for reserve training.

The American Federation of Labor was well aware of these problems at the time this legislation was being considered. In our testimony we specifically asked Congress to make clear the employer's obligation to grant leave of absence with pay to individual workers participating in reserve training. We also asked that the individual reservist not be penalized by being forced to utilize his vacation leave for reserve training.

Congress, however, did not deal with these questions in detail. It merely included in the bill a provision similar to the requirement in the Selective Service law that an individual absent from work on reserve training is entitled to full reemployment rights.

However, this leaves many questions unresolved relating to the individual's pay and employment status during reserve training. These issues will have to be worked out through collective bargaining. In a number of cases, collective bargaining agreements already contain military leave clauses that can be adapted to meet the new situation. In any case, however, we urge all our affiliates to review their contractual arrangements and, if necessary, institute new ones so that individual workers will not be penalized by having to fulfill their reserve obligation under the new law.

Milk Industry—(1938, p. 430) The fluid milk distribution business in the United States employs approximately 200,000 workers, ranking it among the nation's leading industries. Therefore, the President of the U. S. and Congress be petitioned to the effect that any proposed change in legislation, or voluntary marketing agreements contain no provisions which would be inimical to the welfare of the workers engaged in this vast industry which would lower wages or lengthen hours, or which would disturb the stability of conditions existing through trade union agreements.

Mine Workers, United—(1924, p. 204) The miners of West Virginia were engaged in a life-and-death struggle to obtain renewals of wage agreements during which they were evicted from their homes and were subjected to want and suffering. The convention called upon all national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies, and local unions to collect clothing, shoes and funds, to aid the strikers in their struggle.

(Page 291) The convention extended its full and complete endorsement and sympathy to the 158,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America now engaged in the strike in the anthracite industry. The A. F. of L. extends to these mine workers its commendation for their great spirit of self-sacrifice and determination in resisting the efforts of the anthracite operators to break down their working conditions and effect wage reductions. We approve the efforts of the mine workers in their demands for increased wages, improved working conditions and complete recognition of the union. In the name of the millions of organized workers in America, we approve their policies and extend to them the hand of fellowship and mutual cooperation. The E.C. of the A. F. of L. is hereby directed to cooperate in every possible and practical way to the end that the anthracite mine workers achieve complete success in their efforts.

(1928, pp. 73, 237) The record shows that for the period ending August 31, 1928, \$488,524.48 was contributed. While we do not have accurate information as to the value of the food, clothing and supplies which were collected and distributed we are certain that it amounted to hundreds of thousands of dollars. In addition to the collection of this money and this food, clothing and supplies which were sent directly for the use of the United Mine Workers of America we know

that money, supplies, food and clothing were sent by city central bodies and state federations of labor and local unions which were not included in the reports made to the A. F. of L. Committees were organized, in many towns and cities, made up of representatives of public-spirited organizations and trade unions. The funds raised by these committees were not sent through the A. F. of L. but were sent directly to the authorized representatives of the United Mine Workers of America and districts for distribution. Representatives of the United Mine Workers were given credentials to solicit money, food and clothing and in this way additional money and supplies were collected. All the subordinate organizations of the A. F. of L. were urged, through official communications, letters and circulars, to render all assistance possible to the solicitors of the United Mine Workers and to the striking miners and their families. The A. F. of L. assigned organizers to assist in every possible way and national and international unions, affiliated with the A. F. of L., were called upon to assign representatives to render all assistance possible.

In addition to the amount of money which the A. F. of L. received in response to the appeal for help the record shows that during the early months of 1926 the sum of \$200,710.76 was raised and distributed by the A. F. of L. to assist the anthracite mine workers in the struggle in which they were engaged. Thus, within the space of two years the A. F. of L. received, through appeals for relief to aid the United Mine Workers of America who were on strike, the sum of \$689,235.15.

(1931, p. 135) Although the nation as a whole has been in the throes of economic depression for the past two years, few of our political and industrial leaders appreciate the duration and extent of the merciless revolutionary changes which have taken place in bituminous coal during the past ten

years. Three and one-half pounds of coal were required in 1920 to produce a kilowatt hour of electricity, while the railroads consumed 170 pounds of coal to move one thousand gross tons of freight a car mile. Today one and a half pounds of coal produce a kilowatt hour while the railroads have reduced consumption to 125 pounds of coal to move one thousand gross tons of freight a car mile. These averages are for the country as a whole. The objective for electricity is one pound per kilowatt hour and for the railroads between 70 to 80 pounds per thousand gross tons of freight per car mile. Introduction of stokers is registering from fifteen to twenty-five per cent savings in commercial and domestic consumption. In the face of this diminishing market demand the manday production of coal as a result of mechanized and strip mines has increased from fifty to seventy-five per cent while that of hand loading mines has increased fifteen per cent. Protected utilities such as railroads, gas and electric companies consume two-fifths of the total bituminous coal output. With the great overdevelopment of the industry and through the joining of purchasing power, utilities and railroads are enabled to secure their coal in a buyers market. This condition has prevailed since 1924. The result has been profitless operation for the coal companies and pauperization of the majority of the mining communities. The bituminous coal industry has shown by its sordid performance, and of late, some managements within the industry have confessed, its own inability to rescue itself through its own leadership from the mire and distress of cut-throat competition. Investigation by state and federal commission, as well as the United States Senate, has proven over and over again the American standards of work and wages can only be brought about through the organization of the mine workers, collective wage agreements and through the medium of federal

regulation. The United Mine Workers of America has prepared a bill, which eminent counsel has passed upon as meeting every constitutional requirement, which classifies coal as a public utility and creates a Federal Coal Commission to regulate the industry on the basis of its interstate commerce characteristics. This measure has been introduced in two sessions of Congress and on each occasion was opposed by professional lobbyists, some orthodox economists and representatives of the National Coal and Manufacturers' Associations. The opposition plea since 1928 has been that the industry was rapidly setting its house in order. Today the plight of the industry is worse than at any period of our industrial history. During the past year the officials of the United Mine Workers of America have made repeated attempts to have President Hoover convene a joint conference of operators and miners and assume the lead as President of the nation in commanding the leaders of the industry to reconstruct the wage and price structure of the industry so as to gear bituminous coal to American standards. Thus far the President has declined to act. With the railroads and utilities consuming two-fifths of the total production, with the captive tonnage of steel and other manufacturers averaging around eighty million tons a year and exports of fifteen million tons, less than one-half of the coal produced is consumed by domestic and commercial consumers. The United Mine Workers of America is planning an aggressive fight at the forthcoming session of Congress to enact federal regulatory legislation. The Mine Workers are proceeding upon the theory that coal constitutes the basic natural resource public utility. Under the bill drafted by the United Mine Workers of America the federal government will not be called upon to make any financial outlay other than the maintenance of the coal commission. The United Mine Workers of America is not asking a

government subsidiary to stimulate either home or foreign consumption. Regulation of bituminous coal will not put the government in business in competition with private enterprise. The whole scheme of the bill is designed to end ruthless, cut-throat competition, the wasting of our natural resources, and the wanton depletion of our special purpose coals, which, when exhausted by unnecessary and unwarranted use, for steam power production, will seriously cripple our future by-product, steel, foundry, dye and various other manufacturing enterprises. The benefits to be derived by the miners after the bill's passage will still be a matter of conference and bargaining through the various provisions of the measure which nullify the yellow dog contract and remove the coal companies from their buttressed positions behind the protective provisions of federal and state injunctions. Its enactment will enable the mine workers to exercise their constitutional rights of free speech and assembly and their inherent right to affiliate with a trade union for the mutual betterment of all employed in bituminous coal mining. The E.C. has kept closely in touch with all the developments which have taken place in the bituminous coal industry, and has given profound consideration to its difficult problems and to the numerous remedies which have been proposed, looking to a solution. We are convinced that the primary requirement necessary to the stabilization of the bituminous coal industry are a thorough and complete organization of the men employed in the industry, the establishment of contractual relations between employers and employes through the process of collective bargaining, and the adoption of a just, equitable and fair wage scale which will in operation provide for a universal labor cost in coal production. The A. F. of L. will give to the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America full cooperation and a full

measure of support in the development of the plans and policies proposed by the International Union United Mine Workers of America as partial remedies at least for the industrial ills which affect the coal industry. This includes both the economic and legislative plans originated and supported by the International Union, United Mine Workers of America. The A. F. of L. expresses its great disappointment over the failure of the President of the United States to call a conference of representative miners and operators for the purpose of giving national consideration to the economic, social and industrial problems which affect the bituminous coal industry.

(1932, pp. 100, 372) The bituminous coal industry is experiencing very great difficulties because of competition caused through the enlarged use of crude oil, and particularly imported foreign oil. This is a serious problem and one which must be dealt with and acted upon in a constructive way. The A. F. of L. desires to extend to the International Union, United Mine Workers of America such assistance as it may be able to give in its efforts to secure legislation which would tend more adequately to protect the bituminous coal industry from the evil effects of unfair and unjust fuel substitutions. We pledge the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America full and complete support in the efforts which they are putting forth to secure the enactment of the Davis-Kelly Bill. We renew the endorsement we have heretofore extended to this character of legislation. It is the purpose and the intention of the A. F. of L. to exercise all efforts at its command to secure the enactment of the Davis-Kelly Bill into law at the earliest possible date.

(The United Mine Workers were among those organizations that withheld per capita tax to the A. F. of L. following the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization,

and which were subsequently suspended for non-payment of such tax.) (See: Labor Unity, CIO.)

(1943, p. 41) At the meeting of the Executive Council held in Washington beginning May 17, 1943, a communication was received from President John L. Lewis, of the International Union, United Mine Workers of America, which read as follows:

Washington, D. C., May 17, 1943.

To the Officers and Members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen:

The question of greater unification in the ranks of organized labor in our country is one of profound concern to every thoughtful member. The membership of the United Mine Workers of America are conscious of their own obligation to make a contribution toward the attainment of this objective.

The United Mine Workers of America accordingly hereby request reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor as an international union. Please note attached check, drawn to the order of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, in the amount of sixty thousand dollars (\$60,000.00), to be applied on the tax account of the United Mine Workers of America with the American Federation of Labor for the current fiscal period.

It will be appreciated if the members of the Executive Council can give consideration to this request at the earliest possible moment and advise of their action.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) John L. Lewis.

Upon receipt of this communication the Executive Council gave it careful consideration and decided that a committee representing the Executive Council be authorized and instructed to meet with President Lewis and his associates of the United Mine Work-

ers of America for the purpose of arriving at an understanding as to the basis upon which the United Mine Workers of America might return to the American Federation of Labor.

This committee appointed by the Executive Council was composed of Vice-Presidents Daniel J. Tobin, George M. Harrison and Matthew Woll.

The committee representing the Executive Council met with President Lewis and his associates at Washington, D. C., on July 20, 1943, and reported upon the conference held with President Lewis and his associates at a meeting of the Executive Council held in Chicago, Illinois, beginning August 9th. It reported that President Lewis submitted a statement in behalf of the United Mine Workers of America as the basis for the re-affiliation of the United Mine Workers of America with the American Federation of Labor. The statement reads as follows:

From the United Mine Workers of America,

United Mine Workers' Building,
Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C., July 20, 1943.

Statement of U.M.W.A. Conferees to A.F.L. Conferees:

The United Mine Workers of America is a going concern. Its membership and policies are of public knowledge. For forty-six years it was an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor.

In the interest of unifying the policies of organized labor, it has proposed reaffiliation with the A. F. of L. In doing so, it accepts the American Federation of Labor as it now exists, and expects the American Federation of Labor to accept the United Mine Workers of America as it now exists. The United Mine Workers of America under present conditions has no interest in questions of hypothetical jurisdiction. After the fact of reaffilia-

tion, any and all questions of jurisdiction having a factual or realistic premise can be considered procedurally by the American Federation of Labor.

After an extended discussion of the subject matter herein referred to, on the part of all who participated in the conference, the committee representing the Executive Council decided to make a factual report to the Executive Council, without recommendation. This course was followed.

The Executive Council received and considered most carefully and analytically the report which was made, and decided to submit this report and the facts contained therein to the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, without recommendation, for its consideration and action.

(1943, p. 473) (Several resolutions looking toward reaffiliation of the U.M.W. were presented to the convention and referred to appropriate committee which, in turn, submitted the following report to the delegates. Lengthy debate was had in the convention, which resulted in final adoption of the committee report as follows:)

The Executive Council in its report on this subject refers the application of the United Mine Workers of America for reaffiliation to this convention without comment or recommendation. We can readily appreciate the difficulties experienced by the Executive Council in reaching this decision; nevertheless, we cordially welcome this application of the United Mine Workers for reaffiliation. We interpret this as a favorable response to the invitation so often extended by the Federation for the return of those formerly associated with us. We sincerely hope that this application for reaffiliation, and the action to be taken upon it, will lead others unaffiliated to follow a like procedure.

While your committee experienced the like difficulties encountered by the Executive Council in finding it impossible to recommend acceptance of the tender of reaffiliation under conditions proposed or submitted by the United Mine Workers of America, and as set forth in the Executive Council's report, nevertheless, we are of the opinion that the progress thus far made presents the possibility and opportunity for the early reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers of America and under terms and conditions compatible with our laws and requirements and in keeping with the spirit of equity and fairness to all concerned.

We are fully aware of difficulties yet to be overcome, nevertheless, we are confident that obstacles encountered can be overcome by the process of further conference and negotiations.

Your committee therefore recommends that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to continue negotiations with the United Mine Workers of America and in so doing be guided by the suggestion and direction that affiliated national and international unions having experienced a disregard of or transgression upon their recognized jurisdiction by the United Mine Workers of America, file with the officers of the Federation a statement of their complaint without delay and not later than thirty days following the adjournment of this convention, together with supporting evidence of the complaint filed; that as soon as possible thereafter the Executive Council arrange for conferences between the officers or representatives of complaining national or international unions and the United Mine Workers of America, or take up such questions through the committee of the Federation, for the purpose of adjusting such complaints and righting such infractions as may be alleged and found to be valid by the Executive Council; that arrangements be made

for like procedure, conference or negotiation between the United Mine Workers of America and the Progressive Miners and for similar purposes, and that above all else, that the Executive Council be empowered with full and complete authority vested in the convention itself, to determine and dispose of whatever issues may have failed of adjustment within a reasonable time, and by the processes herein before recommended, and to take such additional action as may be necessary to the end that an early reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers can be had on a basis in keeping with the traditions, conditions and requirements of the Federation, and as may be determined by the Executive Council. Your committee trusts that these negotiations will be carried on in the spirit of mutual helpfulness and unity and with expedition.

(1944, p. 120) The E.C. reported on continued efforts to secure the reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers as follows:

Immediately after the adjournment of the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the following letter was transmitted to the President of the United Mine Workers of America:

Boston, Mass., October 16, 1943.

Mr. John L. Lewis, President,
United Mine Workers of America,
United Mine Workers Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lewis:

The Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which convened in Boston on October 4th and completed its work and adjourned on October 14th, decided through adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions to which the application of the United Mine Workers of America for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor was referred, that it could not accept your request for reaffiliation

with the American Federation of Labor upon the conditions proposed to the committee representing the Executive Council on or about July 20, 1943.

However, the Convention instructed the Executive Council to continue negotiations with the United Mine Workers of America upon the question of the reaffiliation of said organization with the American Federation of Labor. Following the decision of the convention as herein stated, the Executive Council directed that a committee representing it be authorized to meet with representatives of the United Mine Workers on some date within the near future which will be convenient and accommodating, for the purpose of carrying out the instructions of the convention. The committee will be prepared to meet with representatives of the United Mine Workers on some acceptable date following the expiration of a thirty-day period.

I enclose a copy of the report of the Committee on Resolutions dealing with the subject of the application of the United Mine Workers of America for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

I earnestly request that you advise me if you and your associates representing the United Mine Workers of America will meet with a committee representing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of continuing negotiations upon the question of reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers with the American Federation of Labor, on some date following a thirty-day period stipulated by the convention as set forth in the report of the Committee on Resolutions which I repeat was decisively adopted by the delegates in attendance at the convention.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) Wm. Green,
President, A. F. of L.

In addition, a letter was sent to the officers of national and international

unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, calling upon them to file a statement regarding transgression which may have been made upon their respective jurisdictions by the United Mine Workers of America, through District No. 50 or otherwise. The replies received from representatives of national and international unions whose jurisdiction had been invaded by the United Mine Workers through District No. 50 or otherwise, were all placed in the hands of the committee appointed for the purpose of negotiating with representatives of the United Mine Workers of America upon the question of reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The officers of the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America renewed their protest against the readmission of the United Mine Workers into affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. This protest was based upon an understanding on the part of the officers and members of the Progressive Mine Workers of the jurisdiction extended them when they were chartered as an international union by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The protest of the officers of the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America was kept in mind and given consideration by the committee representing the American Federation of Labor in all the negotiations which were carried on with the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America.

The members of the committee representing the American Federation of Labor met with the President of the United Mine Workers and his associates at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., on December 10, 1943. No agreement was reached at this meeting. The committee representing the American Federation of Labor reported that it was impossible to arrive at an understanding which would provide

for a proper recognition of the jurisdictional rights of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor committee reported to the Executive Council of its failure to reach an agreement, at the meeting which was held at Miami, Florida, beginning January 17, 1944. The Executive Council advised the President of the United Mine Workers as follows:

The Executive Council has considered the report of its committee, the letter submitted by President Lewis and the application of the United Mine Workers of America for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor in a sympathetic way. The Council proposes that the United Mine Workers return with the jurisdiction they had when they left the American Federation of Labor. The Council instructs its committee to again meet with a committee representing the United Mine Workers of America for the purpose of clarifying all questions that have not been settled.

Further conferences were held by the committee and representatives of the American Federation of Labor with President Lewis and his associates representing the United Mine Workers of America. At these conferences President Lewis proposed that the United Mine Workers of America, which includes District No. 50, should be readmitted to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor as they were. He agreed to settle any jurisdictional dispute which might arise, after reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers with the American Federation of Labor had been consummated. Your committee proposed that jurisdictional questions be settled before said reaffiliation took place. It was impossible to reach an agreement upon this disputed question.

Finally, President Lewis proposed that if the United Mine Workers were taken back as they were, that he would

meet with representatives of any international union who might present a jurisdictional claim and endeavor to settle it. If no settlement could be reached by direct negotiation he would be willing to submit the jurisdictional claim to the Executive Council for consideration and abide by its decision. Exception was taken, however, on the part of President Lewis, to the application of this plan and proposal to chemical workers, many of whom have been organized into the American Federation of Labor and others into District No. 50 of the United Mine Workers of America. President Lewis insisted that all chemical workers organized into District No. 50, United Mine Workers of America, should remain there without change and without regard to any claim which might be made by any organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for jurisdiction.

During the discussion of this subject, President Lewis was asked if he would agree to waive jurisdiction over chemical workers who were not regarded as related to or connected with coal and coke production and processing. President Lewis stated that he would not agree to such a proposal. He was asked if he would agree that chemical workers organized into unions by the American Federation of Labor and those organized by District No. 50 United Mine Workers of America, be merged and united in an international union to be chartered by the American Federation of Labor. He answered "no" to this inquiry.

The committee representing the American Federation of Labor reported to the Executive Council at its next meeting which was held at Philadelphia, beginning May 1, 1944. The members of the Executive Council, after giving consideration to the report made by the committee representing the Executive Council, decided that the Council reaffirm the action taken at the January meeting. An

official communication was sent to President Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America immediately after the foregoing action was taken by the Executive Council, which read as follows:

Philadelphia, Pa., May 8, 1944.

Mr. John L. Lewis, President,
United Mine Workers of America,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Reports were submitted to the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor now meeting in Philadelphia, by myself and Secretary-Treasurer Meany, of the conference we held with you on March 14, and by Vice-President Tobin, chairman of the committee appointed by the Council to confer with you and your associates regarding the application for reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers with the American Federation of Labor, of correspondence which passed between you and him.

Following careful and thorough consideration of these reports the Executive Council voted to reaffirm its former decision taken at a meeting held at Miami, Florida, January 17-27, 1944. The decision referred to reads as follows:

"The Executive Council has considered the report of its committee, the letter submitted by President Lewis, and the application of the United Mine Workers of America for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor in a sympathetic way. The Council proposes that the United Mine Workers return with the jurisdiction they had when they left the American Federation of Labor. The Council instructs its committee to again meet with a committee representing the United Mine Workers of America for the purpose of clarifying all questions that have not been settled."

Please note that the Executive Council proposes "that the United Mine

Workers return with the jurisdiction they had when they left the American Federation of Labor." I hope and trust you will accept this proposal of the Executive Council which can be clarified and interpreted at a meeting or meetings between you and your associates and the committee appointed by the Executive Council, of which Vice-President Tobin is chairman.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) William Green,
President, A. F. of L.

At about the same time this letter was sent, a communication was received from President Lewis of the United Mine Workers which read as follows:

Washington, D. C., May 8, 1944.

Mr. William Green, President,
and Members of the Executive
Council,

Adelphia Hotel,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen:

Press reports reveal that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has again with characteristic servility to the Roosevelt Administration failed to take affirmative action with respect to the pending application for reaffiliation by the United Mine Workers of America, dated May 17, 1943.

Solely with the desire to make a contribution toward the constructive unification of American labor, the United Mine Workers of America, a year ago, filed its application for reaffiliation with your Council. Throughout this period of a year, the majority of the members of your Executive Council have lacked the courage to either vote "Yes" or vote "No" on the question of acceptance. Instead they have constantly muttered and mumbled and indulged in fearsome incantations over the fallacious and hoary question of jurisdictional rights. It is an amazing exhibition of base

hypocrisy approximating moral turpitude.

It is, of course, publicly known that certain members of the Executive Council have been given imperative instructions to refuse admittance of the United Mine Workers of America to the American Federation of Labor by the New Deal politicians who are opposed, for political reasons, to unity in the ranks of labor. This is a continuance of the opposition of the New Deal managers as exemplified when the United Mine Workers of America proposed merger of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. in February, 1942.

Every well-informed person in Washington knows the identity of the New Deal executives and the members of its Palace Guard, as well as the identity of the individual members of the Executive Council, who from time to time during the past year have clandestinely counselled together to insure the consummation of their shameful plans to betray the interests of the men and women of labor. The members of the Executive Council by their dishonorable intrigue have permitted the American Federation of Labor to become the puppet of a political organization, and, in fact, to achieve the status of a political company union.

Will you please without further procrastination or hypocrisy return to the United Mine Workers of America the application for reaffiliation dated May 17, 1943, together with check for per capita tax which accompanied the application.

Yours truly,
(Signed) John L. Lewis.

The request of President Lewis for the return of the application for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor, dated May 17, 1943, together with the check for per capita tax which accompanied the application, was complied with immediately.

Thus ended negotiations which had

been carried on between the committee representing the American Federation of Labor and representatives of the United Mine Workers upon the application of said organization for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

(Page 476) Under the caption "Peace Negotiations with the CIO" the Executive Council reports that during the year there was no conference between the committee representing the American Federation of Labor and the committee representing the CIO, for the purpose of finding a basis for unity. In the meantime division, discord and disunity have existed in the ranks of labor; the situation has grown worse, confusion, distrust and bitterness have increased; that the CIO, in addition to organizing the unorganized has devoted much of its effort toward raiding organizations of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council voices the opinion that the leaders of the CIO are responsible for the confusion and bitterness which has developed.

Regardless of the attitude of the leaders of the CIO, your committee is convinced that our responsibility to the labor movement of the United States and Canada is such that we should unceasingly explore every avenue which would lead toward unity within the American labor movement. We are aware that a large portion of the rank and file of the CIO deplore disunity as much as we do, and we owe it to these men and women to continue, despite rebuffs that may be encountered, to work steadily for conferences leading to the consummation of unity.

Because of its relationship to this portion of the Executive Council's report, your committee also gave consideration to that portion of the report under the caption "United Mine Workers Failure to Become Reaffiliated." This portion of the report contains the vital correspondence on the subject

which passed between President William Green, A. F. of L., and President John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers. The outstanding fact is that the United Mine Workers made an application for reaffiliation, and because of questions which developed the reaffiliation did not take place.

Your committee, in view of all the facts concerning these negotiations, recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to renew the invitation to the United Mine Workers to reaffiliate, for the practical reason that the reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers should strengthen the American Federation of Labor while proving helpful to the United Mine Workers. We believe that in connection with such invitation to the United Mine Workers, full consideration should be given to the directions and authorizations given to the President of the A. F. of L. and the Executive Council by the Boston Convention, 1943.

(1944, p. 476) The convention further concurred in Resolutions 44 and 48, both of which called for continued efforts to secure labor unity.

(1946, p. 76) The Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held at New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20th to 30th, 1944, directed,

That the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to renew the invitation to the United Mine Workers to reaffiliate, for the practical reason that the reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers should strengthen the American Federation of Labor while proving helpful to the United Mine Workers. In connection with such invitation to the United Mine Workers, full consideration should be given to the directions and authorizations given to the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council by the Boston Convention, 1943.

These instructions were carried out.

The Executive Council is happy to report that following an exchange of communications between the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the President of the United Mine Workers of America, and the holding of conferences between said representatives, an understanding was reached which provided for membership of the United Mine Workers of America within the American Federation of Labor. The charter of the United Mine Workers of America was restored, with the stipulation that said organization would be admitted to the American Federation of Labor with all the rights and privileges of affiliation enjoyed by all organizations, and such reaffiliation carries with it the assumption of the obligations ordinarily attached to affiliation.

This is an achievement which is deeply significant. It must be interpreted as evidence of the development of solidarity within the organized labor movement of the nation, and as a reflection of the desire of the workers of the nation to become united so that their economic strength can be fully mobilized in behalf of the membership of organized labor. The membership of the United Mine Workers of America numbers 600,000. This means added strength to the American Federation of Labor as well as strong cooperative support to the United Mine Workers of America.

(Page 412) It is with very great pleasure that we "welcome home" the United Mine Workers of America.

The Council refers to this reaffiliation as "deeply significant." It signifies not only the bringing of 600,000 workers back into our fold; it means that these men, their families, their interests, their work is now joined closely with all of us, as we are with them, to promote the common good of our American economy.

President Green spoke of the great social significance of the establishment of the welfare fund by the United

Mine Workers, which he said he hoped would point the way for similar approaches by other unions. May we continue to profit from their devoted zeal to the workers' welfare and may they, in turn, be greatly bettered because they are again where we all want them—in the American Federation of Labor.

(Disaffiliation)

(1948, p. 42) The E.C. reported the disaffiliation of the U.M.W. as follows:

The discontinuation of the affiliation of the United Mine Workers of America was most unfortunate. This action took place on December 12, 1947, when the President of the American Federation of Labor received a message from the President of the United Mine Workers of America reading as follows:

Green—A. F. of L.

We disaffiliate.

Lewis.

12-12-47.

We sincerely regret the withdrawal of the United Mine Workers of America from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and we express the hope that ere long said organization will again become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

(1948, p. 440) The following committee report on the subject of the disaffiliation of the United Mine Workers was unanimously adopted by the convention:

It was with deep shock that the members of the American Federation of Labor learned of the decision of the United Mine Workers of America to disaffiliate from the American Federation of Labor. It is difficult for us to comprehend fully the purposes that motivated this action; especially so, as the President of the United Mine Workers had himself pressed effectively for many of the programs through which Labor's cause has been vigorously advanced. This disaffiliation is the more amazing when we further

realize that the man who curtly announced it has so often and so strongly pressed for a single great united free trade union movement in this country.

Surely, we all know the affiliation of the United Mine Workers of America with the American Federation of Labor has been mutually advantageous. We do not here attempt to explain or interpret the paradoxes involved in this disaffiliation. We do but hope that such motives and programs as once before effected a reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers with their parent body will again prompt this organization to join in full strength with the body which has so much, through the years, helped them and which they in turn have helped.

Whatever may have motivated the decision of the United Mine Workers to disaffiliate, the march of events since then has not shown a justification for disaffiliation of the United Mine Workers from the A. F. of L. and we hope that the union mindful of the loss resulting from disaffiliation will reconsider its decision and rejoin their parent body, the A. F. of L. We hope that they will return home to function in the family of which, by their very nature, they are a functional part.

U.S. vs. John L. Lewis and Mine Workers

(1947, p. 226) The Executive Council reviewed this important legal case in its report to the convention. Because of its importance to all labor organizations the report of the Executive Council is given here in full:

The outstanding labor case of the Twentieth Century is *United States vs. John L. Lewis and United Mine Workers of America*. This is not said to dramatize the particular case but rather to emphasize the legal principles involved affecting the rights of workers of this nation. Because of its importance it is deemed appropriate to report it in detail.

"Government by injunction" was the common thing at the turn of the century and for a good many years thereafter, but since the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932 the term lost its significance and is barely known to the workers of the last generation. In a most dramatic fashion government by injunction returned in all its full fury in the Mine Workers case. Those in the Labor movement who had lived through the travail and turmoil of the era of government by injunction were alarmed, and for good and substantial reason, at the manner in which it was restored.

In 1945 the government took over the mines under the Smith-Connally Act. In taking over the mines, however, it did not acquire title to the properties and the government expressly provided that the miners shall not be considered employees of the government; on the contrary, the former owners retained full ownership and possession rights and, indeed, continued active management and operation of the mines. After the mines were thus taken over by the government a contract was negotiated with the miners which, among other things, prescribed a procedure whereby the contract could be terminated by the giving of certain notices. Because of government refusal to adjust certain disputes such notices were given and the contracts duly terminated in the manner provided for. The government challenged the right of the union to terminate the contract and rushed into the U. S. District Court with a request for a preliminary injunction which was granted without a notice or hearing. The injunction restrained the officers of the union from publishing the fact that the contract was terminated, from continuing in effect any former notices that were given, and from taking any action whatsoever in aid or encouragement of any stoppage of work in the coal mines. The precise language of that injunction was virtually identical with some

of the most infamous injunction orders in American Labor history.

President Lewis of the United Mine Workers was advised that the order was in glaring violation of the Norris-LaGuardia Act and hence was a nullity which carried no force and which could, therefore, be disregarded. The government thereupon instituted contempt proceedings which were tried by the same judge who issued the temporary injunction. After argument and trial of several days, the trial court imposed the largest fine ever imposed in a contempt proceeding, namely, a fine of \$3,500,000.00 against the Mine Workers and of \$10,000.00 against John L. Lewis.

Representing Mr. Lewis and the United Mine Workers were the most experienced and outstanding labor lawyers in the country.

Appeals were taken and by resort to certain emergency procedures the appeal went directly to the Supreme Court of the United States. While there were several exceedingly important questions presented to the Supreme Court, by far the most crucial and most significant to organized Labor was that of whether an order issued in violation of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, that is, an order issued beyond the jurisdiction of the court, had to be obeyed. For, obviously, if such orders could sustain contempt charges every labor union would be exposed to financial ruin by the arbitrary caprice of any anti-Labor judge in this country.

The members of the Supreme Court split several ways on the basic questions in the case, and it may be fairly stated of the majority opinions that they are notable only because of their extreme evasiveness and confusion. The so-called majority opinion was authored by Chief Justice Vinson and adopted in its entirety by Justices Burton and Reed. That opinion argued vaguely that the Norris-LaGuardia Act did not apply to disputes involv-

ing the government and that since the government had taken over the mines this was such a dispute. Evidently, sensing the weakness of this assigned reason, they proceeded to adopt another, weaker and more amazing; they held that even if the Norris-LaGuardia Act did apply and thereby the court was without jurisdiction to issue the injunction, the void order nevertheless had to be obeyed. Mr. Justice Jackson dissented from that portion of the majority opinion which refused to apply the Norris-LaGuardia Act. Nevertheless, he joined in that portion which held that the void order had to be obeyed. Mr. Justice Frankfurter, in a separate opinion, held that under the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the injunction was improperly issued. But he devised a theory which compelled obedience to the void order. Justices Douglas and Black avoided the all-important question of necessity to conform with a void order by ruling that the miners were government employees and adopted the majority ruling that the Norris-LaGuardia Act did not apply to government employees. As to that it should be noted that even the government did not suggest or argue that the Miners were government employees; and, indeed, no one familiar with the manner in which the coal mines were administered under the Smith-Connally Act had ever even suggested that the miners were government employees. Justices Rutledge and Murphy wrote stirring dissenting opinions pointing out at great length the many and obvious errors in the reasoning of the majority opinions and calling forth a host of authoritative prior decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States which were directly in conflict with the majority opinion in the Mine Workers cases. Justices Rutledge and Murphy tore to shreds the reasoning of the majority. A conditional reduction of the \$3,500,000.00 fine to \$700,000 was voted by the majority. But Justices Rutledge, Murphy, Black and

Douglas were against imposing any fine.

The American Federation of Labor is entirely confident that this reprehensible decision of the majority will go down in history as one of the most ignominious decisions ever announced by the Court. We are persuaded that this decision will take its uncomfortable place alongside of such judicial outrages as the Dred Scott case, the Debs case, the Danbury Hatters case, and the Bedford Stone case. Even more important, we know that the American people when once they realize the actual holding and implication of the majority opinion, will not long tolerate its perpetuation. For, it not only is completely contrary to basic constitutional and common law doctrines to compel men to abide by void orders rendered without jurisdiction, but also it is repulsive to the genius of freedom and democracy to compel obedience to such nullities.

The American Federation of Labor vigorously condemns the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in this case, and will do everything in its power to secure its reversal and repudiation.

(1947, p. 594) Convention approved Executive Council Report.

District 50 Jurisdictional Dispute

(1947, p. 567) Two resolutions, Nos. 70 and 135, both dealing with jurisdictional problems existing between District 50, United Mine Workers of America, and certain international unions of the A. F. of L., were submitted to the convention. The resolutions, committee recommendations and convention action, and Minority Report on the matter follow:

Res. No. 70: Whereas, Prior to the Miners Union coming back into the A. F. of L. there was part of the Miners Union known as District 50. This District 50 invaded the jurisdiction of many international unions by offering cheaper dues and initiation fees, and then entered into agreements with employers with lower rates

of pay and other conditions established in industries. This practice has not been discontinued, and

Whereas, It was generally understood that the President of the A. F. of L., and District 50 were to meet with representatives of international unions affected; no such meetings have been held, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention instruct the President of the American Federation of Labor to call a meeting as soon as possible after the adjournment of this convention for the purpose of having District 50 turn over to the international unions such members as come under the jurisdiction of the international unions in accordance with jurisdiction under their charters granted by the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 135: Whereas, No satisfactory understanding has been reached between District No. 50, United Mine Workers of America, and some international unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, over questions of jurisdiction, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to call a conference of officers of District No. 50, United Mine Workers of America and the international unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, having unadjusted questions of jurisdiction with District No. 50; and that the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to preside over this conference.

Resolutions Nos. 70 and 135, under the caption, "Jurisdiction of District 50 U. M. W." introduced by the delegates of the International Molders and Foundry Workers of America, and under the caption "District 50 U. M. W.," introduced by the delegate of the Metal Trades Department.

Your committee recommends that action on Resolution No. 135 covers

the purpose of Resolution No. 70, making action on that resolution unnecessary.

Your committee recommends that the Whereas of Resolution 135 be amended by striking out the words "District No. 50," so that the first three lines of the Whereas will read "No satisfactory understanding has been reached between the United Mine Workers of America," etc.

Your committee further recommends that an additional Resolved be added to Resolution No. 135, reading, and be it further

"Resolved, That this convention declare that the only organizations having jurisdiction in the building and construction field are those National and International Unions already holding certificates of affiliation from the American Federation of Labor, and represented by the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor."

With these amendments your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 135.

Minority Report on Resolutions Nos. 70 and 135

Minority Report affecting report of the Resolutions Committee *in re* Resolution No. 70 introduced by the International Molders Union and Resolution No. 135 introduced by the Metal Trades Department.

These resolutions have to do with alleged jurisdiction problems between International Unions and District 50, United Mine Workers of America. Resolution No. 70 provides for this convention to instruct the President of the American Federation of Labor to call a meeting between the International Unions affected and District 50. The purpose of this meeting, as pointed out in the resolutions, is to have District 50 turn over to the International Unions such members as

come within the claimed jurisdiction of such International Unions.

Resolution No. 135 provides for the calling of a similar conference with District 50 and representatives of the International Unions in the Metal Trades Department. Resolution No. 70 states "that no such meetings have been held." Both of these resolutions are in substance and in fact from the Metal Trades Organizations.

However, when the resolutions were under consideration by the Committee on Resolutions, the President of the Building Trades Department presented the arguments in favor of the adoption of the resolutions and suggested an amendment to one of the resolutions providing that the convention in effect order, declare and reiterate the jurisdictions granted the Building Trades organizations by the American Federation of Labor. This amendment was adopted by the committee with dissenting votes.

This minority report points out that the resolutions, primarily being from the Metal Trades organization, were used by the Building Trades Department to have their jurisdictions reaffirmed by the convention which, in our judgment, is extralegal and in violation of regular procedures and established policies of the American Federation of Labor.

The purpose of Resolution No. 135 is for a meeting with the Metal Trades Department and District 50, and does not provide for any meeting with the Building Trades Organizations. After the resolutions were adopted as amended, it was discovered that the meetings contemplated were to be with District 50 and not with the United Mine Workers of America. The resolutions were reconsidered and the Committee substituted the International Union for District 50.

The foregoing is a factual presentation concerning these two resolutions and indicates quite clearly that the

tactics of the proponents of said resolutions—the Metal Trades which were later joined by their allies in the Building Trades—were neither sound nor constructive and constituted a clear departure from the established procedures and practices for the handling of these matters. They have certainly been mutilated as to the original purpose of the resolutions, as evidenced by the Building Trades, which amended the resolutions and thereby provided for convention determination of the issues before the meetings were held. In our judgment, the amendment to the resolutions, which was adopted, really destroys the original intent of such resolutions and predetermines the issue by the convention.

If Resolution No. 135 is construed as being adopted, the contemplated meeting, if held, will be with the Metal Trades Organization and not with the Building Trades Unions. From this confused state of affairs it is quite evident that proponents of these resolutions cannot successfully be charged with being helpful or constructive in the solution of these problems.

When the United Mine Workers of America was reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor, we were admitted as is, and we naturally expected and so understood, that if jurisdictional or other problems developed, they would be handled in the usual manner and way under the procedures followed in such cases. Some meetings have been held, and while no agreements were worked out, the fact remains that meetings were held. The next step in procedure, of course, following the meetings, would be the good offices of the Executive Council.

The United Mine Workers of America, like any other organization, reserves for itself the right to protect its organization and membership in such jurisdictional matters. The United Mine Workers of America is always willing to meet with repres-

entatives of International Unions of the American Federation of Labor on any matter, jurisdictional or otherwise. The United Mine Workers shall continue to follow this policy. We resent, therefore, these resolutions directing us to meet when we have already met. We shall follow the usual procedure on these jurisdictional matters, reserving our right to protect our jurisdiction and our membership at all times.

This minority report, therefore, believes that the action taken by majority vote of the Resolutions Committee is improper and not in keeping with established procedure, and that such action of the Committee will serve no useful or constructive purpose. This report recommends, therefore, that the report and recommendations of the Resolutions Committee be nonconcurring in, and that the convention affirmatively declare that the usual procedure and established policy be followed in the handling of these matters between the organizations affected.

Respectively submitted,
Thomas Kennedy
Arnold S. Zander

Lengthy debate ensued on the motion to adopt the Minority Report and on the Majority Report. Representatives of the organizations at interest spoke on the subject and submitted correspondence which had taken place on the subject prior to the convention. The final decision was to re-refer both reports to the Executive Council, "for consideration and appropriate action."

Protest Against Invasion Into Construction Field

(1950, p. 43) Res. 62: Whereas, The United Mine Workers of America have entered into the construction field and are making great headway, and

Whereas, If the American Federation of Labor would enter into the organizing of coal mines and processing plants, it would tend to cause the U. M. W. A. to retrench to protect its

interests in those industries, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Delegates in convention assembled request the American Federation of Labor to inaugurate such a program.

(1950, p. 483) We join with the introducers of this resolution in condemning the practice of the United Mine Workers of America of venturing into the construction field and thus invading the jurisdiction of the building trades unions. Such practices and procedures are akin to the methods of strikebreaking agencies and can only be considered as tools and implements of indirect if not direct service to those employers and contractors who would undermine, if not destroy, our building trades unions and their standards of employment.

However grievous the complaint, your Committee cannot approve the remedy of retaliation proposed but would urge the officers of the Federation and those of the Building Trades Department to explore and, if possible, devise some feasible and effective plan to prevent the continuance of the unwarrantable and destructive invasion of the building trades unions area of operation by the United Mine Workers and District 50.

Mirror Imports, Tariffs

(1952, pp. 379, 520) Res. 142 dealt with the growing threat to the American glass mirror industry by imports from low-standard countries and requested support for American-made mirrors by builders, architects and consumers in order to protect labor standards in the American glass mirror industry.

Mississippi Flood Control

(1928, pp. 83, 216) After extended hearings a bill was introduced in Congress having for its purpose to provide protection against great floods in the Mississippi Valley. The A. F. of L. convention in 1927 declared it was

a governmental duty to finance the great project. This was bitterly contested by administration forces but finally the bill with that provision passed and became a law. The A. F. of L. used every effort to bring about that result.

Missouri River (Valley) Project

(1946, p. 536) Res. 109 protested against the moratorium in effect against completion of the Missouri River Basin project and called for completion of the project without further delay.

(1946, pp. 211, 468) The committee report on the section of the Executive Council Report relating to A. F. of L. support of a Missouri Valley Authority was unanimously adopted:

Under this heading the Executive Council reports the introduction and support of two bills creating the Missouri Valley authority providing flood and erosion control, new farms, jobs in nine states and helps postwar jobs throughout the United States. These bills failed of passage. The Executive Council recommends continued support of this proposal and your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

(1947, p. 682) Res. 198 requested the A. F. of L. to approve this resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Interior to make certain information available to interested organizations in the Missouri Valley Development Plan, specifically the names of all contractors who were submitting bids on all projects in the Plan. The convention referred the resolution to the Executive Council "for investigation of the facts and such action as will be helpful."

(1947, pp. 250, 523) Under this heading the Executive Council reports its continued support of legislation creating the Missouri Valley Authority but that despite its efforts the proposal has not made progress.

The Executive Council recommends continued support of this proposal and your committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

(1948, p. 135) We feel that this legislation is essential to the welfare of our Nation, particularly at this time, and will continue support of this proposal as authorized by previous conventions.

(Page 397) Development of these resources will be of great public benefit. We urge the Executive Council to do all they can in support of any legislation having for its end completeness in this development.

(1948, p. 135) In its report on this subject, the Executive Council stated: "We feel that this legislation is essential to the welfare of our nation, particularly at this time, and will continue support of this proposal as authorized by previous conventions."

(1948, p. 397) Development of these resources will be of great public benefit. We urge the Executive Council to do all they can in support of any legislation having for its end completeness in this development.

(1949, p. 202) Our position in support of the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority remains unchanged. . . . The broad program of unified resources development and water control . . . continues to have our endorsement, supported by testimony when hearings are in order. . . . The needs of our people are such, in our opinion, that backing for this legislation is essential for the advancement of residents in the Missouri Valley. The trail-blazing job done by the Tennessee Valley Authority is sufficient proof of the practicability of other such enterprises.

(1949, p. 381) In a general report on hydroelectric development, the convention unanimously approved the report of the committee considering the

Missouri Valley Authority, Columbia Valley Authority, and Colorado River System. (See: Hydro-Electric Power Development.)

Mobilization, Planning for Full (see: Defense).

Mobilization, Industrial (War)

(1939, p. 497) There is in existence a so-called "Mobilization Plan" which, being the joint work of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, lays down plans for the stringent regimentation of all labor in the event of war or a national emergency. The proposals as stated in Appendix III of that Plan call for an Administration of War Labor and an Advisory Board of ten (10) members, all appointed by the President, the duties of the Board as stated being: "1. Measures to prevent grievances of employers and employees, whether actual or imaginary, from interfering with war production. 2. The effect of organizations of employers into trade associations and of labor into trade unions and the effect of the maintenance of the right of collective bargaining between such organizations or industry's ability to meet the material requirements of the armed forces. 3. Standards of wages, hours of work, and working conditions. 4. Equality of work for identical pay. 5. The necessity for the modification of the statutory work-day with due regard for the national necessity and the welfare of labor. 6. Maintenance of maximum production in all war work and the suspension for the period of the actual emergency and a reasonable adjustment thereafter of restrictive regulations not having the force of war, which unreasonably limit production." The implication of which is, this appointed board will take over and determine those activities, which hitherto have been the province of Trade Unions, and as a consequence our organizations will be stripped of their function and so destroyed. Other

recommendations of the Plan brazenly call for the suspension of those laws which have from time to time been enacted in the various states, restricting the hours and conditions of employment of women and children, and would bring back the intolerable exploitation which labor has combatted and ameliorated in fifty years of struggle. The Executive Council is directed to inaugurate a movement that will protect Organized Labor from the menace of such "War Dictatorship" as is contained in the "Industrial Mobilization Plan."

(P. 511) Statement by committee chairman: "Might I say to you that in this report, without going further into its provisions, there is designed a provision that in the event of war or the imminence of war, all legislation having to do with the standards of work may be set aside, yes, even including minimum rates under which children might be employed. Likewise it is contemplated that our educational and training centers may be placed under the department of the war-making agencies. It is well, therefore, that our attention is called to that industrial mobilization plan in order that we might know before we become involved in war—and pray that we may be spared that great trial and privation—so that at least we may know beforehand and seek to provide adequate representation of labor upon all agencies having to do with labor and labor relationships, and so that the standards and the conditions we have set for ourselves may not be destroyed, so that we may maintain our freedom as trade unionists and as wage earners, that we may not only maintain our standards but seek continually thereafter to improve upon them."

(Defense)

(1940, p. 491) A resolution was considered by the 1940 convention calling for the establishment of an

A. F. of L. Commission to Study an Industrial Mobilization Plan to Safeguard Labor's Interests in the Defense Program. While the convention did not adopt the resolution *per se* it did approve the general thoughts of the resolution, the creation of a special commission for that purpose was not considered necessary or advisable. The "officers of the A. F. of L. and its Executive Council are charged with the responsibility of seeing that labor's welfare and its rights are thoroughly protected in connection with the nation's program of defense."

Monetary System (see also: Federal Reserve Act (1946); Bretton Woods Agreement (1946).

(1946, p. 475) Res. 101: (Referred to E.C. for study and appropriate action)

Whereas, It is an economic fact that the Government should have sole power to create and regulate the value of the nation's money as provided for in Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States, "to coin money, to regulate the value thereof," and

Whereas—It is a widely known fact that our Government is compelled to borrow its own money from private institutions and pay interest to private banking institutions for use of its own money, and

Whereas—Even with a victorious end to the war there can never be a secure and lasting peace so long as a few ruthless private bankers have the power to bring on a condition of economic chaos, and

Whereas—Labor unions can never gain their goal by bargaining in the matter of hours, wages and general working conditions until Congress restores to itself the power to coin money and regulate the buying power of the wages bargained for, and

Whereas—An amazing revolution has taken place in the science of pro-

duction no change in any way commensurate has taken place in the financial mechanism, and

Whereas — A government-created money interest-free at source of origin used scientifically would prevent inflation, deflation and make it possible for consumption to keep pace with production, and

Whereas—An honest, scientific, constitutional money system should have these essential principles:

1. It must be created and controlled by Congress.
2. It must be free from interference by politicians and private bankers.
3. It must be interest free at origin and based on the total wealth of the nation and not on bonds or basic metals.

4. It must have a 100% reserve requirement, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled respectfully request the President of the United States to immediately call upon Congress to restore the powers vested in Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States, and be it further

Resolved—That it go on record urging the Senate and House to seriously consider the monetary bills H.R. 42 and H.R. 153.

Money Management, Education

(1936, p. 411) Training in scientific money management has never been afforded in the public schools of this country (except in one place) with the result that the great majority of the adults of today are financial drifters. For the same reason, over 2,000,000 financial illiterates are being turned out of our schools and colleges every year until such training shall have been made a requirement in school and college curricula. Such training is now possible as the result of nearly two decades of specialized study and eight years of practical experimentation throughout one public school sys-

tem. The E.C. is directed at the earliest possible moment to look into the possibilities of this practical form of education for the benefit of all its members and their families.

Monopolies and Trade Restraints

(1949, pp. 238, 386) The convention considered a brief report on monopolies and restraint of trade, and hearings which had been held on proposed legislation. However, the convention voted to support the recommendation of its committee that no action should be taken on this matter without further detailed study, and therefore recommended that the subject be referred to the E.C. for further study.

Mooney and Billings

(1933, p. 525) The A. F. of L. reaffirms all declarations of previous conventions of the A. F. of L. with reference to the Mooney and Billings case and the continuance of efforts for their unconditional pardon or early release.

Montgomery Ward (Molders)

(1940, p. 662) Res. 59 of the 1940 convention condemned above named organization for purchasing and distributing non-union goods. The convention approved report of the committee as follows:

Your Committee has considered Resolution No. 59 and has found that the purpose of the resolution is to induce the Montgomery Ward Company to refrain from purchasing or distributing any of the products made by the Washington Elger Company of Los Angeles, California, and the Dixie Foundry Company of Cleveland, Tennessee. Both companies are now on the "We Don't Patronize List" of the International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

Your Committee therefore recommends that this resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Council with the request that it take up the question with the companies concerned

and failing of adjustment a report of the attitude of these concerns be made to the trade union movement in general.

Monthly Survey of Business

(1929, p. 101) The Monthly Survey of Business is a new service which the President of the Federation began with the month of July. This four-page bulletin gives the latest available information on business conditions compiled from the most reliable sources, shows the trends of business and indicates how these trends will affect Labor. The business world is increasingly using statistics and economic data showing business trends as a basis for planning and determining policies. Discussion of all business and production problems, including labor relations, involves familiarity with business facts and conditions. To assist every union executive to keep posted on such information is the purpose of the Business Survey.

(1930, pp. 93, 283) To make progress, union activities must be timed so as to take advantage of the most opportune circumstances. If business is good and firms are making substantial earnings, a drive for higher wages may easily win success. But a strike at the wrong moment when business is depressed, may cost thousands of dollars and accomplish nothing. It is as necessary to know when to act as it is to know what to do. To help union executives to keep closely in touch with business developments, we are publishing our Monthly Survey of Business. The Survey has a two-fold purpose. It gives last minute facts on the business situation, as it affects wage earners, discussing production, employment, workers' incomes, manufacturers' earnings and other current developments. Secondly, it interprets the basic significance of present business developments in relation to our general welfare and progress. There is a close relationship between workers' welfare, business prosperity and

our general social, intellectual and spiritual advance. The Survey gives current facts to illustrate this. We feel that another important mission of the Survey is its presentation of these facts to groups outside the labor movement. It goes to economists, libraries, business organizations. A number of college professors are taking it to use in their classes on economics and business conditions. Some 3,000 copies are distributed monthly.

(1931, pp 141, 341) An important part of a union's executive's equipment is accurate information on business developments which affect workers' interests. The Monthly Survey of Business brings our local union executives every month a brief outline of the most significant developments. Its circulation has more than doubled in the past year, showing that union officers are availing themselves of the opportunity to know business facts. The Survey has continually pointed out the danger of wage reductions, showing the importance of workers' buying power; compared wage losses with dividend increases, and shown the importance of reserves for wages as well as reserves for dividend payments. We have kept our executives in touch with developments abroad which affect workers in America, farmers' problems and special problems of certain industries, such as building and railroads. Reports on unemployment and workers' buying power also keep the losses of wage earners before the country. A large number of requests for the Survey have come from groups outside the labor movement, such as business organizations, colleges, libraries, research groups. The Survey is a useful means of keeping before the public information on workers' problems which is fundamental in guiding business developments toward a balanced progress.

Moral Rearmament

(1951, pp. 285, 560) Res. 29 proposed an investigation into the Moral

Rearmament Movement "so as to be in a position to acquaint the membership of organized labor with all the facts pertaining thereto."

Mothers' Pensions

(1925, p. 54) A bill was introduced in Congress providing for the establishment of a bureau for children's aid for the District of Columbia. One of the features of the bill was a provision to pay an allowance to the natural guardians of dependent children in order that they may be sustained and educated in their natural homes. Inasmuch as the natural guardians of most dependent children are their widowed mothers, the pension would be paid them. Although it failed of passage, it was believed that it can be enacted into law in the next session. (P. 283) E.C. and legislative committee were instructed to support this legislation in the next session of Congress.

(1926, pp. 66, 212) The convention commends the E.C. for this legislative victory which, in principle, is so important to the workers of the U.S. It is earnestly urged that the Council observe closely the administration of the law to the end that the intent of the Congress shall be made fully effective.

(1930, pp. 105, 286) The maternity and infancy act came to an end June 30, 1929. Before that time, however, bills were introduced to extend the life of the law. In December, 1929, President Hoover made a recommendation that the maternity and infancy act be restored but that part of its provisions come under the control and supervision of the Public Health Service. Bills to that effect were reported in February, 1930, but there was such opposition that nothing was done. It was contended that maternity and infancy laws should be administered by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. This contention became so controversial that action on the

measure was postponed until the next session.

(1931, pp. 112, 347) Bills providing for the restoration of the Maternity and Infancy Act were introduced in both Houses. Later, the House bill was changed to take away eventually from the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor that part of its functions that cared for maternity cases and transfer them to the Public Health Service. This was opposed by Labor but it was passed by the House. The Senate passed the bill that Labor favored. The bills were sent to conference and the Senate receded leaving the changes in the original act adopted by the House. Owing to the filibuster in the Senate, discussion of the amendments was prevented. It was understood that the Senate would not have receded and approved of the House amendments.

(1934, pp. 117, 543) Our emergency relief problem would be simpler if we had adequate provisions for mothers' pensions. Mothers' pension laws exist in 46 states but they are obviously inadequate in coverage and provisions. We should endeavor to improve these laws and secure the enactment of the best standards in all states and territories.

Motion Picture Distribution—(1939, pp. 139, 416) S. 280, to prohibit and prevent the trade practices known as "compulsory block-booking" and "blind selling" in the leasing of motion-picture films in interstate and foreign commerce passed the Senate despite the opposition of all organizations of employees in the film industry. If the bill becomes a law, it will mean that production schedules of the motion picture industry will be cut in half and thus directly affect the employment of some 282,000 persons who are employed in the production, distribution and exhibition divisions of the industry. According to evidence given before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce there are 276 crafts

employed in the industry and that many thousands of these workers will lose continuity of employment or be made entirely idle. All unions whose members are employed in the industry appealed to the Senate to defeat the bill and the President of the A. F. of L. wrote a strong letter to the leader of the majority in which he pointed out the injury that would be done to the workers in the industry by creating extensive unemployment. The bill was passed by a vote of 46 to 28. When it reached the House it was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which postponed action until the next session.

Motion Picture Industry (also see: **Operating Engineers**)—(1947, p. 168) In accordance with instructions of the 1946 convention, the E.C. undertook to "set up within the motion picture, amusement, and all other related industries, and with the sanction and agreement of all unions working in these industries, ways and means for the purpose of examining, considering, and after deliberation, setting up machinery, with the sanction and agreement of the national and international unions affected, which will insure the peaceful settlement, without work stoppage, of all jurisdictional disputes within the structure of the motion picture, amusement and related industries."

After giving consideration to the broad questions of jurisdiction and the settlement of jurisdictional problems, the Council directed that an inquiry be addressed to the trades involved in the motion picture studios in order to ascertain what their reaction would be toward setting up such a tribunal for the particular industry; and if that experience proved to be favorable, then another group could be invited to take similar action.

Communications were sent to the officers of all the organizations affected, and favorable replies were received

from all organizations whose members are employed in the motion picture studios. After giving consideration to these replies, the Executive Council directed President Green to call a conference of representatives of the interested and affected organizations, for the purpose of establishing a committee to adjust jurisdictional disputes in conformity with the jurisdiction granted by the American Federation of Labor and to implement its decisions on jurisdiction.

The conference referred to was held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor beginning Tuesday, May 13, 1947. It was unanimously agreed at the conference that a committee composed of the Presidents of five national and international unions serve to study all phases of the jurisdictional questions involved in the motion picture industry, to analyze the causes of disputes among unions representing workers employed at the studios, to draft a plan providing for the peaceful settlement of all future disputes which would eliminate any possibility of strikes for jurisdictional reasons in the studios, and to submit this plan when drafted, for the approval of all national and international unions which have members employed in the studios. (At the time of preparation of the E.C. Report, no findings or recommendations of the committee had been submitted.)

(1947, p. 430) The report of the convention Committee on Organization contained the following reference to the long-standing jurisdictional dispute in the Hollywood motion picture industry:

A deep appreciation of our own responsibility in this matter must be ever evidenced by all of our unions if we are to preserve our rights to function fully as a free trade union movement. We recommend that the Executive Council establish a special committee which, functioning under the rules of the American Federation of

Labor and under the direction of the Executive Council should devote itself to the consideration and adjustment of jurisdictional disputes as they arise between unions, and seek to effect mutually satisfactory settlements.

On this premise, your committee approached the long standing dispute in the motion picture industry. There were available for us all the documents incident to this dispute, from the time of the first meeting on this subject which was authorized by the Executive Council at its meeting in Cincinnati, in October, 1945. The voluminous report up to and including the reference in this year's Council report shows the real effort put forth by our Council and its subcommittee to work out a solution in this problem. However, now, we know that a supplemental report will be made direct to the Convention by the Committee selected for that purpose.

Your committee is not informed on the findings of the committee and therefore cannot even comment thereon.

However, your committee can and does recommend that whatever those findings are, whatever action is recommended by the committee pursuant to such findings—that if this report is adopted by this convention, the convention action be carried out forthwith.

We must demonstrate our ability to conduct our own affairs and particularly in all jurisdictional problems, and your committee firmly believes we will. We shall, therefore, all await the report of the Committee selected for this purpose and fully consider its every part.

The report of the convention committee was referred back to the Executive Council.

(1947, p. 607) Convention authorized continued efforts to bring about an adjustment.

(Protest Against Foreign Importations)

(1952, pp. 56, 471) Res. 92:

Whereas—It has become apparent that many motion picture producers and advertising agencies are leaving the continental United States to produce motion pictures for United States consumption for tax saving purposes, or to take advantage of cheap production and labor costs, and

Whereas—This practice is growing at an alarming rate and depriving many United States citizens of employment who would otherwise be used in the production of these motion pictures as well as depriving the United States government of taxes which would accrue from their salaries and wages, and

Whereas—This practice is also creating unfair competition to the producers who make their motion pictures in the United States and hire United States citizens, and

Whereas—We deem it grossly unfair and improper for American industry to attempt to sell American products to American workers by means of advertising films that have been made in foreign countries by foreign workers for the specific purposes of avoiding the wage and living standards which make the purchase of their products in America possible, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 71st convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as strongly protesting this practice and that we solicit the support of all labor organizations in America and all other Americans in protesting this practice of advertisers, advertising agencies and film producers in our efforts to convince such producers, manufacturers and distributors of commodities manufactured and sold in the United States, that such a practice is unfair and should be dispensed with.

(Protest Against Justice Department Ruling)

(1952, p. 470) Res. 90, as originally introduced, was withdrawn and the following substituted:

Whereas—The making, distribution and exhibition of motion pictures have long provided and do now provide employment for many thousands of persons, and have been for many years and now are the principal means of entertainment for many millions throughout the United States of America, and

Whereas—The motion picture theater in every community of the United States brings direct benefit to every transportation agency, every tire and gasoline station, every restaurant, every grocery store, every drug store, every novelty shop, every news stand, every shoe shop, department store, dry goods store and garment shop and is particularly important to real estate values, and

Whereas—Motion pictures have been and now are a channel of communication, historically noted for promoting the democratic way of life throughout the world and acquainting the world with American progress, and

Whereas—The United States Department of Justice has filed Federal court action which seeks to force the motion picture industry to allow the free showing on television of multi-million dollar theatrical motion pictures in direct competition with the theater box offices and if this illogical and arbitrary result should ensue, a great many of the 22,000 American motion picture theaters would be forced to close, with the result that film producers then would not have enough monetary returns to finance the making of quality theatrical pictures in which hundreds and sometimes thousands of American workmen are employed, and

Whereas—This capricious and un-

reasonable court suit by the Department of Justice jeopardizes the livelihood of many of the 250,000 workers in the film industry, who for the most part are organized in A. F. of L. unions, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled condemns the Department of Justice action against the motion picture industry, and be it further

Resolved—That the convention instruct the A. F. of L. Executive Council to investigate all factors in the bringing of this unfair suit which jeopardizes the jobs of thousands of A. F. of L. members, and be it further

Resolved—That all A. F. of L. publications and news outlets be requested to give the widest possible publicity to this resolution.

Municipal Employers, Coverage Under Social Security

(1952, pp. 53, 470) Res. 85 contained the following proposal: That the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council and legislative department to initiate necessary legislation correcting these inequities in the Social Security Act so that permanent and temporary employees of the above mentioned political sub-divisions, not participating in the established pension or retirement program of the political subdivision be eligible for unemployment compensation and old age and survivors insurance.

Referred to the Committee on Social Security.

Muscle Shoals

(1925, p. 171) Convention reaffirmed action of 1923 convention in unanimously opposing the subsidizing or granting of other Government financial aid to any private corporation or corporations for the purpose of establishing a privately owned and operated power system or to any encouragement whatever to a privately owned and operated super-power system.

(1927, p. 73) The joint committee appointed by Congress to investigate the best terms on which Muscle Shoals could be leased made a report in the first session of the Sixty-ninth Congress which authorized the Secretary of War to enter into a lease with the Muscle Shoals Fertilizer Company and the Muscle Shoals Power Distributing Company. Shortly after the second session opened a new bill was introduced to lease to the Farmers' Federated Fertilizer Corporation. It soon became evident that no legislation on Muscle Shoals would be attempted during the session. Several interests injected themselves into the leasing proposition for the purpose, it was said, of delaying any action. It was the desire of the opponents of any legislation to refer the bills back to the Senate Committee on Agriculture and postpone all consideration until the next Congress. This was done. In the meantime friends of public ownership insisted that no lease should be entered into. (P. 247) The E.C. was directed to watch this situation closely in the Seventieth Congress, to the end that whatever legislative action is proposed it will conform to organized labor's idea and for the best interest of the general public.

(1930, p. 382) The A. F. of L. urges members of Congress to take action at the next session that will bring about immediate settlement and disposition of the Muscle Shoals project in such a way as will fully protect the rights of the public.

(1933, pp. 104, 431) After years of effort Senator Norris succeeded in having a law enacted providing for government operation of Muscle Shoals.

Musicians, Anti-Trust Case

(1942, p. 349) The attention of the convention was called to the problem faced by the American Federation of Musicians in a dispute over records and transcriptions. The Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice

entered the case and instituted suit against the A. F. Musicians. The supplemental report of the Executive Council, Res. 68, and action of the convention follows: (1942, p. 401)

The Executive Council submits the following declaration for consideration and action by this convention:

For a period of years the American Federation of Musicians has been engaged in a labor dispute with manufacturers of records and transcriptions, and with broadcasting companies over practices of the said employers, which have caused the unemployment of thousands of musicians affiliated with the American Federation of Musicians. The employers have not shown a disposition to resolve this important controversy and it became necessary for the members of the American Federation of Musicians to cease work in the making of records and electrical transcriptions. By unanimous action of a duly accredited convention of the American Federation of Musicians, held at Seattle, Washington, June, 1941, its President was directed to inform all members of the American Federation of Musicians to cease work in the making of records and electrical transcriptions. As a result of such order of the convention, the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice has instituted a suit against the American Federation of Musicians in an effort to further the individual economic views of the head of said department, which views threaten the destruction of free trade unionism and have been previously repudiated by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The civil suit instituted by the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice unfairly aids employers in their arbitrary resistance to a fair and equitable solution of the dispute. The objectives sought by the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice would prohibit the use of peaceful measures in labor disputes,

would deny the exercise of freedom of speech, and would impose involuntary servitude upon the workers of the country. Therefore, the American Federation of Labor condemns the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice for its persistent campaign to destroy constitutional rights of a free and democratic labor movement. The American Federation of Labor gives unqualified support to the American Federation of Musicians in its just struggle to protect the skill and employment opportunities of its members from the destructive inroads made by the arbitrary and unrestricted competition of labor-displacing mechanical devices which the Musicians are continually called upon to help to manufacture with the result of destroying their own employment opportunities, which, without their help, could not be done.

Resolution No. 68:

Whereas—The American Federation of Musicians in convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, during the month of June, 1941, did instruct the International President and the Executive Board of the American Federation of Musicians to make certain decisions regarding the making of records and electrical transcriptions by members of the American Federation of Musicians, the unauthorized use of which have completely eliminated musicians' jobs where they previously existed, and

Whereas—Pursuant to this demand on the part of the rank and file membership of the American Federation of Musicians through the duly authorized and accredited delegates to the convention representing 145,000 organized musicians in the United States and Canada, the International President of the American Federation of Musicians, at the convention of the A. F. of M. held in Dallas, Texas, June 6th, 1942, expressed the will of the aforesaid 145,000 members of the A. F. of M. by

decreeing that on and after August 1, 1942, the members of the A. F. of M. would cease the making of recorded music and electrical transcriptions except for the use of the armed forces of our country, for non-commercial use in the home, or at the request of the President of the United States, and

Whereas—The distortions and glaring inaccuracies by a section of the Press have confused the public mind for the deliberate purpose of creating disunity and to discredit organized labor's part in the war effort despite the fact the American Federation of Musicians has every just reason to be proud of the inestimable record of occasions on which the locals and members comprising the Federation have donated freely of their time and money to the armed service, in the sale of war bonds, in Red Cross drives and everything connected with the war effort in general, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled expresses its confidence in the judgment of the International President of the American Federation of Musicians and the 590 accredited delegates to the Dallas Convention of the A. F. of M., in their back-to-the-wall endeavor to retain the last vestige of employment for the union musicians, and be it further

Resolved—That copies of this resolution be sent to the Chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee, the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, the Chairman of the Office of War Information, the President of the American Federation of Musicians.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE

The American Federation of Musicians has for many years suffered severely because more than half of its one hundred and thirty-eight thousand members are unemployed. This unemployment is due, chiefly, to the fact that records and electrical transcrip-

tions are being used in the transmission of musical entertainment to the public to such a degree that ninety-five per cent of all music heard today in the United States and Canada is what is commonly known as "canned music." Only five per cent is played by live musicians.

While a tremendous industry has sprung up in the use of music through the radio, and hundreds of millions of dollars is derived by these companies as a result of the use of music, very little of this return comes to the musicians because of the use of mechanical devices for the transmission of the music. The companies engaged in the manufacture of records and in the broadcasting industries find it profitable to dispense with the use of live musicians and to use these mechanical devices in connection with great advertising enterprises.

The American Federation of Musicians has for many years sought a solution to this unemployment problem. The manufacturers and broadcasting companies have shown no disposition to find ways and means whereby the unemployment created by their industry can be alleviated to a degree which would be fair and equitable.

Thus the employment and income of musicians are steadily decreasing while that of the record manufacturers and broadcasting companies is growing in staggering proportions. All the musicians have sought is a sensible and reasonable solution to the problem. All they want is that the employer assume a portion of the burden and examine the problem with a view of finding ways and means whereby the industry may go on but that the musician may live.

The American Federation of Musicians, at its convention held June, 1941, in Seattle, Washington, unanimously voted to direct its president to inform its members that they shall cease work in the manufacture of rec-

ords and electrical transcriptions. This direction has been put into force and effect; and, as a result, the employers in these industries, the press and the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice have "ganged up" on the American Federation of Musicians and launched one of the most vicious campaigns in labor history in order to prevent a just and equitable solution of the problem.

The Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice has instituted a suit for an injunction, the purpose of which is to compel the musicians to make records upon any terms and conditions fixed by the employers.

No regard is shown by the Anti-Trust Division for the injustice perpetrated upon the musicians by the record manufacturers. No regard is shown for the policy so frequently expressed by the government in recent years—that unemployment must be averted. No consideration is given to the fact that the musician in this instance is called upon to make the device which contributes to his destruction.

The attention of your Committee has been directed to the testimony given by the head of the Anti-Trust Division, before the Committee of the United States Senate, which undertook to launch an investigation of the action taken by the Convention of the American Federation of Musicians.

The Committee's attention has also been directed to the brief compiled in the suit which has been brought against the American Federation of Musicians. In that brief, there appears the following startling statement:

"In summary, we submit that the phrase 'terms or conditions of employment' assumes that there is a master who directs the work and a servant who obeys those directions. The function of the master is to determine what work he wants done, what machines he will use, what goods or

services he will furnish, and the customers to whom he will sell those goods and services. Insofar as the servant demands the power to determine any of these questions he is no longer a servant. He has become the master. He is an entrepreneur in business. A union cannot, under the pretext of improving terms or conditions of employment, use organized coercion to destroy the right of the employer to conduct his business in an efficient way and to use his best judgment as to the goods he will sell, the customers to whom he will sell them, and his relationship with other independent organizations . . ."

That statement has not been extracted from an ancient text justifying the institution of slavery. Nor is it the solemn observation of one who lived in that period of history when the very word "union" was anathema, and those workers who dared to join together into unions, vicious and ignominious criminal conspirators.

That statement is made by one who presumes to speak for the United States of America. It was published only a few days ago, on October 1st, 1942. And thus, at last, is frankly disclosed the true and vicious sentiments of this great crusader.

Are there words that can and will describe the indignity and insult thus heaped upon every man and woman in this country contributing their skill and energies in this war—in this war to end the tyranny implicit in the phrase "There is a master who directs the work and a servant who obeys those directions?"

You know that the true spokesmen and interpreters of the policies of our country could not even have thought, much less printed, a concept so directly subversive to the institution of democracy. The right of free men and women not to obey the arbitrary directions of a master is the very essence of our democratic institution.

We say, with full awareness of the implications of this statement, that Mr. Arnold's comment injects a dangerous, discordant and disuniting note in the concerted efforts of our public war officials to achieve full and enthusiastic production for the war effort.

If there be any merit or substance to Mr. Arnold's comments, then the efforts of organized labor to obtain greater voice in shaping the policies and methods of war production constitute a violation of law. If there be any merit or substance to Mr. Arnold's comments, then every constructive suggestion made by any American worker, or by any American union for a proper use of the masters' machines is in violation of the law. If there be any merit or substance to Mr. Arnold's comments, then the entire effort of the War Production Board to establish joint labor management production committees is a violation of the law. If there be any merit or substance to Mr. Arnold's comments, then the workers of this country, lest they be exposed to prosecution—and persecution—by Mr. Arnold, must stand by in mute and servile silence while their so-called masters—blind to the public needs of war, and driven only by desire for profits—abuse and exploit their machines and their "servants" to their own selfish ends. Such is the dictum of Assistant Attorney General, Thurman Arnold.

Thus, the controversy is much broader and more comprehensive than an isolated dispute with the American Federation of Musicians. It involves a principle affecting the rights of all organized labor. Only by the vigorous support of the American Federation of Musicians can the establishment of this ruthless, undemocratic and unjust principle be averted.

Therefore, your Committee recommends the adoption of the Supplemental report of the Executive Council and Resolution No. 68.

(Protest Against Lea Act)

(1951, pp. 280, 551) Res. 18 called attention to the problem of the Musicians Union whereby they are subject to both Taft-Hartley and Lea Acts which mitigates against their efforts to protect their employment, and called upon the A. F. of L. to work for repeal of the Lea Act.

Narcotics Victims, Farms for

(1928, p. 83) A bill providing for the establishment of farms for the treatments of narcotic addicts passed the House. This is a great step in the effort to restore these people to health. At present they are confined in prisons and jails where they can not obtain the proper care. If placed on farms they can be restored to health more quickly. Labor supported the measure.

Drug Act

(1952, pp. 44, 469) Res. 62 called for AFL support on a national basis for any movement to wipe out unlawful sale of drugs.

Illegal Traffic

(1955, p. 121) More than ever before, we urged the Congress to take a long look at the Communist worldwide illegal narcotics traffic which steadily infiltrates our shores and which constantly seeks to contaminate our armed forces around the globe.

Narcotics constitute a weapon particularly of Mainland China. Factories have been erected there and in North Korea and elsewhere to produce morphine, cocaine, heroin and other derivatives, including some new drugs not yet widely known outside that region of Asia, now in surplus quantities.

These narcotics have a two-fold purpose: 1. To gain gold and American currency with which to buy munitions and essentials. 2. To undermine the citizens of all nations which resist the sweep of communism.

We have called upon the Congress

insistently to provide all money necessary for enforcement, informers fees and suppression wherever such service is needed.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee this year recognized the severity of the threat sufficiently that it called upon the Tokyo representative of the A. F. of L. Free Trade Union Committee to return to the United States from his post in Tokyo to explain what he knows of the problem. His expertness in this field and observations and general knowledge as the author of a number of treatises and books on the subject identify him as one completely equipped to speak with authority.

He explained that the dope trade has grown in a few years in Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indo-China, Macao, Hong Kong and North Korea. In Japan, the Communists use the proceeds to keep their activities well-financed. He said that Japan and the United States are prime targets for the drugs.

The effects on the human system from drug addiction are manifold on mouth, nose, lungs, nervous system and digestive tract with victims dying young—at ages when their countries are depending upon them to help defend the sweep of Communism.

National Guard

(1935, p. 406) The state militia in Indiana was used in a controversy between the employees of the Columbia Enameling Company, Terra Haute, Ind., as a strikebreaking agency. The officers of the A. F. of L. are directed to notify the Governor of the State of Indiana and the Mayor of the City of Terre Haute, Indiana, of the disapproval of this convention of the use of the National Guard, special police and other officers to protect a corporation involved in a labor dispute when the right to organize, the right of free speech and free assemblage are in-

involved; and for such other action as the E.C. may deem advisable.

The resolutions adopted were directed to be sent to all affiliated organizations and to the American Legion, as Governor McNutt had been a commander of that organization.

(P. 456) We call upon the E.C. to support legislation which will prevent the abusive use of state militia in industrial disputes; legislation which will confine the use of such militia solely to the maintenance of law and order, including protection of the rights and privileges of wage earners with respect to picketing, peaceful assembly, etc. We further urge the enactment of legislation which will establish impartial non-military agencies or tribunals through which use of Federal arms and equipment by militia in industrial disputes shall be immediately investigated and misuse of such equipment be severely punished.

(P. 516) It is advisable that the convention declare its convictions on the use of militia or Federal troops in connection with industrial disputes. The record of the militia in several states has justified the belief that their activities were more in the nature of strike-breaking than of preserving the public peace. Conventions of the American Federation of Labor have condemned in most vigorous language the activity of certain state militias in connection with strikes, and the massacres, the savage killing of women and children by militiamen, which have occurred. These justified condemnations of the strike-breaking activities of state militia have referred specifically to the militia of certain states.

If the citizens of our country are to retain confidence in the militia, and the Army of the United States, these military organizations when called for duty to a community where industrial disputes exist must maintain absolute

neutrality in connection with the questions in dispute. They must be as much the protectors of the wage earners' rights as they are those of the employers. Their sole duty is to maintain law and order. The moment they become partisans of the employers, the moment their activities take on the function of strike-breaking, the moment they indicate that they are no longer the equal protectors of all citizens, they depart from their true function and bring not only themselves but their military associates into contempt. They destroy the confidence which should be reposed in them, and which is essential to confidence in government.

This convention declares its condemnation of any act by the militia of any state which indicates that the militia and their officers are not equally the protectors of law and order, and of the equal rights of all citizens, and that we voice our emphatic condemnation of the officers and members of any militia who, through their activities, give comfort to employers during an industrial dispute by using their armed force to overawe citizens and strikers, and in a manner to assist employers in breaking a strike.

The Executive Council is instructed to prepare legislation which will prevent any grants of money or Federal military supplies to state militias whose activities make it apparent that they are being used in a partisan manner in connection with an industrial dispute.

National Labor Relations Board

(Also see: Taft-Hartley, Allen-Bradley Legal Case)

National Labor Relations Act—(Labor and the)—(1934, pp. 74, 548) Shortly after Congress met, Senator Wagner introduced a bill providing for the adjustment of labor disputes and also providing for the creation of a National Labor Board. The Committee on Education and Labor of the

Senate held hearings at which our President testified. Labor approved the measure with certain amendments.

May 26, Senator Walsh reported an entirely new bill, but no action was taken. June 16 Representative Burns introduced in the House H.R. Res. 375, which had been prepared at the instance of President Roosevelt. This was a resolution to "effectuate further the policy of the National Industrial Recovery Act" and was a substitute for the Wagner Labor Dispute Bill. It passed the House the same day and was sent to the Senate where it was passed June 19. The law authorized the President "to establish a board or boards to investigate activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under Section 7 (a) of the National Recovery Act or which are burdening or obstructing, or threatening to burden or obstruct the free flow of interstate commerce."

Any board so established is empowered to order and conduct an election by a secret ballot of any of the employees of any employer, to determine by what person or persons or organization they desire to be represented in order to insure the right of employees to collective bargaining as defined in Section 7 (a) of the National Recovery Act. The resolution specifically provides that nothing in the law shall prevent or impede or diminish in any way the right of employees to strike or to engage in other concerted activities. The penalty of a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both, is provided on conviction of any person who knowingly violates any rule or regulation authorized under Section 3 or who interferes with any member or agent of any board established under this resolution.

(1935, pp. 43, 494) The first National Labor Relations Board was created by Executive Order on June 29,

1934, under Public Resolution No. 44 which was passed by Congress on June 16, 1934, and approved by the President on June 19, 1934. As provided in the Executive Order, the National Labor Relations Board replaced the National Labor Board on July 9th.

The National Labor Board had been established by Executive Order on August 5, 1933, as a bi-partisan board under the chairmanship of Senator Robert F. Wagner. While important principles in the interpretation of Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act were established, this Board was without power to enforce its rulings. Furthermore, although the question at issue in many cases was what agency should represent the employees in collective bargaining, this Board was without power to proceed with the necessary elections. In order that the agency which was responsible for the administration of the law might have the necessary powers to enforce decisions, to hold elections when necessary and to invalidate the company union as a recognized agency for collective bargaining, the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill was introduced by Senator Wagner. In the rush of last minute legislation, this bill was replaced by Joint Resolution No. 44.

Under the Joint Resolution, the President was authorized to establish a board or boards "authorized and directed to investigate issues, facts, practices, or activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under Section 7 (a)—or which are burdening or obstructing, or threatening to burden or obstruct, the free flow of interstate commerce—."

Any board so established was empowered when it was in the public interest to order and conduct elections by secret ballot to determine "by what person, or persons or organization" the employees involved wished to be represented for the purpose of collective bargaining. In connection with

such elections, power was given to order the production of pertinent documents or the appearance of witnesses to give testimony under oath.

Finally, after making provision for prescribing rules and regulations and specifying "a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both" for knowing violation of such rules and regulations or for interfering with or impeding the activities of any board, the Joint Resolution specifically protects the right to strike. "Nothing in this resolution shall prevent or impede or diminish in any way the right of employees to strike or engage in other concerted activities."

From the above, it is clear that the principal benefits to be anticipated from this legislation pertained to the matter of holding elections. The Board was empowered to order the production of the necessary documents or the appearance of witnesses to give testimony under oath. No additional powers were granted with respect to the enforcement of decisions where an election was not involved. No power was given to the Board to outlaw the company union as an agency for collective bargaining, but as will be seen from certain decisions of the Board which are reviewed below, the Board ruled in some cases that the company union would not be recognized as an agency for collective bargaining.

The Board was authorized:

1. To investigate issues arising under Section 7(a).
2. To order and conduct elections.
3. To hold hearings and make findings of fact with reference to alleged violations of Section 7(a).
4. To prescribe, with the approval of the President, certain rules and regulations.
5. To act as a Board of voluntary arbitration at the request of the parties to a labor dispute.

The Board was to recommend, when necessary, the establishment of regional boards or special boards over which the National Labor Relations Board would have the power of review. Furthermore, although it was stipulated that the Board "may decline to take cognizance of any labor dispute when there is another means of settlement provided," the Executive Order contained no provision that might be interpreted as denying the Board the power to review decisions or recommendations of the other boards created.

The Regional Labor Boards already in existence were continued with some changes in location and personnel. Seventeen districts were established and 24 local boards to act as agents of the National Board. Under this setup, the Regional Boards were for the most part, fact-finding agencies. While they might attempt to settle disputes or hold elections where the consent and cooperation of the employers were obtained, they were not permitted to hold elections where payrolls were refused except under instructions and direction of the National Labor Relations Board. They had no power to enforce recommendations with regard to violations of Section 7(a).

While the centralization of all powers in the National Board did involve certain delays, these were more than offset by the fact that all policies emanated directly from the Board itself. Consequently, uniformity was achieved that could not otherwise have been possible.

The operations of the National Labor Relations Board, demonstrated beyond question that where it may be advisable to establish special agencies to deal with particular situations or problems arising in certain industries, the interpretation and enforcement of the federal law that is enforced by all must be centered finally in one agency, to which all workers who primarily may be under the jurisdiction of a

special agency, will have the right of appeal. Brief reference may be made to the Automobile Labor Board and to the Daily Newspaper Industry Board which were not established under Public Resolution No. 44, and which had no connection with the National Labor Relations Board, but which operated along lines which to a substantial degree were in direct conflict with the principles established by the National Labor Relations Board. Furthermore, the workers who were included under the jurisdiction of these two boards were granted no right of appeal to the National Labor Relations Board.

The Automobile Labor Board was created under the President's settlement of the threatened automobile strike. The settlement specifically provided for minority representation:

If there be more than one group, each bargaining committee shall have total membership pro rata to the number of men each member represents.

Since the National Labor Relations Board clearly enunciated the principle of majority representation in the Houde decision and strictly adhered to it thereafter, we find that workers in the automobile industry were completely denied certain fundamental rights which the National Labor Relations Board had determined to be theirs. One other outstanding issue in this connection was the matter of holding elections and the manner in which they were conducted.

The Daily Newspaper Industry Board was one of the adjustment boards which were established under the codes. The complaint of the *San Francisco Call-Bulletin* was filed with the San Francisco Regional Labor Board on October 5, 1934, and a hearing on the record was held before the National Labor Relations Board on November 13. A decision was made in favor of the complainant. The employer contended that the Board did

not have jurisdiction and Mr. Richberg in his subsequent brief, contended that the stipulation that the Board "may decline to take cognizance" of situations arising where there is another means of settlement meant "shall" decline to take cognizance. To this the Board replied: "It is unnecessary to torture the meaning of plain language." This problem of jurisdiction was finally ended by President Roosevelt's letter to the Labor Board on January 22, in which he requested that the National Labor Relations Board refuse to entertain a complaint arising in an industry where the code provides machinery for settlement.

This decision applied to eighty-five industries (February 12, 1935) whose codes provided for Industrial Relations Boards to adjust labor complaints or disputes, or both. The more important of the earlier decisions issued by the National Labor Relations Board established certain fundamental principles which had been enunciated by the National Labor Board. These interpretations of Section 7(a) may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The right of employees to bargain collectively imposes a corresponding duty upon employers. The employer is obligated by law to negotiate in good faith.

2. The representatives selected by the majority of the employees within a bargaining unit are the sole agency for collective bargaining for that unit.

3. The employees may select any person, persons or organization to represent them, and such representatives are in no way restricted to fellow employees.

4. The reduction to writing of agreements negotiated accords with sound business policy.

The right of majority representation and the obligation imposed upon employers to enter into negotiations in good faith were clearly set forth in

the case of the Houde Engineering Corporation. In the decision, dated August 30th, the position of the Board on these two points was clearly set forth in the following language:

"This Board, therefore, stands upon the majority rule. And it does so the more willingly because the rule is in accord with the American traditions of political democracy, which empower representatives elected by the majority of the voters to speak for all the people.

"When a person, committee or organization has been designated by the majority of employees in a plant or other appropriate unit for collective bargaining, it is the right of the representatives so designated to be treated by the employer as the exclusive collective bargaining agency for all employees in the unit, and the employer's duty to make every reasonable effort, when requested, to arrive with this representative at a collective agreement covering terms of employment of all such employees."

In this connection it is of interest to note that the principle of majority rule under Section 7(a) of the National Recovery Act, was first established by the Petroleum Labor Policy Board.

In the Johnson Bronze Company case, the Board stated that the company should meet with the union committee, regardless of whether or not non-employees are on the committee.

The status of the signed agreement was established in the National Aniline and Chemical Company case when the Board found that "an insistence by an employer that he will go no further than to enter into an oral agreement may be evidence, in the light of other circumstances in the case, of a denial of the right of collective bargaining."

One of the most significant decisions by the Board in any case involving

company unions was made on September 27, 1934, in the case of Ely-Walker Dry Goods Company of St. Louis. This decision provided in substance that the company should withdraw all financial support from the League, should cease from soliciting or suggesting membership in the League, and should withdraw from the League any recognition as a collective bargaining agency. Wholesale House Workers Union Local 18316 which represented a conceded majority of the employees in the departments concerned was to be recognized as the exclusive collective bargaining agency for the employees in those departments, and the company was to negotiate in good faith with the union and make every reasonable effort to arrive at a collective agreement.

Two important forms of discrimination were recognized in the cases of the Foster Knitting Company, Inc., and the Globe Gabbe Corporation, respectively. In the first of these, the Board found that the company in denying to several employees reinstatement because of their union affiliations and activities, upon the termination of a temporary plant shut-down, had in effect discharged these employees. In the latter case, it was found that the removal of a plant from one location to another would not be found a sufficient reason for any change in relations already established with the union where former employees were also willing to remove to the new location.

The position of the Board in seeking to protect the interests of employees who had been discharged for union activity is illustrated by the case of the U. S. Smelting, Refining and Mining Company. The company expressed its readiness to reinstate the men who had been discharged, but offered to two of them jobs with rates of pay considerably lower than what they had been receiving. The Board ordered that they be offered reinstatement immediately in their former positions

with the same rights as previously enjoyed.

While the definite policy of payment in full for all time lost through discriminatory discharge was never established, back wages to the date of the Regional Board decision were ordered in the case of the Brunswick Laundry, and this principle was followed in many subsequent cases.

One of the last decisions which was of significance, so far as the establishment of principles was concerned, was in the case of the Macauley Company where it was determined that no jurisdiction could be taken over a situation which did not arise under the President's Reemployment Agreement or under an industry code.

During the first six months of operation by the National Labor Relations Board, one hundred elections were conducted by Regional Boards with the consent of the employers. An analysis of the results shows that 59 percent of the valid votes were cast for trade unions and 34.9 percent were for company unions or employee-representation plans. After these elections, recognition and collective bargaining were achieved in half of the units involved and written agreements were reported in about 40 percent of the units.

Under Public Resolution No. 44, the following special boards were established in addition to the National Labor Relations Board:

1. The National Longshoremen's Labor Board
2. The National Steel Labor Relations Board
3. The Textile Labor Relations Board

The National Longshoremen's Labor Board was created by Executive Order on June 26, 1934, in connection with the wide-spread strike of longshoremen then in progress on the Pacific Coast. Pursuant to the agree-

ment of August 7, 1934, between the parties, the Board on October 12, 1934, handed down its decision between the International Longshoremen's Association and the Waterfront Employers of Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco, and the Marine Service Bureau of Los Angeles. The basic features of the award were:

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(a) An increase in the basic wage rate from 85 cents to 95 cents per hour.

(b) A 6-hour day and a 30-hour week

(c) Provision for the hiring of all longshoremen through halls maintained and operated jointly by the International Longshoremen's Association and the respective employers.

The proposals of the International Longshoremen's Association had been:

(a) An increase in the basic wage from 85 cents to \$1.

(b) Limitation of hours of work to 6 per day, 30 hours per week.

(c) Hiring and dispatching through the International Longshoremen's Association halls, under regulation established by a joint committee. On

October 17, 1934, decisions were handed down involving certain members of the International Longshoremen's Association engaged as grain handlers in Portland, Vancouver and Seattle and certain members engaged as dock and terminal workers in Portland, Oregon. By order of the President, the Board ceased to exist on March 11, 1935.

The National Steel Labor Relations Board was created by Executive Order on June 28, 1934, with powers similar to those of the National Labor Relations Board but with jurisdiction limited to the iron and steel industry. The principal functions of the Board, therefore, were:

(a) To investigate issues arising under Section 7(a).

(b) To promote the settlement of controversies by mediation and conciliation.

(c) To serve as a board of voluntary arbitration.

(d) To exercise all the powers provided in said Public Resolution No. 44, 73rd Congress, for a board established under said resolution.

(e) To hold elections, applying the majority-rule principle.

Under the Steel Labor Relations Board, certain differences were adjusted; reinstatement was required where discriminatory discharges were found and elections were ordered in many cases to determine by what person, persons, or organization the employees concerned wished to be represented for the purpose of collective bargaining. As sufficient power was not granted to the Board, it was unable to enforce decisions. In many instances, elections which had been ordered were prevented by court action. Although the Board was authorized to continue in a mediatory capacity after the invalidation of the NRA by the Supreme Court, operations were actually terminated by the Schechter decision.

The Textile Labor Relations Board was created on September 26, 1934. The establishment of the Textile Labor Relations Board and of the special boards to study the actual operation of the stretch-out were recommended in the report of ex-Governor Winant to the President. On September 5, 1934, a Board of Inquiry under the chairmanship of John S. Winant had been appointed by the President to assist in reaching a settlement of the textile strike.

The Board was authorized to inquire into the complaints and problems involved; to consider ways and means of meeting them; and upon the request of the parties, to act, or to select persons who should act, as a board of voluntary arbitration. The report of this Board of Inquiry was released on September 20th. With respect to the ability of the industry to carry higher payroll costs and with respect to the enforcement of certain code provisions, special studies were recommended by the Federal Trade Commission and by the United States Department of Labor. It was further recommended that special committees be created to supervise the use of the stretch-out and to recommend a permanent plan for the control of the stretch-out.

While these recommendations were of real significance, it may be said that the recommendations for a Textile Labor Relations Board "for the more adequate protection of Labor's rights under the collective bargaining and other labor provisions of the code" was the most significant feature in the recommendations of the Board.

After a thorough analysis of the agencies which had been established in connection with code administration, the Board found "that the whole system of administering the labor provisions of the code has completely lost the confidence of Labor in this industry, and is for that reason alone, im-

possible of functioning satisfactorily in the future." It should be noted that the Board of Inquiry, in recommending that a special board be established for the Textile Industry, took cognizance of the fact that cases arising out of Section 7(a) may be appealed to the National Labor Relations Board: "By this means harmony of principle in dealing with Section 7(a) cases is assured."

In its creation, the Textile Labor Relations Board had the same general functions in the textile industry as did the National Steel Labor Relations Board in the iron and steel industry. The personnel of the two boards was the same. The foremost function of this Board, however, was to "take appropriate action in any case in which it is alleged that there has been discrimination in taking men back to work after the textile strike." The major portion of the activities of the Board were devoted to this problem. In addition to recommending the reinstatement of strikers in many cases which were submitted to the Board, other cases were handled which concerned violations of Section 7(a) and some elections were ordered.

The action which was taken by the Board in two instances warrants particular notice. In the case of Standard-Koosa-Thatcher Company, the alleged company union, the Good Will Adjustment Club, was certified by the Textile Labor Relations Board as the representative of the employees for the purpose of collective bargaining. In the case of the Ninety-six Cotton Mill which involved certain strikers who had not been reinstated after the textile strike, the Board ruled that "The complainants' strike was unsuccessful and for that reason, it is not incumbent upon the employer to reinstate the strikers in their former positions." This ruling was in direct contradiction with the request of the Winant Board that the employers in

the industry "take back the workers now on strike without discrimination."

As was the case with the National Steel Labor Relations Board, the National Textile Labor Relations Board for all practical purposes was terminated with the invalidation of the NRA, although it was authorized to continue in a mediatory capacity.

Brief consideration of principles established by the Board and of the results obtained through those elections which were held indicates the tremendous potentialities of such an agency, but the total inability of the Board to enforce compliance with rulings which were made shows most conclusively that under Public Resolution No. 44, the Board was not vested with adequate power.

Chairman Biddle in his appearance before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor during hearings on the Wagner Bill presented figures illustrating the scope of the Board's achievement. Of approximately 5309 cases brought before the regional labor boards, between July 1, 1934, and March 1, 1935, approximately 3950 were disposed of. Approximately 1,500,000 workers were involved. On the other hand, where decisions were issued by the National Labor Relations Board finding violations, restitution in accordance with the decision was made in only 34 out of 86 cases. While 33 of these cases were referred to the Department of Justice, not one suit had been brought at the time of Chairman Biddle's statement.

With regard to elections, it is important to note that while many elections were held with the consent of employers, Chairman Biddle reported that in the case of each of the six elections ordered by the Board, the employer filed a petition with the Circuit Court of Appeals to review the Board's order in accordance with the provisions in Public Resolution No. 44.

The next chapter in our history of

organization and collective bargaining under the protection of the federal government will be based on our experience under the National Labor Relations Act which became law on July 5, 1935.

The Board is empowered to prevent any of the unfair labor practices listed below when they "affect" interstate commerce. It is an unfair labor practice for an employer to:

1. To interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in self-organization and collective bargaining.

2. To dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it.

3. To discriminate with regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment, to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization.

4. To discharge or discriminate against any employee for filing charges or giving testimony under the Act.

5. To refuse to bargain collectively with the representatives of the employees.

Certain of the more important principles established by the National Labor Relations Board have been written into the new law. The right of majority representation is specifically included and employers have the affirmative duty to bargain collectively with the duly chosen representatives of their employees. The company union is outlawed and the union shop is specifically legalized. The provisions in the Act which pertain to these points should go far toward clarifying certain fundamental issues which have been recognized since the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act and Section 7(a). Of greater importance, however, than the above, are the new powers with which the Board has been vested:

1. The power to subpoena witnesses and any evidence "that relates to any matter under investigation or in question";

2. The power to issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the courts.

Under the National Labor Relations Act, we have every reason to believe that new goals in the field of labor relations will be achieved. The one outstanding question in connection with this legislation is to what extent will the National Labor Relations Board be permitted to protect the right to organize and bargain collectively under the commerce clause of the Constitution.

(1935, p. 133) The Labor Disputes Bill passed both Houses of Congress, was approved by the President and became a law July 5, 1935. Our President and other friends of the measure appeared before the Education and Labor Committee of the Senate and the Labor Committee of the House and explained the great benefits that would come from this legislation. They pointed out that there could be no peace in industry unless collective bargaining machinery was set up so that negotiations between employers and employees could be carried on in a practical and constructive way.

When Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act became a law through its incorporation in industrial codes of fair competition the membership of the A. F. of L. believed a policy had been adopted that would prevent strikes and minimize labor disputes. But this was not to be. Employers refused to obey the law. They employed high-priced lawyers to show them how to circumvent the law.

Discrimination was the order of the day. Employees were discharged. enormous sums were used to establish company unions and a legal fight was made to protect said company unions. Courts were appealed to to prevent or delay the holding of elections to de-

termine who should bargain collectively with the employer. In calling upon the workers to obey the laws great corporations expended large sums in trying to break the law.

Because of the action of the employers it was necessary to secure the passage of legislation that would make it possible to have real collective bargaining. To that end the Labor Disputes Bill was introduced.

No bill ever introduced in Congress was so misrepresented. In the south a telegraph and telephone company solicited contributions from its employees to be used in defeating the measure. Some employers coerced their employees into signing petitions protesting against the legislation. One corporation started a chain letter urging recipients immediately to wire their respective Congressmen the strongest possible protest against the bill and also to have twenty-five or more of their employees to do the same. Those who received the chain letters were requested to write five business friends to also send such messages to Congressmen and also have their employees do likewise. Great importance was given this campaign as an appeal was made to each recipient of the letter "not to break the chain."

When the bill was up in the Senate efforts were made to insert amendments that would practically kill the intent of the proposed law. These, however, were defeated and the bill was passed by the Senate May 16 by a vote of 63 to 12.

The opposition to the bill in the House became greater and greater. When the bill was first introduced in Congress and hearings were held, President Green called upon the officials and members of all labor organizations to write or wire their respective Congressmen urging them to vote for the bill. However, the great strength of the opposition was directed toward the House organiza-

tion in its last efforts to defeat the bill. The Rules Committee was asked by friends of the bill for a rule providing for the consideration of the measure. After some delay caused by continued opposition a rule was finally granted. The bill passed the House June 19 without a record vote.

Convincing evidence was submitted in an effort to prove that the National Labor Relations Act would be of benefit to the people of the United States. All that Labor asked was to be placed in a position of equality with employers in bargaining collectively.

The intent of the law was so important that the President of the United States placed it in his "must" list for passage by Congress.

Labor has always opposed "company unions." These "unions" are formed by employers for the purpose of controlling the economic power of the workers. They are organized by the employers for their own special benefit. The law is designed to protect employees against being compelled to join company unions for it prohibits certain unfair labor practices. Among them are:

1. Interfering with, restraining, or coercing employees in the exercise of their rights of self-organization and collective bargaining.
2. Dominating or interfering with the formation or administration of any labor organization, or contributing financial or other support to it.
3. Discriminating in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment to discourage membership in any labor organization, but an employer is not precluded from entering into an agreement with a union of the appropriate craft or unit of employees, making union membership a condition of employment.
4. Discharging or otherwise discriminating against an employee or filing charges or giving testimony under this Act.
5. Refusing to bargain collectively with the representatives of the employees.

Nothing in this Act shall be construed so as to interfere with, impede or diminish in any way the right to strike.

(1936, pp. 153, 435) The National Labor Relations Board began its work on August 27, 1935, the date on which the appointment of the three board members by the President became effective. Since that time, the board has been the agency empowered to protect the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively under the mandate of the law.

With what degree of success has the board achieved this purpose during the past year? An appraisal of the board's activities may be based on the number of cases handled by the board itself and its regional officers during that period. By October 1, 1936, the board's record covered 1,405 cases involving 291,408 workers. Of these, 369 cases were closed by agreement of the parties; 444 were closed by dismissal or withdrawal; and 78 cases were closed for such reasons as compliance with decisions, failure to find violation, refusal to assume jurisdiction, or by transfer to some other agency.

In addition, the board settled 103 strike cases out of a total of 175 handled. It averted 78 threatened strikes and held 57 elections.

It will be noted that almost half of the cases closed were closed by agreement of the parties and, therefore, clearly represented a satisfactory settlement of the dispute. Included in the number of cases closed by dismissal or withdrawal are many in which charges were originally filed with the board, but under the threat of the board's action, the employers were willing to reach an agreement "out of court."

On October 1, 1936, there were 514 cases still pending final determination. This number included many cases in which decisions had been

rendered but full compliance not obtained.

This record of cases gives undisputable evidence of the board's ability to prevent unfair labor practices outlawed by the Act. While many of the cases presented to the board did not come for final determination either before the board or the courts, most of these cases were settled to the satisfaction of the workers involved because of the mere existence of the statute and the administrative machinery designed to enforce it.

The first of the unfair labor practices outlawed by the Act is for an employer to interfere with, restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of their rights. The cases heard and decided by the board have revealed important factual information on such practices chiefly because of the board's power to subpoena witnesses and records.

It was shown, for example, that labor espionage was an important instrument used by employers for union-breaking. Much of the factual material brought to light in the board's hearings in this connection served later as a basis for further investigations by the LaFollette Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. The cases of the Friedman-Harry Marks Clothing Company and the Pennsylvania Greyhound Lines, Inc., showed that employers and officials of corporations were not adverse to spying on unions personally. In the Virginia and Maryland Coach Company case, the vice-president of the bus company went so far as to attend a union meeting disguised by a bus operator's cap. In other cases, it was shown to be a common practice to use regular employees for spy work (Protective Motor Service Company and Consumers Research Inc.). Refusal by the workers to accept invitations to spy on their fellows was also demonstrated in such

cases as that of the Fruehauf Trailer Company and Foster Brothers Manufacturing Company, Inc. The use of the nationally known detective agencies by employers was revealed in detail in the notorious Freuhauf case and the cases of the Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company, the Brown Shoe Company and others.

The experience of the board has shown that discrimination against union members and leaders, as well as threats of such discrimination, still remain the most common form of interference with union activity. This is generally done together with deliberate propaganda which not only poisons the minds of the workers against unions but also indicates to them that employers are prepared to make their hostility to unions effective by dismissal.

Among the many varieties of threats is the threat to move the plant or go out of business if the union succeeds in organizing the employees (National Casket Company, Brown Shoe Company, etc.) Another form of propaganda consists in attempts to convince employees that unions and union organizers are not interested in the welfare of the workers but serve ulterior purposes. Employers' denunciations of unions as rackets were recorded in the cases of the Atlas Bag and Burlap Company, the Wheeling Steel Corporation, and Jones and Laughlin Steel Company. Sometimes such statements are more specific and homely; if a worker joins the union he would "be down here stopping bullets" while the union organizer would be "sitting in the hotel smoking a cigar" (Greensboro Lumber Company).

In some instances, an attempt is made to sap the strength of unions by foisting individual agreements on some of the workers (Atlas Bag & Burlap Company). In some situations, the same purpose is achieved

by soliciting the striker under threat to return to work individually.

The board has also held that activities of employers which have the effect of injuring the morale of union members constitute interference, restraint and coercion. An example of this was shown in the Brown Shoe Company case where a seniority agreement with the company was the union's outstanding achievement in collective bargaining. This agreement was arbitrarily abrogated by the company without notice at a time when the members of the union needed its protection most. Such action the board has found unlawful.

Finally, affiliation with an outside union is often discouraged by refusal of employers to deal with representatives who are not in their employ. In the Oregon Worsted Company case, the board held that the "insistence upon dividing the committee into employee and non-employee groups constituted an arbitrary and flagrant violation of the employee's right to self-organization. It is not for the employer to dictate the form of representation the employees shall have."

In its decisions, the board struck a heavy blow to company unions sponsored by employers to prevent self-organization of the workers. In the Pennsylvania Greyhound Lines, Inc., decision, the company was not only ordered to cease and desist from dominating and contributing financial support to the company union, but also to withdraw all recognition from the company union as representative of their employees. Similar action was taken in the Wheeling Steel Corporation decision where the company was ordered to cease and desist from encouraging membership in or recognizing the departmental councils (which was a form of company union in this instance) or from discouraging membership in the lodges of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Since the legality of the union shop was established under the Act, it was unnecessary for the board to substantiate the point by any of its decisions. The board made an important ruling, however, in upholding the legality of a strike for a union shop under federal jurisdiction. This issue was squarely met in its decision in the Alaska Juneau Gold Mining Company case in which the board ruled that "a strike for a closed shop is not illegal; employees striking for such an end are as fully entitled to the benefits of the Act as are all other striking employees."

Inasmuch as the Alaska Juneau case originated in federal territory, this may be interpreted as the position of the board in a territory subject to direct federal jurisdiction. Had the strike originated in any of the states, the situation would have been materially different because the question of the legality of the union shop would then be determined by the state laws prevailing in a given locality. Legality of a strike for a union shop is a matter for judicial determination by the state courts governed by state laws. This is why in those states where union shops have been declared illegal and so held by the state courts, the board recognized the fact in the decisions handed down in cases originating in such states.

Another unfair labor practice prohibited by the Act is the refusal by employers to bargain collectively with the duly selected representatives of their employees. The board has rendered a series of important decisions upholding this fundamental right of workers. Following the precedent laid by the old National Labor Relations Board in the Houde case, the board ruled that collective bargaining must constitute negotiations in good faith leading toward an agreement. A mere discussion of proposals, the board held, does not constitute such bargaining (Atlantic Refining Company).

. . . An important phase of the board's work was the exercise of its power to determine representation in collective bargaining under the principle of majority rule. The first controversies concerning representation before the board were adjusted by elections held under agreements in which both parties had agreed in advance to abide by the results. The first case in which the board's power to determine "the unit appropriate for collective bargaining" was invoked was that of the Wayne Knitting Mills of Fort Wayne, Indiana. In the election held on December 7, 1935, the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, Branch No. 2, polled five hundred and sixteen votes out of nine hundred and sixty ballots cast. This majority vote qualified the Hosiery Workers Union as the exclusive representative for collective bargaining.

In many cases, however, the board was prevented by litigation from holding elections. On November 13, 1935, the hearing in the case of the Majestic Flour Mills, Aurora, Missouri, and Federal Labor Union No. 20028 was held up by injunction. This marked the beginning of a long list of cases in what clearly appeared to be a carefully planned campaign to prevent the board from exercising its functions. By August of this year, seventy-nine injunction cases against the board had been filed in thirty-one district courts.

While the question of the constitutionality of the Act has been raised by the respondent companies in every instance of court litigation, it is significant that no circuit court of appeals has found the Act unconstitutional. There is no doubt that the Supreme Court will rule on the constitutionality of the Act in adjudicating the cases now before it.

Much confusion concerning the validity of the Act has been created by employers who insisted on represent-

ing the measure as regulating commerce. Actually, however, the purpose of the Act is to eliminate the use of certain substantial obstructions to the free flow of commerce and to eliminate these obstructions when they occur. The Supreme Court will be certain to dispel all doubt as to the Act's validity, if it regards the law not as an attempt to regulate commerce but, as stated in the board's petition for a rehearing of the Jones & Laughlin case, as a "regulation designed to protect commerce and not to regulate the details of production."

(1937, pp. 126, 507) On April 12, 1937, almost two years after the enactment of the National Labor Relations Act, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld its constitutionality in five cases, the facts of each case arising out of various interpretations of the Act by the board as applied to transportation, communication and manufacturing. The effect of these decisions was to affirm the broad powers of the National Labor Relations Board as declared by Congress and to permit the board to begin for the first time an effective administration of the Act.

The board in theory began functioning on August 27, 1935, the date on which the three original members thereon were appointed; but actually it was some months after the appointment of the board that it became effectively organized and staffed to handle the volume of cases brought before it. Its first case was decided on December 7, 1935, and that case is an excellent example of the hamstringing of the board by the courts during its early days. That case, the *Greyhound* case, was argued in the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in December, 1935, upon an application of the board for enforcement of its order directing the respondent to reinstate certain employees discharged for membership in the union and to dissolve a company un-

ion; and until the time of the decisions of the Supreme Court above mentioned, the Circuit Court of Appeals had not decided the case. It was only decided on June 15, 1937.

Prior to the decisions of the Supreme Court affirming the validity of the Act the board had been very active in attempting to carry out its functions; 2,311 cases were handled by the board during the 18 months after it began active operations in the fall of 1935 until April 1, 1937, the 2,311 cases involving 796,118 workers. Thereafter cases began coming to the board in greater volume. By May 1, 1937, 2,788 cases had been noticed by the board, 3,852 cases by June 1, 1937, and 6,479 cases by August 1, these 6,479 cases involving more than 1,944,000 workers; 3,824 of these cases have been closed.

During July 1,345 new cases arose, involving 309,666 workers, as opposed to 1,284 new cases during the previous month, involving 369,515 workers.

(P. 429) The E.C. is directed to have the following amendment to the National Labor Relations Act introduced in Congress and use every legitimate means for its enactment:

"Employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. The majority of any craft or class of employees shall have the right to determine who shall be the representatives of the craft or class for the purpose of this Act."

(P. 484) The A. F. of L., over a period of years, has endeavored to promote legislation having the twofold purpose of guaranteeing Labor's right to organize, and the legalization of the privilege of those who labor to affiliate with labor organizations of their own free will, uninterfered with by employers or federal, state or municipal government.

The A. F. of L. has succeeded in establishing trade unionism as an in-

stitution which respects the public laws, and consistently observes the integrity of all contracts which are entered into.

The A. F. of L., in the effort to carry out its purpose to secure full protection to the wage earner's right to voluntary association for lawful purposes, was instrumental in the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, approved July 5, 1935. It endorsed, and gave its assistance to the enactment of the measure by Congress, only after a definite understanding and positive assurance had been secured by its sponsor in the Senate and in the House that the proper administration of the Act would protect the right of legitimate labor organizations to negotiate and enter into agreements with employers, these agreements being negotiated by representatives freely selected by trade unions, and without interference from any outside source in their selection.

The National Labor Relations Act declares the policy of the United States to protect:

The exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid and protection.

When the Act was under consideration we were assured by the sponsors of this legislation in the Senate and the House, that Section 9 (a) and (b), if properly administered, would and could not interfere with the activities of the trade union movement as constituted, or violate, or terminate agreements entered into by authorized representatives of Labor; or in any manner interfere in the determining of the form or character of the labor movement.

We were further assured that should

any interpretation be placed upon the Act which worked to the detriment of the American trade union movement as represented by the A. F. of L., that the sponsors would immediately introduce an amendment to correct the misinterpretation which had been made.

We were further assured that under no circumstances could the application and administration of the Act in any manner, directly or indirectly, give to the National Labor Relations Board, or any of its agencies, power or authority to in any manner enter the field of conciliation, mediation and negotiation for the purpose of adjusting industrial disputes.

A careful reading of the Act makes it evident that no such authority or field of jurisdiction was given to the board.

For these and other reasons the A. F. of L. instructs the E.C. to promptly assemble all of the facts and the evidence in proof of the maladministration of the National Labor Relations Act, so that the rights of employees, together with the basic rights of trade unions, may be protected, and so that Congress may be requested to amend this Act so as to prevent hereafter the usurped authority now being exercised by the board and its agencies.

Furthermore the president and the E.C. are instructed and authorized to seek immediate correction of the deplorable, disruptive and destructive condition above referred to, by petitioning the President of the United States for prompt and adequate relief.

(1938, pp. 133, 344) On May 15, 1935, Senator Robert F. Wagner arose in the Senate and said of the National Labor Relations Act:

Anyone familiar with these laws will recognize at once that there is nothing in the pending bill which places the stamp of governmental

favor upon any particular type of union.

Had the National Labor Relations Board construed and administered the Act in the spirit and on the basis of the foregoing declaration, we would not now have occasion to submit the following report. Instead of a report of justified criticism we would be submitting a report of unqualified approval of the board and its administration.

It is with deep regret that frankness impels us to report to you that the National Labor Relations Board has administered the Act contrary to its letter, spirit and intent, with manifest bias and prejudice against the A. F. of L. and in favor of dual and rival organizations. Our resentment has been arousing and your officers have publicly and officially in most vigorous terms condemned this unholy alliance between a government agency exercising quasi-judicial jurisdiction and the C.I.O.

Increasing importance which attaches to the actions of the National Labor Relations Board is evidenced by the fact that in the three years of its existence the board has handled 16,500 cases involving almost 4,000,000 workers. As the work of the board grew so did its tendency to go beyond the direct Congressional mandate and gradually to apply its decisions not to the questions of Labor's basic rights which the Wagner Act had been designed to protect, but to the problems of form and structure of the labor movement itself.

That a three-man board, composed of men with no direct labor experience should undertake to shape the form and structure of our labor movement through decisions clothed with judicial authority, aroused among our unions a growing feeling of apprehension and indignation. Aware of its solemn responsibility to preserve and perpetuate the basic democratic prin-

ciple of Labor's self-determination and self-government, the entire membership of the A. F. of L. has united in its protest against this unwelcome intervention in Labor's internal problems by a government bureau. The A. F. of L. is aware that problems which have emerged and developed over a period of fifty or sixty years—problems with which Labor has struggled for several generations—cannot and should not be settled by snap judgments of outsiders no matter how well-intentioned or learned they may be.

It is with this invasion of Labor's democratic sovereignty that we have found fault and not with the principles and purposes which the Act embodies and which will always have our unyielding support.

The Board has exceeded its public purpose and has vitiated the procedure delineated in the Act in three respects:

First, in a large number of instances its agents have shown gross favoritism and bias in the handling of cases, furthering the objectives of one union against another and favoring one form of labor organization.

Second, by administrative fiat the board has set aside legally valid and binding contracts entered into in good faith by *bona fide* unions and employers.

Third, through the arbitrary determination of appropriate units in cases dealing with the question concerning representation, the board has sought to impose upon workers regardless of their wishes the type of organization it favored.

Before the U.S. Supreme Court on April 12, 1937, handed down the five epoch-making decisions, upholding the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act, the administration of the law by the National Labor Re-

lations Board was on the whole, just and proper. Such errors as were committed, were the natural result of a newly constituted government agency administering a newly created law. Since the decisions of the Supreme Court of April 12, 1937, the board has abandoned whatever restraint it imposed upon itself prior to this date and has brazenly and by official acts declared itself as a proponent of the C.I.O. fostering its interests and by the effect of its decrees recruited membership for the C.I.O.

In the short period of time from April 12, 1937, to the date of the holding of the Denver Convention, the tendency on the part of some members of the board to pervert the spirit and intent of the law became apparent. The A. F. of L., desiring to maintain the substantial benefits of the Act and desiring to accord the board the benefit of whatever doubt may have existed as to its apparent unfair attitude toward the A. F. of L., abstained from any official disapproval of the board in the report of the E.C. to the Denver Convention. The E.C. however directed attention to the fact that the board was overstepping the bounds of its proper functions and the E.C. urged caution, as disclosed by the following statement in the report:

"The National Labor Relations Board is now taking jurisdiction under the decisions of the Supreme Court over a great portion of the vast industries of America. It possesses more power than does any other governmental board now in existence. The board's task is important enough if it adheres to the original intention of the Act of preventing employers from interfering with employees in joining unions. This work could well occupy the entire time of the board and its staff. The board, however, is going beyond this function and letting itself be drawn into conflicts between unions when such entry by the board

is entirely improper and we believe unlawful. . . . The administration of the Act by the board is becoming more and more important. Whether or not it will recognize the validity of union contracts where a question of representation has been raised, whether or not it will continue its hands-off policy with respect to intervention during a strike and whether or not it can continue to avoid the jurisdictional dispute between the Federation and the C.I.O. in the determination of units appropriate for collective bargaining remains to be seen. It is of the utmost importance to organized labor that the administration of the Act be in competent and conscientious and impartial hands."

Our suggestions for caution have gone unheeded. The administration of the Act has not been in competent and impartial hands. On the contrary, flagrant bias and prejudice exists on the part of the members of the board as is evidenced by decisions which attempt to undermine and destroy A. F. of L. unions.

A study of numerous cases discloses the following:

1—The board has thwarted the intent of Congress in determining what shall constitute an appropriate unit for the purpose of collective bargaining.

2—The board has by its decisions determined that craft unions or other labor unions of long standing and affiliated with the A. F. of L. have no right to free choice and self-organization. The board has assumed the power to make the determination of the proper unit contrary to the desires and wishes of craft groups or other recognized constituted unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.

3—The assumption of power by the board to disregard existing units of long standing and to substitute its own ideas and judgment of what shall

constitute the proper unit has caused disintegration and in some cases virtual disestablishment of A. F. of L. unions.

4—The pronouncements of the board respecting the proper unit disclose the determination on the part of the board to comply with the contentions and demands of the C.I.O. and to favor C.I.O. unions in an effort to destroy A. F. of L. unions.

5—Great difficulty is experienced by many A. F. of L. unions which are strong and clearly have a majority in a plant in getting the board to order an election, when requests therefor are made by American Federation of Labor unions. By comparison, C.I.O. unions have secured rapid compliance with similar requests on their part.

6—A. F. of L. unions have experienced great difficulty in obtaining decisions by the board after elections have been held, and after hearings have been had. Many decisions have been held up for many months and in some cases for the purpose of affording C.I.O. unions an advantage through the delay.

7—Lawyers and personnel of the regional labor boards have personal relationships with C.I.O. officials and have frequently advised and guided them in pending controversies with A.F. of L. unions.

8—The National Labor Relations Board has in many cases built up a straw-man by the use of the word "favoritism" by the employer, as a result of which, it has violated the sanctity of contractual obligations between employers and A. F. of L. unions, has invalidated contracts and virtually disestablished existing A. F. of L. unions.

9—The board has instituted investigations and hearings at the request of small minorities of C.I.O. members for the purpose of assisting the C.I.O.

in disrupting existing relations between the employers and A. F. of L. unions.

Space will not permit a detailed recital of the number of cases and instances establishing the foregoing points. However, a few key cases are herein referred to.

First and foremost is the case of the Allis Chalmers Company, wherein board member Edwin Smith dissented. He held that maintenance electricians and firemen and oilers affiliated with the A. F. of L. have not the right to vote as separate units and that the majority in these groups should be denied the right to select their bargaining agent. He held that all workers should be fused into one unit and an industrial organization set up. In discussing the majority opinion wherein the craft groups were accorded the right to select their bargaining agent he said: "By this pseudo-democratic method, a determination of the greatest consequence to the other employees in the plant is left in the hands of groups known to be hostile to industrial organization." Board members, Chairman Madden and Donald Wakefield Smith wrote the majority opinion which was contrary to the contentions of Board member Edwin Smith. Since then, however, Board member Edwin Smith has won over Board member Donald Wakefield Smith and these two wrote that portion of the opinion in the Serrick Corporation case dated July 27, 1938.

. . . Furthermore, for the purposes of this Act, and under the circumstances of the present case, the division of the respondent's employees by the International Association of Machinists into two locals for organizational purposes must be deemed artificial. Since the I. A. of M. sought to organize the tool room employees separately and at approximately the same time, solicited and carried on organizational

activity among production employees and continued to do so up to the time of the hearing, in fact, its methods of organization must be regarded as an attempt to enroll all the respondent's production employees in direct competition with the United Automobile Workers, which was organizing on an industrial basis. Therefore, the I. A. of M. cannot be heard to maintain that the craft unit is appropriate.

The foregoing decision of Board members Edwin S. Smith and Donald Wakefield Smith elicited the following dissenting opinion from Chairman Madden:

"I concur with the decision and in all of the opinion except that part beginning with the words 'Furthermore, for the purposes of the act,' and ending with the words 'that the craft unit is appropriate.' I think that this language is unnecessary for the decision of this case and that therefore no opinion should be expressed upon this subject."

From the foregoing it will be seen that the insidious attempt to destroy A. F. of L. unions through the perversion of the unit provision in the National Labor Relations Act is definitely on its way to accomplishment by the Board unless strong and determined measures are taken by the A. F. of L. to prevent it.

Precedent-making decisions have been handed down in which contracts between employers and A. F. of L. unions have been invalidated. This has been accomplished by the Board by adopting a rule termed "favoritism" by the employer for the A. F. of L. unions in the matter of organization. The Board has accomplished this by rulings in which it ascribed to employers acts of "favoritism" toward the A. F. of L. unions in the matter of organization. The Board has applied these rulings in such a way that if a foreman or a minor supervisory em-

ployee who has no right to hire or fire but who is eligible to membership in the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions, makes, without authorization from any official of the employer, a statement favorable to the A. F. of L. union of which the employee in question is a member, such statement is sufficient to invalidate contracts lawfully entered into between the employer and the A. F. of L. union. The following cases, which do not include all the cases on the subject, are proof of the foregoing charge: Consolidated Edison Company, Serrick Corporation, National Motor Bearing Company, Zenite Metal Corporation, Carrollton Metal Products Company, National Electric Products Corporation, Electric Vacuum Cleaner Company.

It is interesting to note in several instances, the U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeals have condemned this rule of the Board and failed to approve of it. Two such cases recently decided are the Ballston-Stillwater Knitting Co., Inc., decided in the month of August, 1938, by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second District (N.Y.), and Peninsular and Occidental Steamship Co., decided in the month of August, 1938, by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for New Orleans.

Based on reasoning similar to that used in the invalidation of contracts, the Board has set aside elections conducted under its auspices in which the A. F. of L. unions were successful. These elections were set aside at the instance and request of the C.I.O. unions on the weakest of pretexts. The cases which support this charge are, among others, Carrollton Metal Products Company; Tennessee Copper Company; Johns-Manville Company (Cal.). When American Federation of Labor unions complained respecting outrageous conduct which would affect a C.I.O. favorable election—conduct amounting to bribery of voters—the Board has refused to grant even a

hearing on the matter, much less set aside the election. A case in support of this charge is Mobile-Alabama Dry Dock Company.

By virtue of its decisions the Board has, by implication at least, placed A. F. of L. unions in the category of company unions and has caused to be visited upon A. F. of L. unions the same punishment as has been visited upon company unions.

In the Consolidated Edison Company case involving the C.I.O. and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the I.B.E.W. had secured a contract recognizing it as the bargaining agency for its own members. The Board set aside the contract and used language which fails to conceal the finding that it looks upon the I.B.E.W. as a company union. This case was appealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals of New York. The Court held that there was no justifiable reason for invalidating this contract and authorized the company and the I.B.E.W. to immediately enter into new contracts upon the same terms and conditions as those which were invalidated by the Board.

The Board has abused its powers in determining limitations of the bargaining unit. Bit by bit the Board has assumed extraordinary powers in determining the unit for bargaining. It reached its culmination in the so-called Pacific Coast Longshoremen's case. The Board held all the employees of the Pacific Coast ports and all employees of the Pacific Coast ports to constitute a single unit for bargaining. Thus the city of Tacoma has an overwhelming majority of employees who are members of the A. F. of L. Yet the Board has held that the C.I.O. will bargain for all the employees of Tacoma including the A. F. of L. majority because of the claimed majority by the C.I.O. of the entire coast. Here the Board effectively disestablishes the A. F. of L. union, because a union

which cannot bargain for its members cannot function.

This ruling is a product of the philosophy of Edwin S. Smith and Donald Wakefield Smith to foster industrial unions to the detriment of A. F. of L. unions. This case is a precedent for combining all steel, automobile, and unions in similar large industries and all the employers in these respective industries as one unit, so as to effectively throttle and destroy individual A. F. of L. unions because the number of members in the aggregate in the A. F. of L. unions in these industries may be less than the aggregate members in the C.I.O. unions.

The Board has refused to respect strike settlements effected by the Department of Labor or by courts on the basis that an election would be held to determine the bargaining representative when it felt that A. F. of L. unions were likely to win the election.

We mention the cases of the Mt. Vernon Car Manufacturing Company of Mt. Vernon, Illinois, the Serrick Corporation of Muncie, Indiana, and the Consumers Power Company of Michigan in support of this contention.

In these cases strikes were called off on the basis that an election would be held. In the Mt. Vernon case over a year has elapsed and no election has been held. On the contrary, a prolonged hearing was conducted, which cost the A. F. of L. many thousands of dollars and no decision has been rendered to date. In the Serrick Company case a decision was withheld for a year and then instead of respecting the settlement and holding an election, the Board certified the C.I.O. union without election. In the Consumers' Power case, which involves a utility, there have been threats of closing down the power plant. Governor Murphy interceded and secured a promise from the Board that it would hold an election within sixty days. At

the behest of the C.I.O. the Board has not held an election to date, which is far beyond the 60-day period. When the delay became intolerable and a strike was imminent, it proceeded to hold a hearing in order to give the C.I.O. the advantage of further delay.

There are a number of cases in which the C.I.O. unions have filed objections for certification as bargaining representative. When it was apparent to the C.I.O. that it would lose the election the Board has permitted charges of so-called unfair labor practices to be filed against the employer. This was done for the purpose of preventing the election which it was certain would result unsuccessfully for the C.I.O. It is apparent to us and to any impartial individual inquiring into these cases that the Board and the C.I.O. have conspired to delay the elections at the behest and for the benefit of the C.I.O.

The latest instance of this kind is the case brought by the C.I.O. against Chicago newspaper publishers. After a prolonged hearing the case was set for argument. The C.I.O. realizing it would lose an election, filed a charge of unfair labor practices. In fact an old complaint was resurrected and the arguments were called off by the Board.

There are many other cases and instances establishing other activities of the board which are detrimental to the interests of the A. F. of L. and which evince partiality and bias in favor of the C.I.O. The proof is strong and overwhelming.

Realizing that the maladministration of the Act is the responsibility of the present personnel of the board, the E.C. made known to the President of the U.S. its opposition to the reappointment of Donald Wakefield Smith. The President has re-appointed him. However, such reappointment does not lessen the justification for opposition by the A. F. of L. and it will continue

to oppose those members of the board who fail to act impartially and without prejudice.

The E.C. has given much attention to the subject of the revision of the Wagner Act. The basic rights guaranteed by the Act, such as self-organization, collective bargaining and *bona fide* restraints upon employers against interfering with these rights, are sound and ought to be preserved. However, proper amendments are necessary to curtail the unlawful assumption of broad powers by the board, also to curtail unlimited discretion in construing and administering the Act, and to make specific the jurisdictional limits of the board. The manner and method of holding elections should be specifically provided for as well as the time in which such elections shall be held. Amendments will be necessary in respect to rights of review and appeal of decisions of the Board and that such right of review shall be accorded unions aggrieved of decisions in representation cases which is not now provided for in the Act.

More specifically, amendments will be required to limit the board's power to invalidate union and employer contracts and to limit the power of the board in determining the proper unit for the purpose of collective bargaining.

In connection with amendments it must be remembered that the Act does not accomplish to the degree intended the outlawing of company unions. There must be included in the revisions and amendments of the Act definite and more specific provisions in respect to the abolition of company unions.

(P. 344) It is evident, that the A. F. of L. has just cause to complain of the administration of the Act by the board. It is incontrovertible that the board is biased and prejudiced against the A. F. of L. and its affiliates. In controversies between A. F. of L. un-

ions and C.I.O. unions the C.I.O. unions have been awarded favorable decisions, not on the merits, but upon preconceived economic predilections of the members of the board. There is a manifest purpose on the part of the board to change the historical structure of our National and International Unions and in effecting such change to destroy our unions. The Serrick Corporation decision referred to is a case in point. Here tool and die makers were denied the right to self-organization by denying to them the right to be constituted a separate unit for collective bargaining.

Investigation into the activities of the Board, among other things, conclusively established that the board refuses to act with reasonable promptness on charges lodged by A. F. of L. unions; that the board, after holding hearings, has unreasonably delayed handing down decisions to the detriment of the cause of our unions. Often such delays are to further the interests of the C.I.O. In other instances, elections fairly won by the A. F. of L. have been set aside and held for naught because of false and unfounded objections raised by the C.I.O. Contracts lawfully entered into by A. F. of L. unions and employers have been invalidated by the board on the flimsy pretense that some foreman without authority to hire and fire and who is a member of the union, has spoken favorably of the contracting union.

There are other fundamental complaints against the board which are amply sustained. The board has misconceived the purpose of the Act; it has perverted the spirit and intent of the law, and instead of administering the Act so as to promote peace in industrial relations its method of administration has promoted strife. It has failed utterly to take cognizance of the fact that the protection of the fruits of collective bargaining is as important to workers as the right to

bargain collectively. It has failed to interpret the Act in the light of the expressed guarantees that workers shall have the right to organize for all "mutual aid and protection." Insurance benefits, strike benefits, mutually of interest of workers engaged in well defined, separated tasks, etc., are factors rarely considered by the board.

Although the Act contains fundamental guarantees of the rights of self-organization by workers which the A. F. of L. has fostered, the Board has given secondary consideration to these guarantees. Its primary consideration has been directed toward unwarranted assumption of great powers, reaching out and grasping for more and more jurisdiction, until the rights and privileges of free trade unions have been invaded, usurped and denied.

The manner and method of administering the Act by the National Labor Relations Board has brought administrative justice into disrepute.

It is imperative, therefore, that the Act be revised lest our unions be rendered impotent by the unjust decrees of the board.

Of course, amendments to the Act will have to be drawn as near to the date when Congress convenes as is practicable, because between the present time and the convening of Congress more experience will have been had with the board and its decrees. However, the experience to date convinces us that amendments dealing with the following subjects should be presented to the Congress:

- (1) The unit rule must be changed to conform to that which is in the Railway Labor Act so that it will be obligatory on the board to grant a craft or class the right to select its bargaining representative by majority vote.

- (2) The power of the board to invalidate contracts must be definitely curtailed.

(3) Every known interested party should be served with due process and be afforded an opportunity to appear in any case. No contractual rights should be passed upon without every party to the contract being served with process and given the right to appear in the case.

(4) Intervention by interested parties should be made a matter of right and not a matter of discretion.

(5) Definite qualifications should be set forth in respect to examiners. Some are wholly incompetent and unfit to serve in that capacity. In fact affidavits of prejudice should be permitted to be filed against them where an examiner is considered unfair.

(6) Clarification respecting power over the issuance of subpoenas is necessary and liberalizing of the rule in that respect should be provided.

(7) The secrecy of files must be lifted to the extent that all persons may have an opportunity to examine a record which contains material on which decisions are made. The idea of keeping information and material in a secret file and then utilizing it in connection with other evidence as a basis for the decisions smacks of star chamber proceedings.

(8) Elections shall be conducted within thirty days from filing of a petition therefor.

(9) All cases shall be decided within 45 days after the close of the taking of testimony.

There are two propositions which we acknowledge are controversial. We direct that the E.C. consider them further:

First: Jurisdiction shall be granted appellate courts to review the facts as well as the law to determine whether the decision conforms to the weight and credibility of the evidence.

Second: Separate the administrative functions from the judicial functions of the board, lodging the judicial func-

tions in a tribunal wholly independent from the National Labor Relations Board.

Responsibility for much of the maladministration of the Act is due to the personnel of the board. Changes are imperative if a just policy is to be adopted and maintained.

Finally, vigorous opposition to the appointment and reappointment of men who are not qualified by training, experience and reputation for a quasi-judicial position of highest importance. If our protests are not heeded at one source, they should be forcefully presented to the Senate of the U.S. so that only persons known to be free from bias or peculiar economic philosophies are appointed.

Although it was not the purpose of the Act to vest mediation and conciliation powers in the National Labor Relations Board it has assumed such functions. There is in the Department of Labor a strong and efficient well-administered and thoroughly informed mediation and conciliation department which from the beginning has had the confidence of the workers. In numbers of cases regional directors have, under the guise of administering the Act, assumed mediation and conciliation authority which in truth and in fact was not through mediation or conciliation but mandates equivalent to threats of reprisals or penalties if not complied with. The Act does not give the Board authority to infringe upon or assume the functions of the Conciliation Division of the Department of Labor. The Board should confine its functions to the prescribed purposes of the Act.

If necessary Congress should be asked to specifically provide against appropriations being used for the above purpose.

(P. 352) Resolutions were adopted declaring that certain members of the NLRB should be relieved from any further official capacity of the board, and that members of the U.S. Senate

should in the following election be asked to declare their intention against confirmation of such officials.

(1939, p. 147) In a lengthy report on the administration of the National Labor Relations Act, the Executive Council condemned the actions of the National Labor Relations Board in many important instances and reported on efforts made to replace anti-labor members of the Board. The report of the E.C. prefaced its report with the following statement:

"The American Federation of Labor was the chief sponsor of the National Labor Relations Act. It fought for its adoption with all the vigor at its command. It considered the adoption of this Act a great victory for organized labor because it not only recognized Labor's fundamental rights of self-organization, self-determination and freedom of choice in designating representatives, but it gave Labor a means of enforcing such rights to the end that collective bargaining would be a reality.

"The basic principles of the National Labor Relations Act are sound. The American Federation of Labor supports these basic principles and will continue to support them as forcefully as it sponsored the adoption of the Act. It will jealously defend and protect the basic principles of the Act from attack by forces that are antagonistic to these basic principles."

(1939, p. 481) The convention approved the following report of its committee which considered this subject:

Your committee again emphasizes the fact that the American Federation of Labor was the original sponsor of the National Labor Relations Act. The basic principles of the National Labor Relations Act, guaranteeing to workers the rights of self-organization, self-determination, freedom of choice in designating representatives and imposing on employers the duty to

bargain collectively with representatives of workers, are sound. The American Federation of Labor will support these principles with all the vigor at its command. It will defend these basic principles of the Act from attack by any forces antagonistic to them.

Because of a perverted construction of provisions in the Act and an improper administration of it by the Board, the fundamental rights referred to have been weakened and in some respects destroyed. Because of bias on the part of certain members of the Board and its personnel, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates have been made the victims of maladministration. Recognizing this, the Houston Convention by unanimous action directed submission to Congress of amendments to the Act. These were carefully prepared and submitted soon after Congress went into session in 1939. Extended hearings were held before the Labor Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, but because of the delay in starting the hearings, no action was taken on these amendments at the last session of Congress.

The overwhelming volume of proof and evidence submitted at these hearings sustained the position of the American Federation of Labor in sponsoring its amendments. The examination of many of the Board's decisions proved conclusively that the structure of the International Unions comprising the American Federation of Labor, and that of the American Federation of Labor itself, was at stake.

It is impossible to review all the National Labor Relations Board cases which the American Federation of Labor presented to justify the amendments, for they run into the hundreds. The evidence presented proved, among other things, that in numerous instances the National Labor Relations

Board had postponed elections requested by American Federation of Labor organizations, these postponements giving the C.I.O. an additional opportunity to break down American Federation of Labor membership.

It was proved that the National Labor Relations Board had declared *bona fide* trade union agreements entered into with employers null and void, and that Federal Courts, including the Supreme Court of the United States, had held that the Board was in error and unjustified in its efforts to vacate these agreements.

It was proved that in instances when the American Federation of Labor desired to have subpoenas issued to secure the presence of witnesses, the National Labor Relations Board had unreasonably delayed issuing them.

It was proved that in numerous cases the Board had so prepared the ballots for election to determine the unit for representation, that American Federation of Labor unions were barred.

It was proved that in instances the National Labor Relations Board had refused to permit American Federation of Labor unions to be parties to cases coming before it.

It was proved that a number of examiners had shown themselves biased and wholly incompetent and unfit to serve in that capacity.

It was shown that in many cases American Federation of Labor unions had been dealt with unjustly and in a prejudiced manner, the proof being the decisions which had been handed down by the United States Circuit Courts of Appeals, and the United States Supreme Court itself.

Even the Board itself has since amended its rules in such a way as to meet some of the demands of the American Federation of Labor. The Board also rendered several precedent-making decisions which have had the

effect of adopting amendments sponsored by the American Federation of Labor. Likewise several court decisions rendered in the past few months pronounced principles consistent with the amendments of the American Federation of Labor. Thus, great benefits resulted from the presentation of these amendments and the hearings held respecting them.

The necessity for the amendments, however, is not lessened, because this Board or some future Board may revise the rules now in force. This Board, or some future Board, may render decisions in other cases, reversing the present favorable decisions. Courts, too, may recede from their present position. Further, the amendments are vitally necessary in order to overcome several recent decisions of the Board which seriously jeopardize the interests of the American Federation of Labor; they are also necessary for the improvement in administration of the Act, and for the purpose of removing the existing bias of some of the members of the Board, and of its personnel, against the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

The decision in the American Can Company case, rendered July 29, 1939, as pointed out by the dissenting members of the Board,

. . . once the industrial union has obtained an exclusive contract on a plantwide basis, either by organizing before the advent of the craft union or by capturing the craft union's majority in a later election, thereafter the craft employees are irrevocably part of the industrial unit. The effect is, therefore, to crystalize the industrial form of organization and prevent the craft employees from ever thereafter changing their minds . . .

indicates the imperative necessity for the revision of the unit rule in the present Act and for the adoption of the amendment of the American Fed-

eration of Labor respecting the unit rule, which amendment is identical with the New York Act and is based on the principles of the Railway Labor Act.

In a recent decision—(the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company case), the Board held that the workers in a separate plant of the company, who were overwhelmingly opposed to being represented by the C.I.O., were to be bargained for by the C.I.O. regardless of an existing contract to the contrary. A member of the Board, in a vigorous dissenting opinion, accuses his colleagues of flaunting the plain provisions of the Act in order to fix a unit to "suit their own fancy."

It is apparent from these and other decisions of the Board that the members are suspicious of one another's motives, and the accusations contained in these decisions emphasize the absolute necessity for the adoption of the American Federation of Labor amendments so as to stop this illegal abuse of power by the Board and to eliminate decisions setting up units to "suit the fancy of its members" instead of complying with law.

Other problems of great consequence still remain which can only be resolved by amending the Act. The right of appeal has been denied in cases such as the West Coast Longshoremen's case, the Progressive Mine Workers' cases, whose petitions for certification have been dismissed without a hearing and without any reason being assigned for the dismissals. The problem of extraordinary and outrageous delay in adjudicating cases must be eliminated. The rule-making power of the Board by which it assumes the power to legislate and through which it has legislated against the interests of the American Federation of Labor must be curbed. This rule-making power as exercised by the Board, that is, the promulgation of rules without according interested par-

ties the right of a hearing, endangers the constitutional form of government of our democracy.

Our movement could not remain silent when it became evident that it would not have an equal standing with any other labor organization before the law.

We were actuated by a deep-seated conviction that we were defending the structure and the principles of the American Federation of Labor from one of the most insidious and dangerous attacks it had ever encountered.

Nothing could have been more dangerous to the American Federation of Labor than to permit decisions to go unchallenged which, in substance, declared that the American Federation of Labor did not stand equal before the law with any other labor organization, or that the National Labor Relations Act authorized the Board to reshape the form and structure of the American trade union movement.

The dilatory tactics in the commencement of hearings before Congress eventuated in the adoption of a resolution to investigate the National Labor Relations Board by a committee of the House. The resolution was adopted by an overwhelming vote. If the result of this investigation should materially impair the Act, the responsibility must rest upon the shoulders of the National Labor Relations Board and its adamant refusal to yield to reasonable amendments before the resolution was proposed, and must be charged to opposition groups who, by vicious propaganda and other reprehensible means, endeavored to prevent the adoption of constructive amendments to the Act.

When testifying before the committee of the House, President Green admonished the committee that if action were not taken by Congress before 1940, it was more than likely that the whole subject would be made a political issue in the 1940 campaign.

Only through the adoption of reasonable amendments by the coming session of Congress can this be averted.

Your committee therefore recommends that the position of the American Federation of Labor remain unchanged and in all respects be affirmed; that the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to continue their efforts to amend the National Labor Relations Act in accordance with the amendments sponsored by the American Federation of Labor which are now pending before Congress.

Your committee further recommends that emphasis be placed on that amendment which provides for the creation of a new Board with a membership of five, and which provides, further for a complete overhauling of the present personnel employed by the Board.

(1940, pp. 79, 110-113, 481-486) Pursuant to instructions of previous conventions, the A. F. of L. continued efforts to secure desired amendments to the National Labor Relations Act. These amendments sought one fundamental objective—the effective removal for all time of the prejudicial bias, harmful inefficiency and flagrant distortion of basic principles that have characterized the administration of the Act.

(1940, p. 481) The strenuous efforts made by the American Federation of Labor in the past three years to change the personnel of the National Labor Relations Board and other key personnel, has borne fruit. Two members of the late Board are no longer members thereof.

The history leading up to these changes has been carefully set forth in the reports of the Executive Council and the Resolutions Committee for the years 1937, 1938, 1939, and in the present report of the Executive Council.

It is sufficient to say that the fac-

tual matter presented in these reports establishes that shortly after the formation of a dual labor movement, a biased and unfair attitude toward the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates was manifested by the members of the Board, and by their appointed agents in the administration of the Act.

Although the American Federation of Labor at first relied merely on protests to the Board against this prejudice and bias, the situation became so intolerable that no other course was left to the American Federation of Labor than to demand a change in personnel and amendments to the Act. Although these amendments are still before Congress and have not yet been adopted, the submission of them to Congress, the hearings and investigations conducted by various committees, have been productive of considerable reform in the administration of the Act.

Last year, about the time the Congressional hearings were coming to an end, the Board revised and changed a number of fundamental rules improving the administration of the Act. The most fundamental reform however, is the changed personnel, not only in the members of the Board, but in the various key employes and agents of the Board.

The hearings before the various Congressional committees disclosed that the secretarial force was anti-American Federation of Labor, and frequently acted as propagandists for a dual and rival labor movement. We are pleased to report that only a few days ago the Secretary of the Board, several of his assistants, and several lawyers employed by the Board, resigned. Most of those who have already resigned were openly accused of bias. There is room for further housecleaning, and we have every reason to believe that the new members will remove those individuals who have per-

verted the Act in their administration of it.

We have stated before, and we repeat again, that the fundamentals of the National Labor Relations Act are sound and must be preserved. But past experience indicates that these fundamentals can easily be departed from if the personnel of the Board is so disposed. Changes in personnel are not easily brought about. It is necessary therefore to guard the fundamentals of the Act with definite substantive and procedural provisions from which no future Board will be permitted to depart. Therefore, it is necessary that the following basic amendments heretofore proposed by the American Federation of Labor be enacted into law.

1. A change in the unit rule to permit skilled employes and recognized classifications of workers to retain their separate unity if they so desire, similar to the Railway Labor Act.

2. A direct court appeal by labor organizations in representation cases, so as to preclude a recurrence of the Longshoremen's decision, which wiped out all American Federation of Labor Longshoremen's bargaining units on the West Coast.

3. Amendments preserving the integrity of collective bargaining agreements lawfully entered into by *bona fide* labor organizations.

4. Procedural amendments to eliminate the outrageous delays that jeopardize the organizational gains made by many labor unions.

5. While we have confidence in two members of the present Board, unforeseen events may change the makeup of the Board at any time, and the logical reasons which originally led the American Federation of Labor to favor a five man Board remain unchanged.

The struggle for reform by the American Federation of Labor has not been in vain. With the change in the

personnel of the board we look forward with hope and confidence to a fair, honest and unbiased administration of the National Labor Relations Act. In the efforts of the new members of the board to administer the Act fairly and honestly, the American Federation of Labor pledges to them its whole-hearted support.

(1940, p. 329) The general counsel of the A. F. of L., in reporting on the *Simplex Shoe Company vs. Wisconsin State Federation of Labor* case, stated that the decision handed down in this case "gave validity to provisions which were subsequently written into the National Labor Relations Act and the various Labor Relations Acts of the states patterned after the Federal Act." This had reference to the legality of rights given Labor by the Norris-LaGuardia Act. The *Simplex* decision likewise was deemed to declare that "such guarantees written into any enactment as substantive law were valid and binding."

(1941, p. 521) The E.C. report contained a report on developments in the administration of the National Labor Relations Board. The following committee report on the report of the Executive Council was approved:

Significant improvements in the administration of the National Labor Relations Act continue to flow from the efforts of the past four years on the part of the American Federation of Labor to bring about necessary reforms.

The background and reasons for the American Federation of Labor's decision to amend the Act are detailed in the reports of the Executive Council and the Resolutions Committee for the years 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940 and in the present report of the Executive Council.

Briefly these reports demonstrated—and this demonstration has been fully corroborated by Congressional committees and by subsequent events

—that the original board and its personnel administered the Act in a manner that not only prejudiced the interests and rights of the American Federation of Labor, but also perverted and endangered the basic principles embodied in the Act.

A few weeks ago the term of Board Member Edwin S. Smith expired. He was the last of the original board members. The President did not offer his name to the Senate for reappointment, and this in itself represents a substantial victory for the American Federation of Labor. Board Member Smith was openly hostile to the interests of the Federation from the very beginning of the formation of the dual labor movement. No private individual has done as much as this public official to encourage opposition to the American Federation of Labor and enhance and strengthen the development of a dual and rival organization. The elimination of Mr. Smith virtually completes the overhauling of a biased and unfair personnel and promises that hereafter the American Federation of Labor will receive fairer treatment before the labor board.

In addition to the removal of incompetent and unfair personnel, our amendments were addressed to four major objectives:

1. A change in the unit rule, so as to preserve the right of skilled craftsmen to designate their own representatives and to retain their own form of labor organization.

2. Amendments safeguarding the integrity of lawful collective bargaining agreements of *bona fide* labor organizations.

3. Procedural amendments that would eliminate harmful and unnecessary delays.

4. An amendment providing for a court review in representation cases so as to protect against arbitrary de-

cisions relating to the appropriate bargaining unit.

As reported to you by the Executive Council, many of our objectives have been obtained without amendment through changes in board decisions and through court opinion. For example, the *Longshoremen* decision in May of this year completely reversed the notorious decision of the old board in the same case, whereby entire seaboard cities, organized by the American Federation of Labor and composed of 100 percent A. F. of L. membership, were forced to be represented by a dual and rival organization. Under the new decision the same employees in these ports have at long last been given the right of self-organization and of free choice of their own representatives.

Similarly, the board recently reversed its decision in the *Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Company* case in a manner that gave employees in one of the plants of that company, completely organized by the American Federation of Labor but who had heretofore been obliged to be bargained for by an undesired group, the right to designate their own A. F. of L. bargaining representative.

Outstanding, too, is the decision of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in the *Electric Vacuum Cleaner Company* case which reversed a decision of the old board that had arbitrarily invalidated an A. F. of L. contract with unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department. The present board, too, in the *Calvert Distillery Company* case and others, evidenced a changed and wholesome attitude with respect to lawful collective bargaining contracts.

Finally, through a change in their rules of procedure, the present board has succeeded to a considerable extent in removing harmful delays.

Thus, it will be seen that the activities of the American Federation of

Labor have indeed proved fruitful. And yet, the need for legislating these changes, rather than depending upon the particular personnel at a particular time, is self-evident. Even the present board itself has, particularly with respect to the unit question, rendered opinions that strike directly at the vital interests of the American Federation of Labor. In the *Inland Steel Company* case, teamsters were denied the right to vote whether they desired to be represented by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters or by a dual organization; and in the *Weyerhaeuser* case wherein the machinists were lumped with other crafts into one unit against the wishes of the separate crafts.

This board, as well as the former board, has assumed absolute and unreviewable power to shape and determine the structure of trade unions in this country in accordance with the economic predilections of the personnel of the board. We can conceive of no circumstances that justify this tremendous power. Already, the American Federation of Labor has suffered incalculable harm because of the abuse of this power by a biased board. Removal of that board has not removed the assumption of this power. Ignorance or mistake in the exercise of that power, no less than calculated abuse, constitutes a threat to the American Federation of Labor, since there is no appeal provided for from decisions in representation or unit cases. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the American Federation of Labor to persist in its efforts to have the Wagner Act amended in accordance with its proposals now pending before Congress.

(1942, p. 66) Efforts to improve the administration of the NLRB were incorporated in report of Executive Council. The council was pleased with the improvements made but regretted that the overall functions were still

far from what is desired. The Council Report stated:

" . . . In short, there was considerable overhauling resulting in immediate and substantial improvements and indicating fair promise of efficient and equitable administration that would be consistent with the expressed purposes of the Act.

Unfortunately, however, the evils we have been complaining of have not been fully removed. This we attribute to two fundamental factors, one, the vast and unfettered discretion vested in the board to determine the units appropriate for purposes of collective bargaining—or, put otherwise, (1) the absolute power vested in three government officials to shape the structure of the trade union movement, and (2) the retention of certain important officials—particularly Regional Directors—who continue to reflect the bias and attitudes of the original board.

(P. 68) Small wonder, in view of the trend of the board which the foregoing cases illustrate, that Regional Directors who had temporarily obscured their anti-A. F. of L. prejudices when the new board came into being have openly resumed their former attitudes of hostility to the A. F. of L. Small wonder, too, that the volume of complaints against the board and its personnel that are being registered by our affiliates throughout the country grows greater and greater. For example, the General Executive Board of the Teamsters International Union at its recent meeting in Atlantic City issued a statement strongly condemning the actions of the board.

It is especially regrettable that in these perilous times when the energies of all should be directed toward the successful prosecution of the war that the labor board should administer the Act in a manner that can only lead to confusion, dissatisfaction and

dissension. This unfortunate circumstance could have been completely avoided had our proposals for constructive amendment of the Act been adopted. Each passing year brings further proof of the appropriateness and need of those amendments. Congressional action on those amendments was precluded last year because of the occupation of Congress with defense matters. Now that we are directly engaged in a world-wide life and death struggle it may be thought by some that consideration by Congress is, at this time, inopportune. Yet, unless the board abandons its present trends, and permits workers to exercise the rights granted them by the Wagner Act, it is self-evident that passage of our amendments may become a necessary and even indispensable war measure.

(P. 163) H.R. 5580 defines subversive individuals and prohibits them from serving as representatives of employees under the National Labor Relations Act. The Executive Council while agreeing that subversive persons should be controlled, opposed this bill because if history and common experience mean anything such legislation will not serve that end, but rather will be utilized as a means of harassing and attacking legitimate labor organizations. The problem of subversive activities is, by no means, limited to representation of employees by subversive persons. There is absolutely no basis for the plain implication of H.R. 5580, namely, that our war effort has been hampered because of misrepresentation of the American worker. As a matter of fact, it is fair to say, on the basis of reliable investigations and records, that other groups in our society have been far more conspicuously used and abused by subversive persons than have labor organizations. Thus, legislation which necessarily relates subversive activities to labor unions results in a completely misleading and

unwarranted focus, and its inevitable result will be to penalize labor groups whose contribution to the war effort has not only proved completely patriotic but also indispensable to success.

(P. 608) The American Federation of Labor desires no defense of individuals guilty of actions subversive to the Government of the United States, either in the ranks of the labor movement or elsewhere. We believe also that the record of the American Federation of Labor, in this as well as in other national emergencies, makes legislation restricting the right of free choice of representation (a restriction applicable only to organized labor) entirely unwarrantable and unjust.

(P. 490) The administration of the National Labor Relations Act, despite improvements resulting from legislative and other efforts of the Federation, continues to present important deficiencies and serious problems. The Executive Council's Report indicates that the American Federation of Labor is still victimized by the prejudice of subordinate officials of the board and by erroneous decisions of the board itself growing out of its absolute power to determine what form and structure trade union organization in this country should take. Unless the board permanently and conclusively abandons the mystified exercise of that power as evidenced by its decision in the *Utah Copper Company* case and by the other decisions noted in the report of the Executive Council, and unless—more importantly—the constructive amendments of the American Federation of Labor, which place reasonable limits on the extent of that power, are adopted by Congress, then we shall be confronted with a dangerous challenge to the principle of trade union autonomy and voluntarism.

(1943, pp. 58, 415) Previous reports of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and the ac-

tion of the conventions on such reports, conclusively established the manifest bias of members of the National Labor Relations Board and of a considerable number of its personnel against the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates. Manifest unfairness in the administration of the Act where our affiliates were concerned, has amounted to "maladministration." With changes in membership of the board, improvement for a short period was noticeable. Soon the former prejudices against the Federation and its affiliates reasserted themselves.

Your committee is convinced that the old remaining prejudiced personnel dominates the board, and that the present members are too weak or unwilling to resist the strong favoritism displayed by employed personnel for rival organizations. On no other premise can we explain the attitude of the board during the past year in support of the outrageous policy of raiding A. F. of L. unions by rival organizations. The board and its personnel have, on many occasions, fostered such raiding by giving the raiders aid and comfort in the form of favorable procedure, such as the issuance of unwarranted complaints against employers with whom A. F. of L. unions have existing contracts; conducting hearings, holding elections; and the timing of such procedure so as to be most advantageous to the raiders.

The board's activities reached a climax in its attitude toward the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company contract with the Metal Trades Department. Reference to the recital contained in the Executive Council's Report will make clear the circumstances of this raid.

We recommend hearty commendation of the Metal Trades Department for its prompt, vigorous and effective action in defense of union rights.

Your committee also recommends

that the Executive Council adopt all appropriate means for resisting the injustice practiced upon its affiliates by the board in the aiding and abetting of the raids upon the American Federation of Labor membership.

Your committee urges that the Executive Council continue to energetically defend trade union rights as well as the fruits of collective bargaining, and prevent the board from perverting the Wagner Act into a charter for organizing rival unions by means of unlawful raids.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council study the work of this board, and developments from the operation of the law, for the purpose of recommending amendments which will assure constructive results.

(1944, p. 155) The Report of the Executive Council called particular attention to experiences during the preceding year with the National Labor Relations Board with particular reference to their attitude toward raiding of A. F. of L. unions. Specific cases were reported which were considered of major importance and the subject of the report was referred to a convention committee which made recommendations (unanimously adopted) as follows:

(P. 419) A. F. of L. called upon, through Res. 99, to secure coverage of government employees under NLRA. Convention took the following action on the proposal:

Because of the unsatisfactory results of the administration of the Act in its present scope and of the indefinite nature of the resolution, the committee recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to confer with the affiliated organizations of government employees regarding any legislative proposal on the subject.

(P. 540) Vigorous protest was lodged by the Executive Council in 1943 against the National Labor Re-

lations Board for its attitude toward raiding of the American Federation of Labor unions by rival and dual unions. Your committee was of the opinion that as a result of that protest the attitude of the board would change. Unfortunately it has not changed, and, if anything, the opposition to the American Federation of Labor has become intensified. Decision after decision, which has no basis in fact or justification in law, has been rendered against the American Federation of Labor by the board in cases involving the American Federation of Labor and rival unions.

It is unnecessary for your committee to emphasize this conclusion by repeating the uncontradicted evidence contained in the Executive Council's Report.

Any fairminded person, examining the record of this board, its members and personnel, as disclosed by the Executive Council's reports for the past several years, will be convinced that the board functions more as an agency of a dual and rival organization than a quasi-judicial body set up to administer a law calling for the highest judicial and administrative integrity. It is useless to complain to the board. Officials of the American Federation of Labor and of international unions have had repeated conferences with the board and have made personal appeal to its members to reverse its procedure and attitude and deal fairly and justly with our unions, but all to no avail. Raids upon teamster unions have been permitted and encouraged; the Brotherhood of Carpenters has been plunged into expensive litigation because of the refusal of the board to follow the procedure laid down by the National Labor Relations Act.

The board has permitted rival unions to flout agreements entered into with American Federation of Labor unions to abstain from raiding, which

agreements were procured through the efforts of the War Labor Board. Nevertheless the National Labor Relations Board has ignored the War Labor Board and these agreements, and has accepted jurisdiction of cases for the purpose of aiding the rival unions to raid the American Federation of Labor unions, as is forcefully demonstrated in the *International Harvester* case reported in Executive Council's Report.

Shabby and unjustified treatment was meted out to the United Garment Workers in the *Cohn-Goldwater Company* case. An agreement between this employer and the United Garment Workers was set aside for naught by the Board for the purpose of permitting the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to raid three plants of the Cohn-Goldwater Company which had contractual relationship with the United Garment Workers.

The board still adheres to the antiquated and unjust doctrines established by the first board administering the National Labor Relations Act. One doctrine highly prejudicial to the American Federation of Labor is the *American Can Company* doctrine by which it holds that a past history of bargaining on an industrial basis fixes the industrial unit for all time in the future so as to preclude forever the establishment of a craft unit. The American Federation of Labor, through its general counsel, has repeatedly requested the abandonment of this unjust doctrine by the board, but the board has been deaf to these pleas.

Another vicious and unjust doctrine is the principle established in the *Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railway Company* case, and recently re-emphasized in the *Geneva Company* case.

In the *Tennessee* case the board held that an industrial type of unit only was appropriate in the basic

steel industry. Thus in any case involving basic steel no craft organization will be permitted to vote on a craft basis. Because of the importance of the subject we quote from the *Geneva Company* decision:

The various affiliates of the Council (Local Metal Trades Council), the I.B.E.W., the I.A.M., the Enginemen, the Trainmen, all seek separate craft units. Putting aside for the present the claims of the Enginemen and the Trainmen, it appears that the unit issue herein is the same as that which was resolved by the board in matter of *Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railway Company* by a finding that an industrial type unit was appropriate in the basic steel industry. The record in the instant case unquestionably confirms our conclusion in the above case. Accordingly, we find no merit in the contentions of the several American Federation of Labor affiliates that the separate craft units which they seek are appropriate for the purposes of collective bargaining at the Geneva plant.

This is perhaps the most far reaching and sinister doctrine of the many pronounced by the board which have for their purpose the undermining of the American Federation of Labor by reforming and changing its structure. By the extension of this doctrine the board can completely shut out from basic industries American Federation of Labor craft unions. It will be recalled that when the National Labor Relations Act was proposed and was being considered Senator Wagner appeared before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. It was then pointed out to him that the language in Section 9 dealing with the selection of appropriate units might be used to destroy existing unions by excluding other organizations from an

appropriate unit. Senator Wagner emphasized that Section 9 was not intended for that purpose and would not, under any circumstances, be used to reform or change the structure of trade unionism and would not deny to the American Federation of Labor unions at any time under any circumstances the right to vote as crafts if they so desired. He pointed to the provision in the National Labor Relations Act guaranteeing "freedom of choice" to all the workers and stated most emphatically that it guaranteed to craft workers the right to vote as crafts when they so desired. Yet under the *Tennessee Railway Company* case doctrine not only have Senator Wagner's statements been repudiated, but a fraud has been perpetrated upon the American Federation of Labor by the establishment of this doctrine.

Your committee recommends that the National Labor Relations Board be called upon to reverse these decisions by renouncing them in future cases, and that nothing be left undone to have Congress enact a law which will never again permit the present or any future board to arrogate to itself the power to destroy a large portion of the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor.

We repeat that efforts to change the disposition of the board to aid and assist rival unions is well nigh useless. The only solution in sight is to adopt the recommendations of the Executive Council to request Congress to amend the Act in two vital respects—first, to provide, in the language of the New York Labor Relations Act, that no craft or class be denied the right to vote as a craft or class in the selection of a bargaining representative which will guarantee freedom of choice and the maintenance of craft union integrity contemplated by the Act; second—to provide for direct court review in representation cases, which is now denied under the Act.

Much injustice is suffered by the American Federation of Labor through inability to obtain a review in the courts of the board's decisions in representation cases.

Your committee calls to your attention the adoption of an amendment to the 1944 Appropriations Act denying to the board the power to invalidate existing contracts by prohibiting it from expending funds for that purpose. The Metal Trades Department procured an amendment of that character to the 1943 Appropriations Bill. It feared that the board would renew its attack upon existing agreements similar to the one the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company had with the Metal Trades Department if the prohibition of 1943 was dropped from the 1944 Appropriations Bill, therefore the Metal Trades Department prepared an appropriate amendment to the 1944 Appropriations Bill which guarantees the integrity of past and continuing contracts between unions and employers. This amendment to the Appropriations Bill has been the most vital force in preventing to a large degree numerous raids by rival unions upon American Federation of Labor contracts. The Metal Trades Department is to be commended for its vigilance in protecting the American Federation of Labor past and existing contracts by procuring passage of this amendment to the Appropriations Bill.

(1946, p. 130) The E.C. reported on important changes which had taken place in both the administration of the NLR Act and in the personnel of the board. The council pointed out that "the administration of the Act has improved somewhat under the new personnel, but some of the basic policies, which have heretofore been criticized by the A. F. of L., remain in effect, and many of the employees of the board, particularly in its regional offices, continue to perform their duties in such a way as to pro-

mote the interests of rival unions. The important *American Can Company* case was discussed in its effect on board action on craft union contracts.

The convention unanimously adopted the recommendations of its committee as follows:

(1946, p. 615) Since the report of the Executive Council two years ago the membership of the National Labor Relations Board has undergone some change. Under the chairmanship of Mr. Paul Herzog some improvement has been noticed in the administration of the National Labor Relations Act. However, this improvement has not been sufficient to remove pre-existing prejudice and bias on the part of personnel in regional offices when cases are presented involving issues between A. F. of L. unions and rival unions. An outstanding example of prejudice of this nature are the proceeding in the so-called *West Coast Cannery* cases involving the American Federation of Labor and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters on one side and a rival union on the other. Regional Board activities indicated that the weight of the board was thrown in favor of the rival unions under circumstances which required a wholly different attitude on the part of the board and its personnel.

The board still adheres to the reprehensible *American Can* doctrine which freezes mass production units so as to exclude crafts from being set up as separate units. There is still necessity for an amendment to the Act making it mandatory upon the board to permit craft workers to vote as a unit when such crafts exist in a plant and desire to vote as a craft.

Perhaps more time is needed in which to gather sufficient information to determine whether the attitude of the board toward previous complaints of the A. F. of L. has changed, and

whether a fairer and more just administration of the Act will be had in the future. The American Federation of Labor will be most diligent and watchful in this regard, and it is hoped by the time the next convention is held the Executive Council will be able to report considerable progress toward a better administration of the National Labor Relations Act.

(1947, p. 674) Protest was registered against the administration of the NLRB and Robert Denham, general counsel, through Res. 180, which was approved by the convention and referred to the E.C. for implementation as follows:

Resolved—That Robert Denham, general counsel for the National Labor Relations Board, is hereby condemned as partisan toward employer interests and unfit to be permitted to act in the high legal capacity to which he holds an interim appointment, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor respectfully requests President Truman to recall his name from consideration for the high office of general counsel to the NLRB, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor call upon the Joint Committee on Labor Management Relations to replace its counsel with one who is able to at least observe the common amenities attendant upon the duties expected from one allegedly engaged in studying the important matters delegated by Act of Congress, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor again denounce Senator Ball as a hateful enemy of organized labor whose retirement will benefit the entire country, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor condemn the activity of the American Newspaper Publishers Association for its attempt to use

the procedure of the Taft-Hartley law to add its pressure influence against the International Typographical Union and to pressure agencies of government with partisan publicity on behalf of the employers of the entire printing and publishing industry, and be it further

Resolved—That the foregoing facts be brought to the attention of President Truman with the urgent request of the American Federation of Labor that he make speedy and thorough investigation to the end that governmental agencies be held to fair and impartial procedures within the law.

(Amendments)—(1949, p. 38) Res. 8 proposed amendments to the National Labor Relations Act as follows:

Whereas—When the original National Labor Relations Act was enacted, no one anticipated the use of its election machinery by rapacious dual C.I.O. unions for raiding expeditions against duly certified A. F. of L. unions; unfortunately, however, this pernicious practice has developed, contrary to the original intent of the Act, affecting to very serious degree many A. F. of L. unions, and

Whereas—The cost of unwarranted, unnecessary NLRB elections, initiated only for raiding purposes, are borne by the government and ultimately by the taxpayers—without value received in peaceful labor relations, but on the contrary, stimulating increasing strife, and such election raids tend to disrupt production in the plants affected for weeks on end and are a menace to the national economy; an unfair charge upon the employer; and a disruption of normal labor relations, and

Whereas—The C.I.O. unions use the machinery of the NLRB election system to destroy A. F. of L. local unions and their bargaining rights and to corral the organized A. F. of L. workers into C.I.O. unions; even where they do not hope to accomplish the

actual seizure or control of A. F. of L. plants and locals, they use this means to deplete A. F. of L. unions' funds in self-defense, so as to prevent them from using their resources for normal, healthy union administration and organizing unorganized workers, and at the same time, they are able to disrupt normal collective bargaining in A. F. of L. plants, therefore, be it

Resolved—That in view of this situation, and the dangerous consequences arising from such raiding attacks against legally certified A. F. of L. unions, the American Federation of Labor recommends the following amendments to the Wagner Act when re-enacted by Congress, to remedy these existing evils:

1. Require valid proof of a 51% majority by a petitioner against an existing certified union, before allowing NLRB to call an election at an organized mill, through:

- (a) A showing of representation of 51% of the workers in the mill through valid signed membership cards; and

- (b) Rigid examination by the board of proof presented by the petitioning union, through checks of cards against the payrolls of the company and signatures of the workers, before the board is permitted to call an election.

2. Require the union petitioning for an election in an organized mill, on a claim of 51% representation, to put up a bond that it represents a majority; which bond shall be forfeited, if it fails to win the election, and be split in a fair ratio between the government and the raided union.

(1949, p. 479) Inasmuch as the resolution deals with a future possibility, it was decided that no action is required at the time.

Examiner's Protest Against NLRB Test—(1950, pp. 154, 442) During the year amicable conclusion was

brought about in the case of the National Labor Relations Board field and trial examiners whose jobs had been at stake for many months. Sensing the danger to orderly administration of labor laws, we promptly took interest in this matter, dating from the passage by the Congress of the Administrative Practices Act. This law prescribed rigid tests of fitness for these examiners. To such thorough examination we had no opposition but we were definitely and directly concerned over the manner in which it was evident that certain examiners were on the verge of losing their jobs despite their long service with the government. It was apparent to us that simply because these men had entered upon duty during the days the Wagner Act was in force that they were being marked for dismissal.

We lost no time approaching understanding members of the Congress, particularly in the Senate. We requested that the issues be thoroughly searched and that justice be meted to those examiners who had performed loyally and efficiently and with far better claim to justice and fairplay than was about to be rendered. . . .

It was not necessary to go the entire length of obtaining a full-dress investigation of the detailed treatment given the examiners by the United States Civil Service Commission, though we were well and thoroughly prepared to give complete support of the cause of decency and justice at all stages of the preliminary inquiry and the public investigation should the latter eventuate. We intend at all times to continue our alertness in this regard and to repel the enemies of organized labor who had accepted as a foregone conclusion that the nation would ratify the adoption of the Taft-Hartley Act at the polls. The 1948 election well exemplified the fallacy of such presumptions. We were distinctly un-

willing to stand idly by and witness the loyal examiners of the NLRB and other agencies be liquidated unceremoniously without raising a firm hand of protest.

We shall provide all indicated demand for coordination of the efforts of those who attempt to lay hands upon those in the Federal Government civilian service who otherwise might be intimidated by unfair tests of their abilities to continue to hold their jobs. The integrity of our government is based upon the honesty of purpose of those in the administrative branches. That integrity we intend at all times to foster with all the fervor at our command.

It now can be reported that these examiners will have no further need in the predictable future to be subjected to the tortures of job-fear superinduced by those who would connive to disrupt the orderly operation of our administrative government machinery.

Appointment of
(1954, pp. 156, 586)

Ever since the 80th Congress, there have been various efforts made, by those who claim some of the federal trial examiners are too liberal or too pro-Labor in their views, to remove such examiners from the federal service, not only in the NLRB, but also in other Federal Commissions or Agencies where examiners are employed. In the 83rd Congress Senator McCarran introduced S.1708 which would amend the Administrative Procedure Act to permit lifetime appointments by the President of all federal trial examiners. This would have permitted the elimination of presently employed trial examiners many of whom have given years of excellent and meritorious public service. The American Federation of Labor opposed this bill and no action was taken on it.

Reorganization Plan No. 12—(1950, pp. 156, 442) We paid particularly

close attention to the President's Reorganization Plan No. 12 to transfer the functions of the General Counsel's office to the National Labor Relations Board of the board's chairman. It was evident that should the plan go into effect that some of the dissatisfaction with the Taft-Hartley Act might be removed and one or another feature of that Act eventually might be repealed piecemeal.

Our conventions have repeated their stand for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act completely and at one action. At the same time, repeal of the Act, part by part, would make increasingly difficult final elimination of the remaining portions of the Act.

President Green's statement on Reorganization Plan No. 12 to the Members of Congress, including the Committees on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, is as follows:

The American Federation of Labor had not intended to inject itself into the controversy which has arisen in respect to the Presidential Reorganization Plan No. 12, which is the proposal to abolish the office of the General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board and restore such functions to the direction of the chairman of the National Labor Relations Board as was the practice prior to the passage of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947. We do not consider this proposal as any part of Labor's fight to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. The proposal is one which is justified entirely on the grounds that it promotes efficiency and harmony in the administration of an Act in which inefficiency and disharmony has heretofore prevailed to the confusion and detriment of organized labor in the processing of cases before the board. The testimony of Chairman Herzog, speaking on behalf of members of the Board, very forcefully presents the

urgent reasons in support of the President's proposal. If there be any doubt in the matter, the American Federation of Labor urgently advocates such proposal as a means of accomplishing the objectives outlined in the Hoover Report.

This statement is sent due to the fact that there has been a serious misrepresentation made by opponents of the proposal before both House and Senate Committees. It was indicated by certain opponents of Reorganization Plan No. 12 that the American Federation of Labor favored separation of the function of the General Counsel from the administration of the Act by the board and had presented testimony in support of such separation of powers. While it is true that in 1939 or 1940 the American Federation of Labor did suggest, in view of the then composition of the board and its anti-A. F. of L. bias, that some curb be placed upon the discretionary powers lodged in the board, it is also true that the American Federation of Labor expressed strenuous opposition to any proposal that the functions and powers of the General Counsel and the board be separated, both in testimony before the House and Senate Committees in 1947 prior to the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, and in 1949 during the hearings on the Thomas and Lesinski Bills. The record will speak for itself in that respect.

It is hoped that this will serve to remove any misunderstanding that might have been created by reason of erroneous statement that the American Federation of Labor favored separation of powers as between the office of the General Counsel and the National Labor Relations Board.

By a 53-30 vote, the Senate adopted the resolution of disapproval of

Plan No. 12, thus leaving intact that portion of the law setting up the General Counsel's office independent of the board and the chairman.

Removal of Denham Praised—(1950, pp. 335, 491) Res. 125, unanimously adopted by the convention, extended thanks to the President of the United States for his recognition of the dire need for a change in the office of General Counsel of the NLRB in the removal of Robert Denham from office.

National Parks and Monuments, Preservation—(1954, pp. 399, 471) Res. 73 protested against proposed construction of dams in the Upper Colorado Basin including two within the boundaries of Dinosaur National Monument and would inundate over one hundred miles of beautiful river canyons comprising the Dinosaur National Monument. The resolution further calls for the preservation of our national park system in general as created to preserve the scenic and geologic wonders of the country for the enjoyment of this and future generations.

Referred to the Executive Council for consideration and study and whatever action may be warranted.

National Recovery Act—(1933, pp. 40, 409) The most important and far-reaching legislation ever enacted by Congress was "to encourage national industrial recovery, to foster fair competition, and to provide for the construction of certain useful public works."

The industrial recovery part of the Act provides for promoting the organization of industry for the purpose of cooperative action among trade groups, to induce and maintain united action of Labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision, to eliminate unfair competitive practices, to promote the fullest possible utilization of the present productive capac-

ity of industries, to avoid undue restriction of production, and to increase the consumption of industrial and agricultural products by increasing purchasing power.

The object is to reduce and relieve unemployment, to improve standards of Labor and otherwise to rehabilitate industry and to conserve natural resources.

Section 7 of the Act defines clearly the rights of Labor and undertakes to protect these rights from infringement on the part of employers. Section 7 reads as follows:

Every code of fair competition, agreement, and license approved, prescribed, or issued under this title shall contain the following conditions:

(1) That employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; (2) that no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing; and (3) that employers shall comply with the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and other conditions of employment, approved or prescribed by the President.

The law also provides that the President shall afford every opportunity to employers and employees to establish by mutual agreement the standards as to the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay and such other conditions of employment as may be necessary. If no such mutual

agreement has been reached and which might merit the approval of the President, he, the President, may then investigate the labor practices, policies, wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment prevailing and authorize a limited code of fair competition fixing maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay and other conditions of employment. This shall have the same effect as a code of fair competition reached by mutual agreement and approved by the President.

After the bill had been introduced in Congress it was found it did not properly protect organized labor. We deemed the pending legislation of such grave importance that it caused a conference to be called in Washington of representatives of all national and international unions. This conference voted to insist upon inserting several amendments in Sub-divisions 1 and 2 of Section 7, and likewise referred to the E.C. the proposal to protect America's wage earners against undue foreign competition.

The President of the A. F. of L. appeared before the House Committee and urged the incorporation of the proposed amendments. They were approved by the House Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House.

When the bill reached the Senate it was referred to the Finance Committee before which a representative of the steel industry appeared and urged an amendment that would legalize company unions. The Committee amended Section 7 to provide "that it was not intended to compel a change in the existing satisfactory relationship between employees and employers." This would have legalized "company unions." Immediately our President entered protest and when the amendment came up for action in the Senate it was defeated. The rejection of the amendment showed that Congress was opposed to "company unions."

Title II of the Act provides for public works and construction projects. For these \$3,300,000,000 has been appropriated. The President is empowered to construct, finance or aid in the construction or financing of any public works project included in the program prepared upon such terms as the President shall prescribe. He is authorized to make grants to states, municipalities or other public bodies for construction, repair or improvement of any project, but no such grants shall be in excess of 30 per cent of the cost of labor and materials employed upon such project. The other 70 per cent will be loans to be repaid.

Not less than \$50,000,000 is allotted for national forests highways, national forests roads, trails, bridges and related projects. The President may also allot funds made available by the Act for the construction, repair and improvement of public highways in Alaska, the Canal Zone, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. All contracts will contain such provisions as are necessary to insure that no convict labor shall be employed on any project, and that no individual except in executive, administrative and supervisory positions shall be permitted to work more than 30 hours in any one week.

All employees "shall be paid just and reasonable wages which shall be compensation sufficient to provide, for the hours of labor, as limited, a standard of living in decency and comfort."

For emergency construction of public highways \$400,000,000 will be expended. Another particular feature of the Act is the provision that \$25,000,000 is to be used for making loans for and otherwise aiding in the purchasing of subsistence homesteads of one or two acres. The moneys collected as repayment of such loans will constitute a revolving fund to be administered as directed by the President for similar purposes.

The fundamental objective of the American labor movement has been to establish in fact and in law the right of the workers to organize in organizations of their own choosing. We have always maintained that this object is inherent in the institutions and practices of freedom set up by the Constitution of this country. We have made steady progress in getting this right recognized in law and in practice. This right has specifically been written into the Bankruptcy Act, the Railway Labor Act and the Norris-La-Guardia Act. Language from the latter law was incorporated in the National Recovery Act, Section 7a. The exercise of the right to organize and bargain collectively is essential to the economic and social progress of wage earners. Workers understand full well that neither Government nor industry will confer upon them all the economic benefits to which they are entitled. The real instrumentality which the worker must utilize in order to promote his economic welfare is his trade union. With it he can achieve much through the operation and application of the National Recovery Act, but without it he will fail to gain the minimum of benefits provided in the Act. In fact, the National Recovery Act has served to emphasize the need of wage earner organization, cooperation and collective action. That fact has been demonstrated in the formation and application of industrial codes of fair practice. The trade union will ever be the medium through which workers can realize the full enjoyment of the benefits of legislation which proclaims the legal right of working people to organize, bargain collectively, and be represented by representatives of their own choosing.

The National Recovery Act accepts three basic groups as constituting industry; employers, representing the invested interests, employees or the producing workers, and the consumers. These are the distinct functional

groups in the business fabric that constitute our economic civilization.

To make possible the necessary organization to serve as the agencies through which the Recovery Administration could function the Act specifically cleared away the legal difficulties that kept trade associations and trade unions from operating effectively. In Congressional discussion of the legislative proposal, the trade association and the trade union were accepted as the machinery implied in the measure.

Conscious of the fact that lack of organization among wage earners had been a major factor in the unbalance in distribution of national income which was one of the causes of our economic breakdown, Labor regarded the passage of the National Recovery Act as imposing an obligation upon wage earners to organize in trade unions. Wage earners have been quick to seize the opportunity for organization which the legislation affords them. After four years of uncertainties of unemployment and loss of savings, wage earners turn eagerly to an agency that provides opportunity for effectively bettering their conditions and giving them a greater degree of security. Accordingly, both spontaneous and directed organizing campaigns have been vigorously under way. More charters per day since July 1 have been granted to federal labor unions than at any previous time for which we have records.

The age-long struggle for human justice has centered around some phase of the right to representation for those affected by decisions. Politically, this principle was first proposed so that citizens might have a voice in taxation levied upon their money and properties. Since the right of representation was established in taxation, it has been gradually extending throughout the political field. With the changes going on in production and in the organization of our economic life, the

high degree of interdependence in economic welfare and relationships has centralized decisions that involve working conditions, incomes, or the distributions of the returns from joint work. Decisions on these points mean justice or injustice in those things which constitute the foundations of living.

The work of one's hands and mind is in a very special sense personal and does not lose its personal quality, even when the worker joins a work organization housed under factory conditions and control over his work and product has passed entirely from under his control. Even though the worker has merged with groups associated together for carrying on a great production enterprise, his sense of justice is outraged if he has no voice in making decisions about his work.

The right to participations in decisions which concern us either personally or by representation, is a principle growing out of the facts of human nature and human experience. Representation is either direct or through organized channels. To secure this fundamental right is the primary purpose of the labor movement.

The National Recovery Administration in attempting to direct planning in industry, is setting up industrial policies and standards that affect wage earners profoundly. The whole organization of industry, trade practices, accounting and recording procedures, declaration of dividends, reserves, et cetera, directly condition and control the opportunities and sources within which standards for wage earners must be fixed. In order to exercise any real control wage earners must have the right of representation where decisions are made that limit their own opportunities.

The right of representation is essential to developing balanced data upon which to make decisions to assure balance in economic progress and,

hence, sustained prosperity. Labor maintains, therefore, that if the Recovery Act is to achieve its purposes—jobs for the unemployed and increased buying power—representatives of wage earners must have a voice in every stage of code making. Inequitable distribution of income and unemployment were the result of an industrial control from which Labor was excluded. We cannot expect to reverse these two causes of economic disaster unless specific provisions are made for wage earner representation and participation in every stage of control. The A. F. of L. declares that labor representation in the drafting of code proposals in every stage of code hearing before the National Recovery Administration and in the enforcement and administrative agencies provided by the code, is essential to achieving the purposes of the National Recovery Act and to meeting the requirements of human justice.

(p. 81) In order to move forward forces started toward recovery on a large scale without losing the time necessary for industries to organize and work out codes, the President asked trade groups and individual employers to make agreements with him. Evidently, these agreements were designed to be the instrumentality for turning the tides of business upward. The plan was three-fold.

The employers' part is to act at once and all together to submit and scrupulously comply with agreements with the President to shorten hours and raise wages, and to cooperate with employees in peaceful adjustment of differences.

The employees' part is to do their best on the job and to cooperate with NRA and employers in peaceful adjustments of differences.

The public's part—and especially the part of women (who control the bulk of buying)—is to support all those employers and employees who do

their part to put breadwinners back to work.

The blue eagle was adopted as the insignia of cooperation under this plan which proposed to get an appreciable proportion of the unemployed back to work by Labor Day.

The machinery set up to carry out this program included district recovery boards, state recovery boards, state recovery councils.

The district corresponded with each of the districts laid out by the Department of Commerce, 24 in number. The President appointed the boards, selecting as representatives those prominent in each manufacture, retail trade, wholesale trade, banking, farming, labor and social services, to serve without compensation.

The state recovery boards of nine members were appointed by the President so as to be truly representative of commercial, industrial, labor and civic interests.

The state recovery council is made up of persons designated by state, labor, manufacturing, trade, civic, social service or welfare organization, association or club. The council is to make necessary recommendations to the state board which receives and acts upon all matters referred to it by the NRA and district boards.

The Administration later sent telegrams to local organizations urging them to designate representatives to serve on a local compliance board for towns and cities. Each compliance board shall consist of two employee representatives—one of industrial workers and the other trade; two employers, one industry and one trade; one consumer and one lawyer; these six shall select a chairman. We earnestly urge local unions to see to it that all union groups are fully and adequately represented on state councils and local committees.

The Blanket Agreement follows:

(Authorized by section 4(a) National Industrial Recovery Act)

"During the period of the President's emergency reemployment drive, that is to say, from August 1 to December 31, 1933, or to any earlier date of approval of a code of fair competition to which he is subject, the undersigned hereby agrees with the President as follows:

(1) After August 31, 1933, not to employ any person, under 16 years of age, except that persons between 14 and 16 may be employed (but not in manufacturing or mechanical industries) for not to exceed 3 hours per day and those hours between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. in such work as will not interfere with hours of day school.

(2) Not to work any accounting, clerical, banking, office, service, or sales employees (except outside salesmen) in any store, office, department, establishment, or public utility, or on any automotive or horse-drawn passenger, express, delivery, or freight service, or in any other place or manner, for more than 40 hours in any 1 week and not to reduce the hours of any store or service operation to below 52 hours in any 1 week, unless such hours were less than 52 hours per week before July 1, 1933, and in the latter case not to reduce such hours at all.

(3) Not to employ any factory or mechanical worker or artisan more than a maximum week of 35 hours until December 31, 1933, but with the right to work a maximum week of 40 hours for any 6 weeks within this period; and not to employ any worker more than 8 hours in any 1 day.

(4) The maximum hours fixed in the foregoing paragraphs (2) and (3) shall not apply to employees in establishments employing not more than two persons in towns of less than 2,500 population which towns are not part of a larger trade area; nor to registered pharmacists or other professional persons employed in their profession; nor to employees in a man-

agerial or executive capacity, who now receive more than \$35 per week; nor to employees on emergency maintenance and repair work; nor to very special cases where restrictions of hours of highly skilled workers on continuous processes would unavoidably reduce production but, in any such special case, at least time and one third shall be paid for hours worked in excess of the maximum. Population for the purposes of this agreement shall be determined by reference to the 1930 Federal census.

(5) Not to pay any of the classes of employees mentioned in paragraph (2) less than \$15 per week in any city of over 500,000 population, or in the immediate trade area of such city; nor less than \$14.50 per week in any city of between 250,000 and 500,000 population, or in the immediate trade area of such city; nor less than \$14 per week in any city of between 2,500 and 250,000 population, or in the immediate trade area of such city; and in towns of less than 2,500 population to increase all wages by not less than 20 percent, provided that this shall not require wages in excess of \$12 per week.

(6) Not to pay any employee of the classes mentioned in paragraph (3) less than 40 cents per hour unless the hourly rate for the same class of work on July 15, 1929, was less than 40 cents per hour, in which latter case not to pay less than the hourly rate on July 15, 1929, and in no event less than 30 cents per hour. It is agreed that this paragraph establishes a guaranteed minimum rate of pay regardless of whether the employee is compensated on the basis of a time rate or on a piece work performance.

(7) Not to reduce the compensation for employment now in excess of the minimum wages hereby agreed to (notwithstanding that the hours worked in such employment may be hereby reduced) and to increase the pay for

such employment by an equitable readjustment of all pay schedules.

(8) Not to use any subterfuge to frustrate the spirit and intent of this agreement which is, among other things, to increase employment by a universal covenant, to remove obstructions to commerce, and to shorten hours and to raise wages for the shorter week to a living basis.

(9) Not to increase the price of any merchandise sold after the date hereof over the price on July 1, 1933, by more than is made necessary by actual increases in production, replacement, or invoice costs of merchandise, or by taxes or other costs resulting from action taken pursuant to the Agricultural Adjustment Act, since July 1, 1933, and, in setting such price increases, to give full weight to probable increases in sales volume and to refrain from taking profiteering advantage of the consuming public.

(10) To support and patronize establishments which also have signed this agreement and are listed as members of NRA (National Recovery Administration).

(11) To cooperate to the fullest extent in having a code of fair competition submitted by his industry at the earliest possible date, and in any event before September 1, 1933.

(12) Where, before June 16, 1933, the undersigned had contracted to purchase goods at a fixed price for delivery during the period of this agreement, the undersigned will make an appropriate adjustment of said fixed price to meet any increase in cost caused by the seller having signed this President's Reemployment Agreement or having become bound by any code of fair competition approved by the President.

(13) This agreement shall cease upon approval by the President of a code to which the undersigned is subject; or, if the NRA so elects, upon submission of a code to which the un-

dersigned is subject and substitution of any of its provisions for any of the terms of this agreement.

(14) It is agreed that any person who wishes to do his part in the President's reemployment drive by signing this agreement, but who asserts that some particular provision hereof, because of peculiar circumstances, will create great and unavoidable hardship, may obtain the benefits hereof by signing this agreement and putting it into effect and then, in a petition approved by a representative trade association of his industry, or other representative organization designated by NRA, may apply for a stay of such provision pending a summary investigation by NRA, if he agrees in such application to abide by the decision of such investigation. This agreement is entered into pursuant to section 4(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act and subject to all the terms and conditions required by sections 7(a) and 10(b) of that act."

Employers were given opportunity to modify the blanket amendment by offering substitute provisions for wages and hours adaptable to their own industries. Many of these provisions were not at all acceptable to the workers affected who had no opportunity to present their objections due to the desire of the Administration to secure immediate results.

Because of the speed with which these Presidential agreements were acted upon, many questions and protests have arisen against vague and misleading terms and efforts to lengthen hours and cut pay. Efforts are being made to remedy abuses. It is fortunate that these agreements are recognized as only temporary expedients, to be replaced by the code of each separate industry. The purpose of the re-employment agreement was to provide more jobs and more purchasing power quickly so as to sustain increased business activity.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act which was drafted and enacted to meet the desperate straits of those dependent on the farming industry, delegated authority to the Secretary of Agriculture to administer the Act. The purpose of the Act is to raise prices of agricultural commodities. The Secretary is given control over agricultural commodities in the field through every stage of processing together with prices. This wide, vertical control brings many industrial workers under AAA administration. An agreement has been reached distinguishing the agricultural workers from the industrial, allocating the former to the AAA and the latter to the NRA.

Agricultural workers are all those employed by farmers on the farm when they are engaged in growing and preparing for sale the products of the soil and/or livestock; also, all labor used in growing and preparing perishable agricultural commodities for market in original perishable fresh form. When workers are employed in processing farm products or preparing them for market, beyond the stage customarily performed on the farm, such workers are not to be deemed agricultural workers.

As a working arrangement, when industrial workers are employed in an industry coming under the Agricultural Act, wages and hours are referred to the NRA. The difficulty with this plan is that distinctly labor issues are decided apart from trade union practices and industrial methods that directly influence decisions on wages and hours. Workers are participating partners in industries in which they are employed and their incomes and working conditions are affected by all decisions which are coordinating forces within the industry.

To protect the effort at recovery from the backsets and disorganization that would arise from strikes and lock-

outs, the President of the United States created the National Labor Board to serve as an agency for conciliation and arbitration. There seemed a likelihood of serious and widespread strikes arising from dissatisfaction and misunderstanding with provisions of the blanket agreement, and it was thought wise to deal with such situations before they precipitated more serious difficulties.

The theory upon which the organization of the National Labor Board was formed is that it shall be composed of equal representatives of Labor and industry, with an impartial chairman appointed by the President of the U.S. Senator Robert F. Wagner, author of the National Recovery Act, was appointed by the President to serve as Chairman of the National Labor Board.

The Board has already acted upon a number of industrial disputes, and has brought about the settlement of a number of serious industrial controversies.

Because the Board was recently created, it has not yet had time to develop a plan of permanent procedure, nor has it formed a complete organization for the consideration and settlement of industrial disputes calling for consideration and action. We understand that the National Labor Board has been established as a part of the permanent administrative machinery of the National Recovery Act. It will function continuously and will be available for service in the settlement of industrial controversies which may arise and which cannot be settled directly between the representatives of employers and employees.

(P. 481) Under the National Recovery Act, Congress appropriated \$3,300,000,000 for public works and other purposes as a means of stimulating employment throughout the country; The expenditure of this vast sum calls for action by local and state leg-

islative bodies, executive officials and boards and commissions to authorize, plan and develop programs of state and local public works, in addition to the distinctive federal projects.

The A. F. of L. hereby appeals to the President of the United States, to the Department of the Interior, and to other divisions of the Federal Government, and to the officers of state and local governments throughout the United States to expedite the public works program by all proper and reasonable means, to the end that it may be made speedily effective for the purpose of reducing unemployment and stimulating business . . .

(1934, pp. 89, 472) For more than a year the government, Labor and industry have been engaged in a gigantic attempt to restore prosperity to this country, and to bring about such changes in the industrial system of the country as will guard against a recurrence of the depression under which we have been suffering for more than four years, and which a year ago resulted in an almost complete breakdown of banking and of business. This attempt, in so far as industry is concerned, has been carried on under the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Under this Act, Labor expected three principal benefits: increased employment through the establishment of a shorter work week; increased purchasing power in the hands of the millions of workers through the establishment of higher wage; the right to organize into trade unions without fear of restraint, coercion, or intimidation on the part of employers and, so organized, the right to bargain collectively for the establishment of satisfactory wages, hours, and working conditions. By the extent to which these purposes have been fulfilled, the success of the NRA may be judged from Labor's interests.

When the NRA became effective last year, wages had reached such low

levels that millions of workers among those still employed, even in the long work-week which prevailed, were not making a living wage. Hourly wage rates of 8, 10, 12, and 15 cents prevailed in many industries. Weekly earnings had sunk to levels undreamed of during the years preceding the depression. Competition among employers for the little business remaining was fierce, and competitive prices of goods were based upon constantly lowered wages. The situation of the workers of the country was desperate.

It was in this situation that code making began. The theory back of codes, insofar as wages were concerned, was that competition based on low wages would be eliminated through the fair trades practices of codes; that while a single unit in an industry might very conceivably be unable to raise wages under former competitive conditions, all units in any given industry might very well increase wages simultaneously; that only through drastic wage increases could sufficient purchasing power be created to provide a market for the products of industry.

Codes set minimum wages, below which no unscrupulous or inefficient employer could go in payment of his workers. In this the codes were intended to and did benefit large numbers of unskilled men and women in industry. In some industries the minimum wages fixed in the codes raised hourly wage rates for an overwhelming majority of workers in the industry. This was true, for example, in the furniture industry, in the cotton textile industry, and in many others, where wages had been especially depressed. It is, however, unfair to judge the effect of the codes upon even these groups of workers by increases in hourly wage rates. This has been the tendency of both industry and the Administration, and has led to exaggerated statements of the benefits

large groups of workers have received from code wages.

Of primary importance to the worker are weekly earnings. It is upon the amount in the pay envelope at the end of the week that the worker and his family must live. From a consideration of weekly wages, it becomes clear that minimum wage rates in the code have been set so low that the purpose of the NRA has been completely nullified in a large portion of industry. The wages fixed by the codes are not high enough to make possible an improved standard of living or to create increased consumer demand for the products of industry.

Total payrolls have increased under the NRA as has employment. Considering July, 1933, as the month just prior to the institution of the new program, under the President's Reemployment Agreement, there has been a 16.9 per cent increase in July, 1934, in the payrolls of sixteen industrial groups which report to the Bureau of Statistics. During the same period, July, 1933, to July, 1934, employment in the same reporting industries increased by 9.8 per cent. Individual average weekly wages in the same industries increased 6.4 per cent, while cost of living increased 6.3 per cent. This meant that the employees in these industries are at the same position in regard to purchasing power as they held before the NRA. This is far from carrying out the purpose of the Recovery Administration. Increased payrolls, of course, mean increased purchasing power in the hands of the workers, but total payrolls are no indication of what is happening to the individual wage earners and earnings. In many industries codes have meant a very real decrease in wages and earnings rather than an increase, and large numbers of workers find themselves today in a less favored position, economically, than they were a year ago.

In fixing wage rates in codes, the tendency has been to overlook the relationship which must exist between hourly wage rates and hours of work. Weekly wages and employment must be maintained as hours of work are reduced. Weekly wages and employment maintained must be increased as the cost of living increases.

Average weekly earnings have decreased in automobiles, iron and steel, paper and pulp, and wool textiles. When the increase in the cost of living is considered, the real situation of these employees is seen to be even worse than the figures indicate. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the cost of living in June, 1934, was 6.3 percent higher than a year ago. While no figure is as yet available for July, 1934, it is certain that there was a further increase in the cost of living during that month.

Even in a number of the industries listed in which average weekly wages have shown an increase, that increase is not sufficient to compensate for the increases in the cost of living. This is true of cotton textiles, daily newspapers, petroleum, transit, and wholesale trade. These millions of workers have less purchasing power today than they had a year ago.

Minimum wages fixed in codes were to apply only to the least skilled workers in the industry, to those performing common labor. It has been obvious from the beginning that without some protection extended to skilled workers, the tendency on the part of employers would be to make the minimum wage the maximum, and to reduce wages of skilled groups to compensate for increases in the wages of the unskilled. To protect the skilled worker it has been recommended again and again by Labor that protection be given wages for groups of employees or occupations according to trade, industry or subdivision of industry, the experience of the workers, and the regions

concerned, as would follow from the application of Section 7(b) (see later discussion). To this the Administration has been consistently opposed. Codes have for this reason failed almost completely to protect the higher-paid groups of employees. In many cases these groups have suffered significant decreases in wages. In the electrical industry, for example, a substantial loss in weekly wages by nearly all employees in the industry has resulted from the adoption of the code. In one plant average weekly wages of \$32.00 to \$35.00 were reduced to \$20.00 and \$22.00 by the adoption of the code.

In a few industries, despite the position taken by the Administration, wage scales above the minimum have been written into the codes. This is true of men's clothing, coat and suit, hosiery, graphic arts, and motion picture codes. In the vast majority of codes, however, no protection has been given skilled workers. Some codes actually provide for reductions in weekly pay proportional to the reduction in hours of work brought about by the codes; others ignore the higher paid workers; still others—and this in a majority—include meaningless and unenforceable provisions for adjustment in wages above the minimum, "so far as practicable," "in the light of all the circumstances," "an equitable adjustment upward," "the maintenance of differentials," and so on.

All of these provisions have proven to be completely useless. All kinds of subterfuges have been resorted to to reduce all wages to the minimum. Skilled employees have been reclassified as to occupations and duties to bring them into the minimum wage class; they have been discharged and rehired at the minimum rates of pay.

Not only have higher paid employees been reduced to the minimum wage rates, but many "sub-standard" groups of workers have been recognized by the codes as entitled to less

than code minimum rates. Differentials of all kinds have been used to cut down the minimum rates. Regional or population differentials exist in almost every code. The establishment of lower wage rates for negro workers than for white workers has been general. This threatens to make permanent the lower standard of living and the lower purchasing power of workers in the South as compared with those in the North. No investigation which has so far been made justifies these differentials. They tend to bring about a shift in industry, based solely upon the determination of certain employers to pay low wages. The same is true with regard to the wage differentials established in many codes, as between cities of different populations. These differentials are based upon the same assumption as is that of the North-South differential—that cost of living is less in one community or locality than in another. These differences in established wage rates create or intensify competition based upon labor costs.

The sex differential has been written into a majority of the codes. Operations performed by women workers are placed on a lower wage level than those performed by men. Lower rates are established for learners, apprentices, junior workers, and handicapped workers. All of these differentials are highly undesirable and can tend only to destroy the benefits the codes should bring to the common or unskilled workers.

It seems obvious that codes must be revised to increase minimum wages, to eliminate groups of workers now below the minimum rates, and to protect wages of higher paid groups of employees.

The problem of the regulation of hours through codes is closely tied up with that of unemployment. The measure of the success of the attempt to regulate hours of work is the num-

ber of persons who are still seeking jobs. Judged in such figures of unemployment the codes have as yet fallen far short of what was hoped and expected of them a year ago. The last estimate of unemployment, that for July, 1934, shows well over ten and a half million workers still unemployed. Slightly over two million of these men and women are at work on government projects, on PWA, in CCC camps, on relief projects of one kind or another. This leaves eight and a half million men and women without even temporary jobs. It was hoped that when codes were adopted covering the majority of workers, hours would be so shortened that the millions of unemployed would be absorbed. This hope has not been fully realized.

A survey of the codes adopted shows that industry has failed completely to realize the necessity for the shorter work week. There are now between five and six hundred approved codes of fair competition, covering, it has been estimated, some 18,000,000 workers. Of the codes so far approved, by far the vast majority fix a 40-hour week or longer. Less than a 30-hour week has been established in one code, that of the cast iron soil pipe industry; the 35 or 36-hour week has been established in the garment trades, in rubber tire manufacturing, and in a few miscellaneous industries, such as cement, the manufacture of motor fire apparatus, fire extinguisher appliances, rolling steel doors, shipbuilding. Even a flat minimum 40-hour week has been established in only about 100 codes; the majority establish the 40-hour week with so long a period of averaging or so many exceptions and exemptions as to mean, in reality, a much longer week. A significant number of industries have written into their code provisions for the 42, 44, 48, 52 and even 54-hour week. Many of the codes establish, in fact, a longer work week than that which has been in effect in

the industry during the entire depression. The code for the iron and steel industry, for example, established a 40-hour week averaged over a period of six months, with a maximum of 48 hours in any one week, but, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures, at no time during the past year has that industry worked up to the code hours. During 1934 the highest average work week was 37.2 hours in June. In July the hours of work were down to 28.1 per week. The automobile code established a 40-hour week, averaged over a period of 8 months, and actually permitted 48 hours per week during the production season. Yet Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show that at no time since the adoption of the code has the industry worked up to its code hours. Even in March, 1934, the highest month since the code became effective, hours of work average only 39.5 per week. Such regulations can not be expected to have, and have not had, any effect upon the problem of unemployment by which the country is still confronted. Nothing can be expected in the way of new employment possibilities from an industry which, already on an actual 30 or 35-hour week, fixes a 40 or 48-hour maximum work week in its code. It has been the constant demand of Labor that hours of work be reduced to the point where the unemployed can be absorbed. It is estimated that between two and three million workers have found jobs in industry through the NRA. This is something, but it is not enough. Hours of work must be greatly reduced.

There is urgent need of more adequate information upon which to base changes in the codes. So far, no satisfactory system of reporting has been established by the Administration. There are many industries which have not yet made a single report to the Administration of what is taking place under the codes. We have entered upon a phase of national plan-

ning, which makes accurate information essential. Before it is possible to know the hours and wages which should prevail in an industry, conditions in that industry must be known. A flexible reduction in hours of work was suggested in March, 1934, when the Administration proposed that hours of work should be reduced by at least 10 per cent while wages should be increased 10 per cent. This was recognition on the part of the Administration that codes were not doing what had been expected of them in putting people back to work. But the suggestion was never followed through. Opposition from industry was prompt and vociferous. Recently, two attempts have been made to reduce hours of work; one in the cotton textile industry, with no corresponding raise in wage rates; the other by the Administration itself, in the cotton garment industry, when by executive order a 10 per cent reduction in hours of work and a 10 per cent increase in hourly wage rates was decreed, against the wishes of the industry.

These two attempts to shorten hours of work are important. That of the cotton textile industry puts an intolerable burden upon the workers in the industry. Decrease in hours of work, with no change in wage rates, has brought weekly earnings down to pre code levels. Average weekly earnings by July, 1934, had fallen to \$11.00, while in some sections of the country weekly earnings were again as low as \$5.00, \$6.00, and \$7.00. Accompanied as this reduction was by a constant effort to impose a stretch-out on the workers, it resulted in strike action.

The second attempt to regulate hours of work by administrative order represents a great victory for Labor. It is recognition by the Administration that industry is not in every case capable of self-government. Hours of work in the cotton garment industry have been longer than those in the

majority of the garment trades; no reemployment was brought about by the code. Yet the industry refused to shorten hours of work. An impartial study by the Administration revealed that the 36-hour week would be more advantageous to the industry than was the longer work week, and that week was decreed, with an increase of 10 per cent in wage rates, to protect the employees against cuts in their weekly earnings. There are undoubtedly many other instances when similar governmental policy will have to be followed, to bring about the necessary reduction in hours of work and protect earnings.

There are certain weaknesses in the codes as they are at present drawn, which prevent reemployment of many workers. Chief among these weaknesses are those which provide for the averaging of hours of work over long periods of time, in some cases as long as over a complete calendar year; the exemption of many groups of employees from the hours provisions of the codes; the extension of maximum hours of work during peak seasons of the industries.

For highly seasonal industries an averaging provision really means a much longer maximum work week than the code pretends to fix, as the longer work week in effect during the production season, may be averaged out during the season of complete lay-off which occurs every year in industries such as automobiles, canning, fishing, and many others. Practically every code exempts maintenance, repair and even "preparation" employees from all regulations of hours; others exempt "skilled or key workers"; outside salesmen have been given no protection; cleaners, janitors, shipping and stock clerks, firemen, engineers, electricians, deliverymen, outside employees of all kinds, are completely outside code regulations in the majority of instances. Many of these

people are still working 50, 56, 60 and even 70 hours per week. In many of the codes no limit whatever is placed upon the hours which employees may be forced to work during peak periods; very few codes define what constitutes a peak season.

It is impossible to estimate how many thousands of workers are kept out of jobs by these loose code provisions. Certainly, substantial reemployment would be opened up if the hours provisions of the codes were made definite; if all the exempted groups of employees were brought under code regulation; if peak seasons in industry were used to give added employment rather than to extend the hours of work.

It has already been made obvious that codes which contain these weaknesses are impossible of enforcement. Who, for example, is to be held responsible for the check upon a man's work throughout an entire year, to make certain that his hours of work have, in that time, not averaged more than 40? Clearly, the men concerned cannot themselves be expected to remember or to keep a record of the hours they work over a long period of time, so they cannot check upon the enforcement of this portion of the code. The most effective method of preventing overtime, that of payment for that overtime at not less than time and one-half, has not yet been incorporated in many codes. Of the first 400 codes adopted, 68 have no overtime provisions whatever. In a majority of the remainder, overtime, usually at the rate of time and one-third, applies only to special groups of employees, usually maintenance and repair employees. As yet, only an insufficient number of codes contain overtime provisions which affect production employees.

In one way, codes have fulfilled expectations. They have, with few exceptions, wiped out child labor. The

vast majority of the codes now in effect prohibit the employment of children under 16 years of age; many codes prohibit the employment of persons under eighteen years of age in hazardous occupations or operations. These provisions offer new opportunities to hundreds of thousands of young people for education and for physical, moral and spiritual improvement and represent one of the real achievements of the NRA.

Homework, which has been so prevalent in many industries, and which has given the unscrupulous employer an advantage over the employer who wanted to pay decent wages, has been largely eliminated under the codes of fair competition. Work previously performed under unsanitary conditions in the homes, for wages unbelievably low, is now being done under code conditions. Safety and health provisions are gradually being worked out and incorporated in the codes, though this phase of protection to the workers has not advanced as rapidly as might be hoped. A special committee has been created by the NRA in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, and the Department of Labor, for working out standards of safety and health for major groups of industries.

So far the place Labor has in the continuing agencies set up to administer and enforce codes is entirely unsatisfactory. Only in a very limited number of codes has Labor been able to secure representation on the code authorities. In less than 25 out of the more than 500 codes so far adopted has Labor achieved representation, and in only five or six of these instances has this been direct union representation on the code authorities. The administration of industrial recovery will be worked out primarily through the codes; and, until Labor is in a position to participate effectively in this administration, it can-

not hope to secure the benefits from the NRA which it has every right to expect. Nor can the NRA itself expect to function in a satisfactory fashion.

Recommendations have again and again been made to the National Recovery Administration that Labor representatives be placed on all Code Authorities. These Labor representatives must be given a place on the Code Authorities equal in power and in privilege to all other members of the Code Authorities. This means that the Labor representatives must have full access to all information of the Code Authority in connection with the administration of the code; they must have the power to attend all meetings of the Code Authority. In no other way can they have adequate information of the policies adopted by the Code Authority, and in no other way can they influence those policies. The attempt has been made to give the Labor representatives on Code Authorities only advisory powers, and to make it impossible for them to attend meetings of the Code Authority except when they are specially invited to attend. This places them in a position where they can hope to accomplish little, and will entirely defeat the purposes which Labor has in mind when it demands representation on the Code Authorities.

To summarize briefly, then, the various ways in which the labor provisions of the codes as they are at present operating, must be amended to carry out the purposes of the National Recovery Act:

1. Wages must be increased to a point where the real income of the employees, their real purchasing power, is increased. So far the codes have failed, signally, to bring about such increase.

2. Hours of work must be reduced to the point where industry absorbs

at least a considerable portion of the still vast army of unemployed.

3. An adequate system of reporting must be built up by NRA, as the only basis upon which future policies and plans can be built.

4. Labor must be given a place in code enforcement and administration. It becomes clearer daily that strongly organized unions are the most effective agency available for the enforcement of the codes. Labor is one of the three elements in the New Deal. As such, it has responsibilities which it is eager and able to assume. This it can do only by securing a place in all administrative and enforcement agencies set up under the codes.

With 515 codes now approved, it is estimated by the Research and Planning Division of the National Recovery Administration that approximately 95 per cent of all employees who are to be included under codes are now working under approved codes. An estimate of the total number of employees who are to come under codes is 24,000,000 as of the 1930 census. Inasmuch as the Labor Department index of employment for manufacturing industries was 82.4 in May, 1934, as compared with 104.8 as an average for the year 1929, employment has been reduced approximately 20 per cent. Therefore, there are roughly 19,000,000 employees in the country who should be under codes, and 18,000,000 now included under codes.

These figures, however, are based on the 95 per cent estimate of the Administration. Inasmuch as this figure has been quoted for several months, and since there have been certain major changes in policy during that time, the authenticity of the figure might well be questioned. For example, we have the whole problem of service trades and industries, many of which were exempt from code provisions under the executive order of

May 26. It is true that "provisions covering child labor maximum hours of work and minimum rates of pay are the mandatory provisions of Section 7 (a) and 10 (b)," and are supposed to remain in effect. It is true, furthermore, that under the executive order of June 28, agreements may be entered into by "such service trades, not heretofore codified, as shall hereafter be designated by the Administrator for Industrial Recovery." The action which was taken by the cleaners and dyers on June 20, when they turned back their code to General Johnson, shows very clearly the unsettled condition which now prevails in this group of industry.

Inasmuch as in 1929, 800,000 persons were employed in hotels, laundries, and dry-cleaning establishments, it is obvious that a tremendous group of workers are not receiving the protection of the National Industrial Recovery Act. The workers in public utilities also have not yet been included under code provisions, although approximately 1,000,000 employees are involved. Certain major questions of policy within the administration have delayed any definite action on these codes for a period of months.

Finally, there are still thousands of workers gainfully employed in enterprises which might be considered as industrial, or which might be considered as agricultural. Probably the most important group in this classification includes fruit and vegetable packing and shipping. Reports from the northwest, from California, and from the southwest, as well as from Florida, indicate very clearly that many phases of the work required might well be considered as industrial.

Another example is that of the greenhouse workers, whose hours of employment are not controlled directly by climatic conditions. Since the

canning industry is already under an approved code, serious consideration should be given to the inclusion of thousands of other workers throughout the country who are engaged in work which might be considered a parallel.

President Roosevelt and his advisors have recently been spending much time on plans for the reorganization of NRA on what is presumed to be a permanent basis. The first step in such reorganization is a complete realignment of the codes of fair competition. The classification of industries which has been worked out corresponds closely to the grouping of the Census Bureau. There will be 22 industrial groupings. It is the statement of the Administration that this regrouping will assure that allied industries receive identical treatment on common problems; that many allied codes may merge by voluntary action of the industries concerned; that more accurate statistical information may be secured on industries and trades. NRA does not propose that the 500 odd codes now in operation shall be cut down to 22 or to any other given number. It does propose to make possible code combinations as can be worked out between the groups or industries concerned.

In any reorganization of the NRA there are certain major policies which should be adopted. Briefly, these are:

1. The NRA should be reorganized from the point of view of a longer period than that to June 16, 1935. It becomes increasingly evident that some action will be necessary for perhaps a long time to come. Policies should therefore be considered from a long time rather than a purely emergency point of view.

2. Codes should be reopened for such changes as will bring about the original purpose of the Act—reemployment and increased wages.

3. Codes should be reopened upon

petition by Labor as well as upon the initiative of industry or the Administration.

4. Compliance machinery should be divorced more completely from the NRA administration. An independent compliance board, answerable directly to the President, would be better able to assure unbiased and prompt action.

5. Every resource of the government should be used for the enforcement of the code provisions and the decisions of the labor relations boards.

6. Collective bargaining between *bona fide* trade unions and employers must be assured through enforcement of Section 7 (a) and the destruction of company unions.

7. Adequate information, reporting and planning agencies must be created by the government.

8. Labor must be made an active partner in the supposed partnership of government, industry and Labor.

9. Service industries should be included under codes. The distinction between intra-state and inter-state commerce is not a legitimate basis for the extension of protection to some workers and the denial of protection to others.

10. The entire agricultural labor population has so far been left without protection in regard to wages, hours, organization, or in dealing with employers. Some extension of the National Recovery Act to the field of agricultural labor should be made, either through a broadening of the Act now in existence, or a supplementary Act pertaining to agricultural labor.

It has been estimated that approximately 18,000,000 employees are now working under approved codes of fair competition.

It is significant to compare these figures with a recent report from the National Recovery Administration on the adjustment of code complaints by

state NRA directors. The adjustment of "some 928 complaints during the two-week period ended August 4, netted 3,867 workers throughout the country a total of \$75,394 in back wages." In other words, four workers in every 20,000 received back wages.

If all existing code violations had been reported, and equitable settlement on this basis had been made, it might be said that the compliance machinery is working to perfection; but since we know of widespread violations throughout the country with regard to code minimum rates, and rates above the minimum, which code provisions should have effected, it is obvious that the machinery which has been set up by the government is dealing effectively only with a negligible portion of all violations.

Delays in compliance machinery have worked untold hardship and have gone far toward breaking the spirit of workers throughout the country who, one year ago, were looking forward to a very definite improvement in standards of living under the protection of the government. Delays have been experienced not only in getting code complaints before government agencies which would take action, but also in the adjustments of these complaints which were ordered. The custody of the Blue Eagle is one of our major problems. So long as the power to withdraw the Blue Eagle is in the control of the National Recovery Administration, where powerful industries can exercise such pressure, we cannot well expect to secure equitable adjustments of code violations. One extremely important consideration in this connection is the fact that thousands of workers are still too much in fear of their jobs to report labor conditions which they know are not in accordance with those established by the code.

The President, in his executive or-

der of May 15, has protected workers who report code violations against discharge or demotion. We can never expect to secure code compliance until all violations are reported, and we can not expect that violations so reported will be equitably adjusted, until certain changes have been made in the compliance machinery.

In August, 1933, when the blanket code became effective generally, local compliance boards were established throughout the country. It was found almost universally, however, that the close relationship which existed between these boards and local chambers of commerce, made code adjustments virtually impossible.

In the early part of this year state directors of compliance boards were appointed in every state, and in most cases there was an officer whose duty it was to enforce code labor provisions.

Experiences with these agencies in different state have varied with state, and with personalities. The report mentioned above is issued at the time when this machinery is giving way to compliance boards in every state, made up of a government officer with a representative of management, and a representative of Labor, and similar local boards in many industrial communities.

There is every reason to believe that these agencies will be more effective than their predecessors. The adjustment of code violations through agencies set up under individual codes is still in its infancy. We know that there are certain problems within almost every industry that are peculiar to that industry. The stretch-out in the textile industry, and in the wheat flour milling industry, for example, is a device which has been employed by management in each of these industries in order to offset, so far as possible, any cost increases which might have resulted from the code; but in each of these industries

the stretch-out is an industrial problem, and if it is to be handled effectively, it must be taken care of through a separate agency within that industry in which Labor and management have equal representation and which has the necessary responsibility and authority.

Up to the present time, hour and wage violations, and 7 (a) violations have been kept quite distinct, to be handled through different branches of the government. If the codes are to have any direct results in bringing about greater employment and increased purchasing power, hour and wage provisions must be enforced. The enforcement program is developing, but organized labor throughout the country must be permitted to have a voice in shaping this program, and must welcome its responsibilities under this program, if labor conditions as stipulated in code provisions are to become a reality.

The inclusion of Section 7 (a) in every code is mandatory. This section provides that employees "shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection." Labor believed when the Act was adopted that it was at last freed from all restrictions upon membership in trade unions and that collective bargaining was not only looked upon by the Administration as a method of fixing wages, hours, and working conditions, but that unions would receive the active support of the Administration in organization and in collective bargaining.

It is in regard to Section 7 (a) that the most cruel disillusion of the

workers regarding the NRA has occurred. Convinced that they were protected in doing so, hundreds of thousands—even millions—of workers joined unions. But employer resistance to organization in *bona fide* unions was by no means destroyed or even weakened by the adoption of this portion of the law. Willing to accept the benefits which the codes brought them through relaxation in the anti-trust laws and through elimination of destructive competition, they had no intention of complying with their responsibilities under the collective bargaining portion of the Act.

Workers who joined unions in good faith, therefore, found themselves dismissed for no other reason than that they had accepted, at face value, the promises contained in the law; company unions were created by employers to prevent the growth of real unions, and to forestall real collective bargaining. Agencies set up by the NRA for the enforcement of Section 7 (a) were either unwilling or unable to enforce the law, or delayed so long in its enforcement that unions concerned were weakened and even destroyed, and faith in this portion of the Act lost.

The first agency set up for solution of problems arising under Section 7 (a) of the Act, as well as the settlement of industrial disputes involving strikes or lockouts, was the National Labor Board, under the chairmanship of Senator Robert F. Wagner. Under this board, 18 Regional Labor Boards were created. The National and the Regional Labor Boards were bipartisan in character, each under the direction of a neutral chairman. While these boards settled many disputes, they had not sufficient power to make them effective agencies in establishing principles for industrial relations in the new order evolving under the codes.

Senator Wagner was himself one

of the first persons to realize that the National Labor Board and the Regional Labor Boards were not effective agencies for securing compliance with Section 7 (a). He, therefore, introduced into the Senate the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill. This bill proposed to outlaw company unions as agencies for collective bargaining, to give the National Labor Board power to hold elections to determine the collective bargaining agency in any establishment or plant, to give the board power to subpoena witnesses and to take testimony under oath. This bill was not approved. In its place Congress passed Joint Resolution No. 44, creating a new National Labor Relations Board. This resolution is as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

That in order to further effectuate the policy of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and in the exercise of the powers therein and herein conferred, the President is authorized to establish a board or boards authorized and directed to investigate issues, facts, practices, or activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under Section 7 (a) of said Act or which are burdening or obstructing, or threatening to burden or obstruct, the free flow of interstate commerce, the salaries, compensations, and expenses of the board or boards and necessary employees being paid as provided in Section 2 of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Sec. 2. Any board so established is hereby empowered, when it shall appear in the public interest, to order and conduct an election by a secret ballot of any of the employees of any employer, to determine by what person or persons or or-

ganization they desire to be represented in order to insure the right of employees to organize and to select their representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining as defined in Section 7 (a) of said Act and now incorporated herein.

For the purpose of such election such a board shall have the authority to order the production of such pertinent documents or the appearance of such witnesses to give testimony under oath, as it may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this resolution. Any order issued by such a board under the authority of this section may, upon application of such board or upon petition of the person or persons to whom such order is directed, be enforced or reviewed, as the case may be, in the same manner, so far as applicable, as is provided in the case of an order of the Federal Trade Commission under the Federal Trade Commission Act.

Sec. 3. Any such board, with the approval of the President, may prescribe such rules and regulations as it deems necessary to carry out the provisions of this resolution with reference to the investigations authorized in Section 1 and to assure freedom from coercion in respect to all elections.

Sec. 4. Any person who shall knowingly violate any rule or regulation authorized under Section 3 of this resolution or impede or interfere with any member or agent of any board established under this resolution in the performance of his duties, shall be punishable by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

Sec. 5. This resolution shall cease to be in effect, and any board or boards established hereunder shall cease to exist, on June 16, 1935, or sooner if the President shall by

proclamation, or the Congress shall by joint resolution, declare that the emergency recognized by Section 1 of the National Industrial Recovery Act has ended.

Nothing in this resolution shall prevent or impede or diminish in any way the right of employees to strike or engage in other concerted activities.

On June 29, 1934, President Roosevelt issued the following Executive Order, creating the National Labor Relations Board:

By virtue and pursuant to the authority vested in me under Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act (Ch. 90, 48 Stat. 195, Tit. 15, U.S.C., Sec. 701) and under joint resolution approved June 19, 1934 (Public Res. 44, 73rd Congress), and in order to effectuate the policy of said title and the purposes of the said joint resolution, it is hereby ordered as follows:

CREATION OF THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Sec. 1. (A) There is hereby created in connection with the Department of Labor, a board to be known as the National Labor Relations Board (hereinafter referred to as the board) . . . Each member of the board shall receive a salary of \$10,000 a year and shall not engage in any other business, vocation, or employment. Two members of the board shall constitute a quorum. A vacancy in the board shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the board.

(B) The board shall have authority to appoint such employees, and without regard to the provisions of the Civil Service laws, such attorneys, special experts and examiners as it deems necessary for its own functions and for the functions of such regional industrial and special

boards as may be designated or established in accordance with subsections 3 (a) (1) and 3 (A) (2) of this order. The power, however, shall not be construed to authorize the board to appoint mediators, conciliators, and statistical experts when the services of such persons may be obtained through the Secretary of Labor in accordance with sub-section 4 (A) of this order.

Original Jurisdiction of the Board.

Sec. 2. The board is hereby authorized:

(A) To investigate issues, facts, practices and activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act or which are burdening or obstructing, or threatening to burden or obstruct, the free flow of interstate commerce; and,

(B) To order and conduct elections and on its own initiative to take steps to enforce its orders in the manner provided in Section 2 of Public Resolution 44, Seventy-third Congress; and

(C) Whenever it is in the public interest, to hold hearings and make findings of fact regarding complaints of discrimination against or discharge of employees or other alleged violations of Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act and such parts of any code or agreement as incorporate said section; and

(D) To prescribe, with the approval of the President, such rules and regulations as are authorized by Section 3 of Public Resolution 44, Seventy-third Congress, and to recommend to the President such other rules and regulations relating to collective bargaining, labor representation and labor elections as the President is authorized to prescribe by Section 10 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

(E) Upon the request of the parties to a labor dispute, to act as a Board of Voluntary Arbitration or to select a person or agency for voluntary arbitration.

Relation to Other Labor Boards.

Sec. 3. (A) The board is hereby authorized and directed:

(1) To study the activities of such boards as have been or may hereafter be created to deal with industrial or labor relations, in order to report through the Secretary of Labor to the President whether such boards should be designated as special boards and given the powers that the President is authorized to confer by Public Resolution 44, Seventy-third Congress; and,

(2) To recommend, through the Secretary of Labor, to the President the establishment, whenever necessary, of "regional labor relations boards," and special labor boards for particular industries vested with the powers that the President is authorized to confer by Public Resolution 44, Seventy-third Congress; and

(3) To receive from such regional, industrial and special boards as may be designated or established under the two preceding subsections reports of their activities and to review or hear appeals from such boards in cases in which (1) the board recommends review or (2) there is a division of opinion in the board or (3) the National Labor Relations Board deems review will serve the public interest.

(B) The National Labor Board created by Executive Order of August 5, 1933, and continued by Executive Order No. 6,511 of December 16, 1933, shall cease to exist on July 9, 1934; and each local or regional labor board, established under the authority of Section 2 (B) of the said Execu-

tive Order of December 16, 1933, if it is not designated in accordance with Subsection 3 (a) (1) of this order, shall cease to exist at such time as the National Labor Relations Board shall determine. The National Labor Relations Board shall have authority to conduct all investigations and proceedings being conducted by boards that are abolished by this subsection; and all records, papers and property of such board shall become records, papers and property of the National Labor Relations Board. All except \$100,000 of the unexpended funds and appropriations for the use and maintenance of the National Labor Board shall be available for expenditure by the N.L.R.B. and such regional, industrial and special boards as may be designated or established in accordance with Subsections 3 (a) or 3 (a) (2) of this order. The remaining \$100,000 of such unexpended funds and appropriations shall be transferred to the Secretary of Labor for the use of the conciliation service in the Department of Labor. All employees of boards that are abolished by this subsection shall be transferred to and become employees of the National Labor Relations Board at their present grades and salaries, but such transfer shall not be construed to give such employees any civil service or other permanent status.

Sec. 4. (A) The board is hereby authorized:

(1) To request the Secretary of Labor to exercise the power conferred upon him by Section 8 of the Act entitled "An Act to Create a Department of Labor" (Ch. 141, 37 Stat. 738) to appoint commissioners of conciliation; and,

(2) To request from time to time the Secretary of Labor to direct

officers and employees of the Department of Labor to render services and furnish information and otherwise to aid the board in the performance of its duties.

(b) The board shall at the close of each month make, through the Secretary of Labor, to the President, a report in writing of its activities and the activities of such regional, industrial and special boards as have been designated or established in accordance with the recommendations of the board under subsections 3 (a) (1) and 3 (a) (2) of this order. Such reports shall state in detail cases heard, decisions rendered and the names, salaries, and duties of all officers and employees appointed under the authority of this order and receiving compensation directly or indirectly from the U.S.

(c) The National Labor Relations Board may decline to take cognizance of any labor dispute where there is another means of settlement provided for by agreement, industrial code, or law which has not been utilized.

(d) Whenever the National Labor Relations Board or any board designated or established in accordance with subsection 3 (A) (1) or 3 (A) (2) of this order has taken, or has announced its intention to take, jurisdiction of any case or controversy involving either Section 7 (A) of the National Industrial Recovery Act or Public Resolution 44, Seventy-third Congress, no other person or agency in the executive branch of the government, except upon the request of the National Labor Relations Board, or except as otherwise provided in subsection 3 (a) (3) of this order, shall take, or continue to entertain, jurisdiction of such case or controversy.

(E) Whenever the National Labor Relations Board or any board designated or established in accordance with subsections 3 (A) (1) or 3 (A) (2) of this order has made a finding of facts, or issued any order in any case or controversy involving Section 7 (A) of the National Industrial Recovery Act or Public Resolution 44, Seventy-third Congress, such finding of facts and such order shall (except as otherwise provided in subsection 3 (A) (3) of this order or except as otherwise recommended by the National Labor Relations Board) be final and not subject to review by any person or agency in the executive branch of the government.

(F) Nothing in this order shall prevent, impede or diminish in any way the right of employees to strike or engage in other concerted activities.

This National Labor Relations Board has now been functioning since July 9, 1934. All cases of violation of Section 7 (a) are centered in this board unless special Labor Relations Boards have been created in the industries concerned.

In its first monthly report to the Secretary of Labor, the National Labor Relations Board published a statement of policy which largely coincided with the precedents laid down by the National Labor Board. The report stresses the importance of the adjudication of controversies arising under Section 7 (a) of the NRA as its most important task.

The following paragraph summarizes the approach of the National Labor Relations Board to the program:

While the old National Labor Board in the course of its 258 opinions established a number of principles which are so clear as to require no further discussion, these

principles must constantly be applied to new situations in which the facts may be either in dispute or so different in texture from any preceding situation as to leave room for doubt or argument. In addition, questions are arising and will continue to arise under Section 7 (a) which have not been passed upon in any form by any tribunal. There is then no short cut. If Section 7 (a) is to be enforced, and it must be enforced, some agency of the government must pass authoritatively upon each unsettled case as it arises, and that we take to be the duty of this board.

In the short time in which the board has been in operation, it has moved with dispatch and decision to establish certain fundamental principles in industrial relations. Chief among such principles is that which establishes the right of the majority union to bargain and contract for all employees in a given craft or establishment. In the case of United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18838 and the Houde Engineering Corporation, the National Labor Relations Board, on September 1, made known its decision that the majority union shall be considered the exclusive bargaining agency. In addition, the board further ruled that, when requested by the union, the company should enter into negotiations and endeavor in good faith to arrive at a collective agreement, covering terms of employment.

This decision, which follows that of the former National Labor Board in the *Denver Tramway* case, will make it impossible for companies to continue to bargain with collective unions when the *bona fide* trade unions can show that they are chosen by a majority of the employees as the collective bargaining agency. The board has acted definitely and promptly in a number of cases of discrimination

for union activities. There is every indication that the National Labor Relations Board is going to be an effective agency for the enforcement of Section 7 (a).

The Regional Labor Boards set up under the former National Labor Board are continued under the new board, but are being reorganized as rapidly as possible. These boards are responsible to the National Labor Relations Board and will, of course, follow the policies adopted by the National Board. The tendency is to coordinate not only the Regional Boards, but labor relations boards for special industries under the National Labor Relations Board.

In addition to the provisions of Section 7 (a) on collective bargaining, there was a second portion of the National Recovery Act which gave definite promise to the workers that collective bargaining would be encouraged by the Administration. This is Section 7 (b) which provides that:

The President shall, so far as practicable, afford every opportunity to employers and employees in any trade or industry or subdivision thereof with respect to which the conditions referred to in clauses (1) and (2) of subsection (a) prevail, to establish by mutual agreement the standards as to the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and such other conditions of employment as may be necessary in such trade or industry or subdivision thereof to effectuate the policy of this title; and the standards established in such agreements, when approved by the President, shall have the same effect as a code of fair competition, approved by the President under subsection (a) of section 3.

The intent of this clause is to create a set of labor standards in addition to the absolute minima written into

the codes as adopted. This provision, if included in codes, would give the most effective incentive to a peaceful settlement of the problems between the management and the workers. Section 7 (a) provides a basis of collective bargaining which is to result in collective agreements. Section 7 (b) widens the scope of such agreements to give Labor the needed protection on a voluntary basis over and above the minimum requirements in the codes which cover only a fraction of the industrial labor. Standards worked out in this way would be the only possible means of extending the purposes of the National Recovery Act to cover the groups of skilled workers who have in many instances suffered considerably from low standards established in the codes or from the lack of any standards which would give them economic protection. Through this means it would be possible to place Labor on an equal basis with industry which has been encouraged and even forced to organize under the NRA.

This section has been included in one major code, that for the construction industry. In that industry, maximum hours of work, minimum rates of pay, and other working conditions are being determined through collective agreements approved, after hearing, by the Administration.

The following provision in the code establishes the principle of collective agreements on a regional basis:

Section 1. In each division or subdivision of the industry, as defined in the chapter incorporated in this code relating thereto, truly representative associations or groups of employers and employees respectively concerned, after proper notice and hearing and as a result of *bona fide* collective bargaining, may establish by mutual agreement (when approved by the President as provided in Section 7 (b) of the

Act), for a specifically defined region or locality, the standards of hours of labor, rates of pay, and such other conditions of employment, relating to the occupations or types of operations in such division or subdivision, as may be necessary to effectuate the policy of Title I of the Act. For the purposes of this Section, the entire United States may be defined as a region. The terms of such an agreement between the employers and employees of a division or subdivision of the industry shall not be binding upon the employers and employees of any other division or subdivision of the industry.

After the President has approved any such agreement arrived at within any such division or subdivision, and after proper notice of such approval, it shall be deemed *prima facie* unfair competition for any employer in such division or subdivision to fail to comply with the standards of maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, or other conditions of employment so approved and prescribed by the President, in respect of the performance within the defined region or locality of the types of operations concerned; and the failure of such an employer to desist from such unfair competition, after being given due notice and opportunity to be heard, shall constitute a violation of the requirements of this code.

(1934, pp. 106, 366, 472) There have been two distinct phases in the development of machinery for the settlement of disputes. When the National Recovery Act was first adopted, a general board was created by order of the President for the settlement of complaints involving Section 7 (a) and all disputes involving strike or lockout. This was the National Labor Board. It was without power. Its

ability to settle disputes or to enforce the law lay entirely in its ability to mediate and conciliate. It had no power to hold elections, unless the company involved voluntarily agreed to such a decision, though a later Executive Order of the President attempted to extend this power to the board. The National Labor Board was created on August 5, and its original authority was to "consider, adjust and settle" disputes that might arise under the President's Reemployment Agreement.

At about the same time provision was made for a National Industrial Relations Board for the cotton textile industry. This board was an outgrowth of the "stretchout" investigation committee named during the code hearings. Devoid of statutory power and limited in the enforcement procedure by its close relationship with the Cotton Textile Code Authority, the Cotton Textile Board was impotent in any of its attempts to bring about effective enforcement of collective bargaining provisions of the law. Settlement of any labor controversy in the industry, under the procedure established by the board, is first to be attempted by the local factory committee and then by the state board with right of final determination of facts resting in the National Board. The enforcement of the law, however, in any case where Section 7 (a) is found to have been violated is limited to conciliation and mediation procedure. In cases of code violations, enforcement is effected by the Cotton Textile Code Authority or the NRA Compliance Division. "Good offices" of the board to mediate the nationwide dispute in the industry in September, 1934, were declined by Labor representatives, and a special board was created on September 4 under the Public Resolution 44, to take jurisdiction over the textile dispute.

The code for the bituminous coal

industry established a National Bituminous Coal Labor Board consisting of the members of six regional boards. The National Board may act to decide matters of general policy affecting the public or the industry as a whole or to adjust disputes in more than one of the six divisions. Any controversies concerning hours, wages, conditions of employment or compliance with the Labor sections of the code are adjusted by negotiations between representatives of employers and employees meeting in mine or district conferences as provided in the collective agreement in force in the industry. If the dispute cannot be settled in this manner and "threatens to interrupt, or has interrupted, or is impairing the efficient operation of any mine or mines to such an extent as to restrain interstate commerce in the products thereof," it shall be referred to one of the six Regional Coal Labor Boards. The decision of the regional board "is to be accepted by the parties in dispute as effective for a provisional period of not longer than six months to be fixed by the board. The procedure established under the coal code approaches more nearly than any other instance the enforcement technique provided in the Railway Labor Act.

The Automobile Labor Board was created in March, 1934, as a result of the compromise settlement arrived at on March 25, through the mediation offices of the President of the United States. The unions of automobile workers realized fully that the settlement of March 25 was a compromise settlement, which they considered it their patriotic duty to accept, because they were asked to do so by the President. The board appointed by the President consists of a chairman, and one member representing the automobile companies and one representing the American Federation of Labor unions.

The jurisdiction of this board is

limited to matters of discharge, discrimination, and representation. The board was authorized to set up a plan of proportional representation, which fortunately it has not done. Any such plan is in direct opposition to the principles expressed in the Executive Order of the President creating the Steel Labor Board, and to those established by the National Labor Relations Board in the *Houde* decision.

Because of the compromise nature of the board and of its limited powers, there has been created in the automobile industry a very unsatisfactory situation. The board has failed completely to encourage real collective bargaining between the unions and the employers; its action in regard to cases of discrimination has been slow and has lacked definiteness. The board has proceeded on the assumption that all questions arising between the unions and the employers could and should be settled through mediation and conciliation. To this end the board has consistently refused to make decisions. The workers in this industry have, in fact, received little benefit from the Automobile Labor Board, and under the President's settlement they are denied the privileges accorded to other unions under Joint Resolution 44.

Two other boards with real powers have been set up and have gone far toward a solution of the industrial relations problems involved in the industries. One of these was established in the petroleum industry.

A Labor Policy Board was first appointed by Petroleum Administrator Harold L. Ickes on November 24, and reorganized by him on December 22. As originally constituted, the board consisted of three representatives each of Labor and employers, with an impartial chairman. Inasmuch as one of the Labor representatives appointed was a spokesman of a company union, the American Federation of

Labor refused to recognize this board, and it never became operative. The board was reorganized to consist of three impartial public representatives. The Petroleum Board was first to make a decision that the union representing the majority of the employees must be looked upon as the exclusive bargaining agency. This ruling was contained in the decision in the case involving the *International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America vs. The Magnolia Petroleum Company of Fort Worth, Texas*. This decision set a precedent which has been consistently followed by the Petroleum Board, National Labor Board, and was recently reiterated by the National Labor Relations Board in the *Houde* case.

The Petroleum Board has also secured a number of important adjustments in labor disputes, including the agreement reached in the case of the Consolidated Oil Corporation. This agreement provides that when differences cannot be adjusted amicably, the matters in dispute are to be referred to the chief executive officer of Consolidated Oil Corporation and chief executive of A. F. of L. If they are unable to effect a settlement "they shall agree upon a method of procedure of arbitration for the settlement of such dispute or grievance," the award to be binding upon both parties.

In the case of the Phillips Petroleum Company, the board has set an important precedent by invalidating a company-supervised election held for the purpose of establishing a company union.

"It is the deliberate policy of the Phillips Petroleum Company to interfere actively with the employees' right to organize for collective bargaining and to control the choice of representation of its employees," the board said.

"We are of the opinion, therefore, that the action of the company in

actively promoting its company employees' union through meetings managed by the employer is in violation of Section 7, Article 2 of the petroleum Code, and Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and the company is asked to cease these activities.

"It is for the employees freely to choose such an organization if they prefer it," the board said, "in discussing the company union, and any election that purports to give employees an opportunity to express their choice must provide an opportunity for the employees to vote on as many organizations or representatives as the employees may want to choose from and must not be confined or restricted to a vote on the employers' proposal alone.

"The election should be by secret ballot, and must not be conducted by an agent of the company. It should be supervised by an election committee chosen by the employees and representatives of different organizations among them, or by a neutral party agreed upon by all parties.

"If this cannot be arranged, the Petroleum Labor Policy Board will conduct the election. Only in this manner can a fair and free choice of the employees be secured as to the organizations or individuals they desire to represent them in collective bargaining.

"With respect to the specific disputes, the board will, on receipt of a proper petition from the employees, order such an election."

In formulating the master code for the construction industry, the NRA conformed more closely than in other instances to the fundamental purposes of the Recovery Act—"To induce and maintain united action of labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision."

This is accepted through a provision for mutual agreements and for equal representation on the National Construction Planning and Adjustment Board, as well as on similar Regional Boards.

In the provision relating to mutual agreements, the code states that in each division and subdivision of the industry truly representative associations or groups of employers and employees concerned, as a result of *bona fide* collective bargaining, may establish by mutual agreement for a specified area the standards of hours, rates of pay and other conditions of employment relating to occupations or type of operation. The provision for any such agreement when approved by the President becomes a part of the code. This procedure provides a firm basis for collective bargaining resulting in agreements on a regional basis.

With collective bargaining machinery thus established, such boards, consisting of one representative of Labor and one of employers under an impartial chairman, are set up to supervise and investigate the enforcement of these mutual agreements. Each board is to give notice and opportunity to be heard to each complainant and respondent and to report its findings to the administrator to enforce the provisions of the code. In this respect, the code broadens the application of the law by including in its provisions the mandate of Section 7(b) which states that the President shall afford every opportunity to employers and employees to establish by mutual agreement the standards of hours, wages, and the working conditions necessary to effectuate the policy of the Act. Labor has long advocated the enforcement of this section of the statute and its adoption under the construction code has set a precedent of outstanding importance.

A National Construction Planning and Adjustment Board has been also

established under the code. Its fundamental purpose is industrial planning and development of policies that would further the spirit of cooperation in all matters relating to the relations between employers and employees in the industry. This board is also designed to conciliate and adjust by voluntary arbitration all disputes relating to wages, hours, and working conditions.

The decisions of the National Construction Planning and Adjustment Board are final and binding on all parties in interest, but subject to review by the administrator. Thus the enforcement machinery provided in the construction industry stands out as far more effective than in the majority of industries operating under codes.

Most of such boards, set up without definite statutory powers, without the ability to make and enforce decisions, and based only upon the consent of the employers and the employees concerned, have in the short space of a year been proven entirely inadequate to meet the situation. The assumption that employers want to comply with the law as regards collective bargaining, upon which assumption the old National Labor Board was created, has long since broken down. There has never been more widespread or determined opposition to any law than to the collective bargaining portion of the Recovery Act. The Cotton Textile Board and the Automobile Labor Board have failed completely to solve any of the problems which led to their creation. Indeed, they have brought so many new problems that the workers in the industries concerned are harmed, rather than helped, by their existence. The former National Labor Board has gone out of existence with full recognition on the part of all concerned in it that it was unable to meet the situation, with the limited powers it was given.

With this recognition of the fact that the first approach to the enforcement of Section 7(a) was not adequate, Congress passed Resolution No. 44. Under this Resolution the President issued two executive orders, one creating the National Longshoremen's Board to settle the Pacific Coast dispute in the shipping industry, and the other creating the National Steel Labor Relations Board. Immediately following the creation of these two special boards, the President issued an executive order on June 29, 1934, establishing the National Labor Relations Board to supersede the old National Labor Board.

These boards are statutory. They operate under powers conferred upon them by law; they have definite duties and responsibilities. In the short time they have been in existence they have acted with courage, promptness, and definiteness, to resolve some of the most weighty problems in industrial relations. The National Labor Relations Board has already been discussed. The Steel Labor Board has made one very important ruling in the West Virginia rail case, which states that employers have no legal interest in the organization of their employees; that they cannot, either directly or indirectly, interfere with the selection of employees' representatives for collective bargaining.

A contrast between the boards set up in the rather vague, uncertain situation which prevailed in the first months of the NRA and those set up recently under the new law leaves no doubt as to the desirability and even the necessity of reconstituting on a statutory basis boards like those in the textile and the automobile industries.

(1935, p. 37) Our first great experiment in national planning, which was launched as the National Recovery Administration, was brought abruptly to a close on May 27, 1935, when in the

Schechter case, the Supreme Court of the U.S. ruled that "such a delegation of legislative power is unknown to our law and is utterly inconsistent with the constitutional prerogatives and duties of Congress."

At this time, therefore, it behooves us to consider certain outstanding issues in connection with this attempt at federal control of our production and distribution facilities. To what extent were the desired results obtained? What were the principal shortcomings which developed? When a sound program has been devised, based on the 1933-35 experience, what steps must be taken to enable us to go forward with the program without interference from the Supreme Court?

As a basis for an analysis of the degree of success which was achieved we must look closely at the general policy on which the National Industrial Recovery Act was based.

1. To promote the organization of industry.
2. To induce and maintain united action of labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision.
3. To eliminate unfair competitive practices.
4. To promote the fullest possible utilization of the productive capacity of industries.
5. To avoid undue restriction of production.
6. To increase the consumption of industrial and agricultural products by increasing purchasing power.
7. To reduce and relieve unemployment.
8. To improve standards of labor.
9. To otherwise rehabilitate industry and conserve natural resources.

(p. 441) The A. F. of L. solemnly warns the country that if recent developments continue there will be two results. First, the present recovery

will be halted and second, the ground will be prepared for another collapse like that of 1929. The latest gains in recovery, the report shows, are one-sided and destined to be temporary. While re-employment in private industry is stagnant and total wage payments are advancing scarcely as fast as the cost of living, profits are increasing by leaps and bounds. This is a new development and a reversal of the sound if slow recovery of 1934 which was based on an effort to hold profits down and to direct an increased share of industrial income to wage earners and so to build up mass purchasing power, the basis of prosperity and recovery.

The A. F. of L. points out that this effort to launch us on the way to permanent recovery at first promised to be successful. The industrial wage earners' share of the national income, which in 1932 had fallen to 14½ per cent, rose in 1934 to 18 per cent. But it still has far to go, for even in 1929 the wage earners' share was 22 per cent and that was so insufficient that the failure of mass buying power to keep up with production brought on the collapse of 1929 and the depression.

But this brief period of sound recovery seems at an end and the "unhealthy" developments of 1923-1929 are starting all over again. Again all figures show that production is increasing "faster than either employment or wage payments" and so again unless this development is checked, the share of labor as a group in the income of industry must decline.

It will be remembered that much of the profits of industry has been made possible by the expenditure of fabulous sums of public money, without a reasonable return in the form of an increased wages bill by industry. The maintenance of the present economic momentum is made impossible by such fallacious economic policy.

But these forces, if allowed to operate unchecked, produce an unbalanced industry, a shortage of consuming power, because Labor's income increases less rapidly than production. The A. F. of L. believes not only that such a development if continued must within a few years bring on another recession but that we cannot count upon a healthy development of business in the next few months unless workers' buying power can be maintained and further increased in proportion to industrial income as business rises.

(p. 580) The A. F. of L. in convention assembled, reaffirms its belief in the principle of the NIRA legislation and calls for the widest study to determine the extent to which former code labor provisions have been and are being destroyed, and for which purpose it extends its complete cooperation.

The A. F. of L. pledges its assistance to the permanent continuation by Federal legislation of the principles of NIRA, with adequate labor participation in code making, code administration and code reformation.

North American Treaty Organization

(NATO (South America Program))

(1951, p. 58, 467) The Executive Council reported on U.S. participation in two regional arrangements for mutual assistance: (1) North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and (2) the Mutual Security Program for South America.

The convention committee which considered these subjects made the following report which was adopted:

Your Committee has carefully examined and noted with approval the section of the Executive Council Report dealing with the problems of Mutual Military Assistance as met by our government through our country's membership in the NATO and our nation's support of the Mutual Security Program for Latin America.

We recognize that only the first beginnings have been made by the democracies of Europe and the New World toward effective collective security. But we appreciate these beginnings as a sign of the real awakening of the free peoples and their governments to the extremely grave danger of Soviet imperialist encroachment and aggression against their national existence, human freedom, and world peace. In this spirit Ottawa was recently the seat of the first international rearmament conference ever held in peacetime.

The Convention fully endorses the policy of our government in arousing the free nations to a fuller realization of the menace of Soviet aggression and the overriding urgency of mobilizing promptly sufficient military strength to assure world peace and national survival for the free peoples.

In heartily supporting our Nation's vigorous defense program, we recognize that there can be no painless rearmament. But we also realize that it is better to have rearmament with pain and peace than no armament which brings war, defeat, and disaster. We are aware that sacrifices will have to be made by all freedom-loving nations to maintain their liberties and enjoy the benefits of peace. However, we firmly reiterate our insistence that this urgently needed rearmament must be realized on the basis of equality of sacrifice within our own and all other democratic countries and on the basis of each member nation of the NATO contributing its best toward the attainment of invincible collective security.

While our country, as the leading and strongest democratic power, must naturally assume the heaviest share in a speedy fulfillment of an adequate defense program, it would be fatal folly to have America bear the entire burden of rearmament. America should play the role of loyal and help-

ful partner and not be the sole contributor or patron. Toward assuring equity in the bearing of rearmament burdens and toward reducing and easing the costly impact of rearmament on the weaker economies of our allies, we propose that:

1. NATO take steps to utilize to the maximum extent available plant capacity in countries like Italy and other European lands for production of military equipment and armament. This will assure more economic and speedier results.

2. The principle of fuller collaboration should also be extended to the friendly and free raw material producing countries, Latin America, Asia (Indonesia), and Africa so that they receive a fair price for the commodities they make available to the NATO members.

3. The A. F. of L. recognizes the necessity of American government departments and private corporations engaging in building certain defense projects in allied lands. But we strongly urge that in all such instances the American authorities and employers pay a higher wage than the usually inadequate scale prevailing in these areas (Turks Island, B.W.I.). Such a policy would present a truer picture of our country and its economy than the workers have hitherto had. It would also stimulate the raising of the general levels of pay and purchasing power of the workers in these communities.

Only adherence to such principles of reciprocal and mutual economic aid between the free nations and equality of sacrifice within these countries can assure effective and timely rearmament and insure against the defense program undermining economic stability, dangerously depressing the living and working standards of Labor, and weakening the entire social fabric of the democratic nations.

The A. F. of L. emphasizes that

without the whole-hearted support and participation of Labor, it would be impossible to carry through an effective collective security program. We, therefore, call upon our government to press for Labor representation in the NATO. We further urge the ICFTU and its affiliates to take similar action so that the voice of Labor will be heard and its interests more adequately regarded in the highest allied defense councils. The ranks of free Labor will then rally with enhanced enthusiasm and energy to the growing armies of freedom and peace under the command of General Eisenhower.

Naturalization (see: **Immigration and Naturalization**)

Nautical Schools—(1940, pp. 91, 408) Because of frequent complaints concerning the operation of privately-owned nautical schools, Congress has by the enactment of H.R. 9262 placed all such schools under Federal jurisdiction. The Maritime Commission, the Board of Supervising Inspectors and the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation are given special authority to regulate such schools and all laws governing the inspection of passenger vessels are made applicable to privately-owned ships operating as nautical schools. On July 1, 1940, the Maritime Commission assumed responsibility for cooperating in maintenance and supervision of four state nautical schools. Located in California, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania, the schools are state institutions, subject in the first three instances to the state departments of education and in Pennsylvania to the State Navigation Commission for the River Delaware. The transfer of authority from the Navy was effected by Government Reorganization Plan IV. It includes the responsibility for furnishing government vessels and equipment for schoolships and for matching state contributions up to \$25,000 for each school.

S. 4299 and H.R. 10315 (companion bills) authorize an appropriation of \$10,000,000 to enable the Maritime Commission to construct new training ships as replacements for the rather antiquated ships now used by the before-mentioned State Nautical Schools. In addition, the annual Federal appropriation toward the maintenance of each of these schools is increased from \$25,000 to \$50,000. S. 4299 passed the Senate September 30. H.R. 10315 has been favorably reported by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and is pending on the House Calendar.

This legislation was favored by A. F. of L.

Naval Construction Law—(1935, p. 514) The A. F. of L. urges the President of the U.S., the Secretary of the Navy and the appropriate Congressional committees, the necessary executive and legislative action having for its purpose the inauguration of the policy of having all designs and plans for naval construction performed directly by employees of the Federal Government.

Walsh-Healey—(1938, pp. 170, 456) (Public No. 528)—All contracts for the construction of naval vessels shall be in accordance with Public Law No. 846, the Walsh-Healey Act. The law provides:

The construction, alteration, furnishing, or equipping of any naval vessel authorized by this Act, or the construction, alteration, furnishing, or equipping of any naval vessels with funds from any appropriation available for such purposes, contracts for which are made after June 30, 1938, shall be in accordance with the provisions of Public Law 846, Seventy-fourth Congress, approved June 30, 1936, unless such course, in the judgment of the President of the United States, should not be in the interest of national defense.

Navy Yards (and Arsenals)

(1930, p. 392) This convention places itself on record as vigorously opposing any displacement of American labor, and furthermore instructs the officers of the American Federation of Labor to have legislation introduced in Congress which will prevent the employment of alien workmen upon the construction of any ships the construction of which is paid for in whole or in part by any grants or financial assistance or funds of the United States Government.

(1932, p. 554) In connection with urging unemployment insurance for Government employees, the desirability of continuous employment becomes evident; because if there were no discharges or layoffs in Government establishments, there would be no necessity for unemployment insurance.

At the present time, layoffs and rotative furloughs are taking place at the New York Navy Yard because of lack of work. The rotative furloughs consist of workmen being required to lose one week's work out of every five, and all employees in the departments affected are thus subjected to unemployment to the extent of one-fifth of their working time.

While the Naval Appropriation Bill was under consideration in the U.S. Senate during the last session of Congress, Senator Homer T. Bone of Washington sought to have eliminated from the bill language inserted by the House, which authorized the Navy Department to let work to private contractors, if such course were deemed advantageous to national defense, even though such work cost more and navy yard employees, who normally would do the work, were laid off.

Following assurances given by Senators in charge of the bill, that there was no intention of letting work to contract, where it could be done at navy yards, if employees would be dis-

charged as a result, the Bone Amendment was rejected.

Since the enactment of that legislation, it appears much work has been let to contract which should have been performed in navy yards, resulting directly or indirectly in these layoffs and rotative furloughs.

The E.C. is requested to urge the President of the U.S. to see to it that the rotative furlough at the New York Navy Yard be discontinued and the furloughed employees be put back to work, and that the two U.S. Senators above mentioned, be appealed to, to use their good offices to see to it, that work be not let to contract, to the detriment of the Government's own employees.

(1933, p. 498) The E.C. is hereby directed to urge the President of the U.S. to assign to the civilian personnel of the navy, all work which heretofore has been performed by civilians, or which does not constitute strictly military duty; or to have introduced and support legislation to remedy these conditions.

(1934, pp. 83, 399) Congress authorized the construction of 102 naval vessels and 1,100 air-crafts in order to bring the ratio up to 5—5—3. During the hearings it was estimated that it would require \$660,000,000 over a period of years to carry on the work. The bill was introduced January 9, passed the House January 30, passed the Senate March 6 and was approved by the President March 27. Forty million dollars was appropriated to begin work in this fiscal year.

The first and each succeeding vessel of each category except the 15,000 ton aircraft carrier, upon which work is in progress, shall be constructed in the government navy yards, naval stations, naval gun factories, naval ordnance plants or arsenals of the U.S., except such material or parts as were not customarily manufactured in such plants prior to 1929.

(1935, p. 457) Section 2 of the Brookhart Act enacted by the 71st Congress, expressly provided that the Group IV (b) Employees of the Naval Field Establishment be placed under the salary rates of the Classification Act of 1923 as amended.

After a protracted delay of several years, the special board of the Navy Department has finally completed the final allocation for this group.

In doing so, those entrusted with this work have disregarded the principle of equal pay for equal work when compared with the rates of pay allowed for similar work at the Navy Department.

The Personnel Classification Board of the Civil Service Commission is requested to review this final allocation, taking into account the provisions of the Classification Act and the precedents established for corresponding positions in the Navy Department offices.

(p. 460) The A. F. of L. adopts the following as its legislative program:

1. Restoration and extension of the 30 days' leave of absence with pay to navy yard and arsenal employes, and to other skilled trades services where this condition of employment does not at present apply, in accordance with the provisions of the Ramspeck Leave Bill, H.R. 8458.

2. Extension of the 15 days' sick leave privilege to the skilled trades services where this condition of employment does not at present apply, in accordance with the provisions of the Ramspeck Leave Bill, H.R. 8459.

3. Amending the Retirement Act to provide for optional retirement after 30 years of service, without additional cost to the employes.

4. Amending the Retirement Act to provide a pension for the widows of deceased retired Federal employes.

5. Leveling up the schedule of wages

in effect at the arsenals to the rates paid at the navy yards, and seeking to have the intermediate and minimum rates of pay in the Navy Yard Wage Schedule abolished and in the case of mechanics restricted for use of apprentices during their first and second years, respectively, after having completed their apprenticeship.

6. Preventing by legislation or otherwise, Military and Naval personnel from performing work which should be performed by civilian employes.

(p. 798) Men employed in the navy yards for a considerable number of years are being laid off for lack of funds, but their places are being filled by men from the WPA. The E.C. was requested to apply their energetic efforts to the end that this unsatisfactory condition be eliminated.

(p. 799) The officers of the A. F. of L. are requested to use every effort to have established in the Navy Department a Board of Adjustment, similar to the Navy Department Wage Board of Review, which is composed of two representatives of the Department appointed by the Secretary of the Navy, and one representative of Labor nominated by the President of the A. F. of L., and appointed by the Secretary of the Navy, whose duty it shall be to hold hearings upon Navy Yard grievances, and reach decisions in relation thereto; and that the representatives of Organized Labor shall be entitled to appear before such Board to discuss pending grievances in the same manner as such representatives were, and are, entitled to appear before the Department Wage Board of Review in relation to the Wage question; also endeavor to have a similar Board established under the War Department for the adjudication of grievances arising at the arsenals and the several activities coming under the Chief of Engineers of the War Department.

The E.C. is directed to continue its efforts to prevent permanent employees of the Navy Yards being displaced by emergency workers.

(1936, p. 491) The Navy Department in instructions to Navy Yards and naval stations has stressed the necessity for conserving funds by reducing the number of first class ratings of mechanical employees and establishing a so-called Balance Work Force, which includes mechanics paid at first, second and third class ratings. These instructions are easily susceptible to interpretations which will result in first class mechanics of all the trades being forced to accept wage rates out of keeping with the qualifications of their trade and at the same time create the opportunity for the employment of competent mechanics in the government service at lower rates of pay under the maximum wage scales authorized in the schedule of wages enforced under the Navy Department.

The convention records its opposition to the principles and practices of the so-called "Balanced Work Force" which leads to wage reduction practices,

The A. F. of L. will support the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. in an effort to have the rules of 1921 re-established so that the intermediate and minimum ratings for mechanics may be eliminated.

(p. 492) Maintenance and repair work is being performed by emergency employees on United States Government property endangering the continued employment of permanent employees; the A. F. of L. will continue its efforts to prevent the displacement of permanent employees by emergency workers.

(p. 567) The A. F. of L. requests the President of the U.S. and the Navy Department to establish within the Navy Department a staff of com-

missioned officers of the Navy competent as designers, so that the Navy Department will depend upon its own designing and construction officers instead of private interests.

(1937, p. 330) We seek the abolition of the second and third class rates of pay, officially known as the intermediate and minimum rates, respectively, in the Navy Yard service, and level up the maximum rates of pay in the Navy Yard schedule of wages to the present highest rate in effect in the Navy Yard service, within the continental limits of the United States, either by departmental regulation or by legislation.

That the Navy Yard schedule of wages as thus modified be established at the arsenals and in other industrial activities under the executive branch of our government, within the continental limits of the United States, provided that any existing higher rates of pay shall be maintained.

(p. 510) In the navy yard at Bremerton, Washington, the Works Progress allotment of funds for emergency relief, naval, are being used for the employment of men on relief to replace regular navy yard employees in the maintenance and repair in the Public Works Department, and in labor gangs in the Supply Department, the workers formerly doing this work having been discharged or demoted.

The E.C. is instructed to give its full assistance so that no employees of the United States Government, in any capacity, shall be replaced by relief workers.

(1938, p. 420) The E.C. is hereby instructed to give every possible assistance to the officers of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. and the officers of the International Unions affiliated with the Department in their effort to have second and third class rates eliminated, and the estab-

lishment in their place of a single wage rate for each classification of labor employed in Navy Yards.

(1938, p. 554) The principle of unemployment insurance has been endorsed by the A. F. of L. and has been given effect by congressional enactment:

Civilian employes on a per diem basis employed in Navy Yards and similar establishments are without unemployment protection.

The officers of the A. F. of L. are instructed in cooperation with the officers of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. to prepare and have introduced into Congress, legislation establishing unemployment insurance for Navy Yard civilian employes, and those employed in similar establishments.

(1939, p. 428) Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government Navy Yard, Arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions. The E.C. is instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employes substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Nazism (also see: Communism, Fascism, Discrimination Against Jews, Labor's League for Human Rights, United Nations Relief Fund)

Nazi Atrocities, Protest Against— (1941, pp. 368, 622) The convention unanimously adopted Resolution #173 providing that the American Federation of Labor inform President Roosevelt that outrages such as those now being reported from Norway and all other countries which have been overrun by Hitler's murderous armies fully justify the present American foreign policy of all-out efforts to defeat Hitler and increases the determination of trade unionists to coop-

erate in every way to make this policy more effective.

(1942, p. 633) The convention unanimously adopted the following statement submitted by the Committee on International Labor Relations:

Your committee again directs attention to a state of terrorism and of barbarism practiced by Hitler and his co-conspirators never heretofore equalled in history. And in so doing affirm the solemn implication of this war for the Four Freedoms.

The American Federation of Labor has ever been the friend and champion of the oppressed and persecuted and has always been the stalwart guard of the rights of minorities whether of nations or of peoples. We would therefore again pledge our whole support to the issues of freedom for every nation oppressed and persecuted by the despicable and hateful Nazi conqueror. We again pledge our fraternal and moral support to the claims of every oppressed national minority within every land, and the claims of any persecuted, racial minorities now suffering under the yoke of the tyrant.

Traditionally the American Federation of Labor has affirmed its sympathy with one of the most unjustly and tragically persecuted of all minorities—the Jewish people. At present this unfortunate group of the human brotherhood is enduring not only the usual barbarous and detestable excuses of the Nazi toward conquered people—it is being subjected to a program of systematic extermination which puts all its past sufferings into the shade. We again reiterate and emphasize our profound sympathy with the Jewish people. We assure them of our warm support in their just claims to that moral and practical recognition which is due to any historic, ethnic and cultural group.

We deplore the incredible brutality

which activates the behavior of their Nazi oppressors. We declare our complete sympathy with the national aspirations of the Jewish people toward collective security at the end of the present war. Since a start toward such security was made in the establishment of the National Homeland in Palestine for the Jewish people, we reaffirm our belief that the United Nations owe to them the continuance and the maintenance of this Homeland as a relief from their dreadful and inhuman persecutions, as a guarantee of their cultural unity and continuity, as an instrument for their legal and international standing in the court of nations, and as a restitution for their national dignity, honor, and creative energies.

In the post-war period of world reorganization that lies ahead, when the United Nations come to the problems of restoring the integrity of nations and groups now suffering under the lash of vile tyranny, we urge that they remember also the claims and sufferings of the Jewish people, and take steps to guarantee freedom and equality to them in their adopted countries, as well as their independence under the Balfour Declaration on the soil of Palestine.

We extend fraternal greetings to the Histadruth which ceaselessly toils to build a cooperative labor commonwealth through large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine and fosters mutual understanding with neighbors in Palestine and the surrounding countries. It looks with pride upon this pillar of democratic strength in the Middle East and believes every effort should be made to assure an early reconstruction of Jewish nationhood in Palestine and with the maximum of international aid.

(1943, p. 358) Res. 73:

Whereas—Newspaper dispatches from Europe, and the documented reports of the State Department tell a

horrible story of the atrocities to which the conquered peoples of Europe have been subjected. In Czechoslovakia the destruction of Lidice was but a symbol of the calculated plans of the Nazis to break the spirit of an entire nation. In Poland the best minds of the country, the leading spirits of all classes, the leaders of the labor movement, have been executed as part of the planned Nazi policy to leave the Poles a people without leadership and without direction. In Holland the Nazis loosed their bombs on Rotterdam after the city had surrendered, and thousands of women and children were butchered to strike fear into the hearts of their fighting men. Today Nazi soldiers are bayoneting Italian civilians on the streets of Italian cities to satisfy their lust for revenge against their former ally, and

Whereas—Horror piles upon horror. Terror is the lot of all, and

Whereas—It has been reserved for the Jewish population of occupied Europe to be marked for mass extermination. History knows no parallel to the bestial cruelties by which the Nazis are carrying out their resolve to destroy the entire people. Herded into walled ghettos, they are denied food and drink until life departs from their bodies. Crowded into specially constructed gas chambers, they are asphyxiated to death by their Nazi executioners. Hunted like animals through the streets, they are shot down or clubbed to death when their torturers have tired of their sport, and

Whereas—The world has seen more than 3,000,000 Jews in occupied Europe starved, hunted, gassed, clubbed and machine-gunned. Today there remains but a tiny remnant of an ancient people in lands where their fathers and forefathers have lived for centuries, and

Whereas—The conscience of the

civilized world recoils with horror at the fiendish crimes perpetrated by the Nazis on a defenseless people, and

Whereas—Civilized humanity owes it to its own conscience to undo, so far as can be undone, the inhuman plans of the Nazi barbarians and to save those who can still be saved from the fate that has been suffered by 3,000,000 of their people, and

Whereas—To this end, the American Federation of Labor calls upon the United Nations to take immediate steps to rescue the remaining Jews of occupied Europe. We call upon the United Nations, and our own country, to provide for them temporary havens in their territories. We urge that where immigration restrictions impede the work of rescue they be temporarily lifted, and that in our own country quotas be enlarged where necessary so that those Jews who can still be snatched from the bloody hands of the Nazis may find a temporary resting place until the war is over, when they may once more take up their abode in their native lands, and

Whereas—We urge that our government in the meanwhile, together with the governments of our Allies, warn the men by whose orders these inhuman deeds have been perpetrated that they will be treated as outlaws from humanity, and outcasts from the world; and that they will be punished for their crimes against the helpless and the down-trodden, and

Whereas—The Nazis, as part of their plan for world domination, have introduced into Europe a calculated chaos. They have uprooted millions of Frenchmen, Norwegians, Hollanders, Belgians, and Russians and Poles from their homeland. They have looted everything movable in every land where they have set their heel. Victory will not be complete until the monstrous skein of planned chaos is

unravell'd. The United Nations, as the trustees for the conscience of civilization, must resolve that these millions shall return to their homes, shall recover their property, shall be able once more as free men to live on the fruits of their toil. And precisely because the Nazis spent their greatest efforts on the uprooting and extermination of the Jews above all other peoples, the United Nations must make a special effort to foil the Nazi plans, and enable the Jews, who have suffered most at the hands of the Nazis, to return to their former residences and occupations, with all their political, economic, and civil rights restored, and

Whereas—When all this has been done, when charity and kindness and human decency have bound up the wounds left by our enemies, there will still be those among the Jews who will have no home, no nation, to which they can return. The American Federation of Labor has in the past expressed its profound sympathy with the national aspirations of the Jewish people. And today, more than ever, the American Federation of Labor calls upon the world to fulfill its long-standing pledge to the Jewish people by enabling them to build up their own homeland, and by opening wide the doors of Palestine to the victims of the Nazi terror, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor has observed with admiration the reconstruction of the Jewish homeland since the Balfour declaration recognizing the special claim of the Jewish people to the soil of Palestine. It has watched with pride the great role played in the up-building of Palestine by the forces of organized labor there, and

Whereas—The world is fortunate that there exists a Jewish homeland, whose sons stood at the gateway of the East and held it against the Nazi war machine until the full forces of

the United Nations could be brought to bear to expel the Germans from Asia and Africa. It is fortunate that there will exist tomorrow a Jewish commonwealth to which may turn those victims of Nazi oppression who have no other homeland, therefore be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor urges upon our Government and upon the Government of Great Britain, which has a special responsibility in the matter, that the Balfour Declaration be fully implemented, that the right of the Jewish people to a national home in Palestine be reaffirmed, and that every aid and encouragement be given to enable the victims of Nazi persecution to settle upon their ancient soil and make it bloom once more as it did in the days of the prophets.

Your committee had before it Resolution No. 73 Protesting Nazi Extermination of Jews in Europe and Proposing Measures for Rescue of Survivors. In addition to recommending its adoption your Committee presents the following for your approval and endorsement:

We are saddened by the terrible atrocities which have been perpetrated by the Nazi on the peoples of conquered Europe. We call attention to the fact that successive conventions of the American Federation of Labor, even before the outbreak of war in Europe, warned the world to be on guard against the blood lust of the Hitlerian hordes. The American Federation of Labor viewed with horror the massacres of the Jews that followed Hitler's rise to power, recognizing that the total suppression of human rights by the Hitler regime, the destruction of the labor movement, the murder of the leaders of labor, and the pogroms against the Jews, were all part of a pattern which must inevitably lead to even greater violations of the laws of God and man.

The whole world is suffering today from its refusal to recognize the indivisibility of the moral law. Oppression of one group led inevitably to oppression of others: aggression against one nation led inevitably to aggression against others. Failure to act against the Nazis before they consolidated their power through brutal suppression of every instinct of humanity and decency led to the present world holocaust.

Millions of men and women and children in occupied Europe suffer unbelievable cruelties today at the hands of the Nazis. Violated, kidnapped, murdered, the peoples of Poland, Belgium, Holland, Russia, Luxemburg, France and other countries have seen their food taken away, their homes looted, their families deported, their religion mocked, their very humanity assailed and destroyed. Terror, brutal insensate terror, first used by Hitler as a weapon of politics, has become for him a weapon of war, and no one of the peoples of Europe has been spared.

But one among them suffered uniquely, for the Jews of Europe have been marked by Hitler for mass extermination. The mind reels at the thought of 3,000,000 human beings done to death, not as an incident of war, not under the guise of military necessity, but as part of an open, frank and brutal design to extirpate an entire people. New methods of killing unparalleled in their ferocity, divorced from the least vestige of humanity, have had to be designed to murder such a huge mass of human beings. Mass torture, mass starvation, mass asphyxiation, and mass shooting—these have been the lot of the Jews of Europe, and 3,000,000 of them have already been murdered in cold blood by the Hitler barbarians.

To the American Federation of Labor, which has always been the champion of the oppressed everywhere, the

cry of the broken remnant of the Jewish people of Europe for rescue comes with particular poignancy. For such exceptional horror as has been suffered by the peoples of the lands invaded by Hitler, exceptional means must be adopted by civilization to rescue them from further suffering. Every effort must be made to save those that can still be saved. Free access to the territories of the United Nations must be permitted, and the victims of Hitler's persecution must be given temporary sanctuary until the war is over and the lands across the seas are once more open for their return.

It is the moral obligation of the civilized world to provide temporary havens for those Jews who can still escape from Hitler's inferno.

Meanwhile, we note with satisfaction that President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill have already sounded solemn notes of warning to the Nazis and their satellites that on the day of victory they will be called to account for their transgressions against the weak and the helpless. We believe that this warning should be reiterated, and strengthened, for fear may still move those who are moved by neither justice nor mercy.

And the day of victory is approaching. Under the hammer blows of the United Nations, the edifice of hate and terror and brutality that was built up by Hitler is beginning to crumble. But military victory alone will not be enough. Civilization will still face the task of underlining the defeat of the barbarians by defeating their design to make of Europe a chaotic continent, swept by disease, racked by hunger, inhabited by millions of homeless wanderers. Frenchmen, Russians, Belgians, Hollanders, Poles—even Italians, erstwhile allies of Hitler—will need to be rehabilitated, returned to their homes, and helped to resume their occupations.

And because the Jews of occupied Europe were the victims of the utmost refinements of Nazi sadism, because Hitler in his plan to wipe 6,000,000 human beings from the face of the earth took special pains to destroy their rights, their homes, and their means of subsistence, the United Nations must in their turn take special care to assure to them full and complete restoration of their civil, their political, and their economic rights.

And in the making of the peace treaties, the right of the Jews to repatriation, rehabilitation, and equality with their fellow citizens in the lands where they have lived for generations must be guaranteed and protected, so that never again may anti-Semitism, or persecution of any racial, religious, or ethnic group be used by those who would profit from a world in turmoil to mask their designs upon freedom, democracy, and peace.

In 1941, the gravity of the plight of the Jews in occupied Europe moved the American Federation of Labor to declare, at its Seattle Convention, and it reiterates that declaration—that it is "urgent that this suffering people, the greatest of all sufferers at the ruthless hands of the enemies of freedom and democracy, be accorded real hope and aid through a restoration of rights long overdue it—rights to a full development of Palestine."

How much more urgent is the need for full development of Palestine today, how much more urgent will that need be when civilization emerges victorious over the barbarians. For Palestine is the one country in the world that is prepared to give refuge and asylum to the victims of Hitlerite oppression, not on a temporary, but on a permanent basis.

Since the rise of Hitler to power in 1936, this tiny country has welcomed and absorbed almost 300,000 Jewish refugees from Nazi and Fascist oppression. The American Federation of

Labor urges that its doors be immediately opened to the countless thousands more who have no other home, no other hope, but Palestine.

We urge that the United Nations create the possibilities that will permit these victims of oppression to build their own lives anew on their own soil through their own efforts.

The American Federation of Labor welcomed from the first the Balfour Declaration of 1917 recognizing the special rights of the Jewish people to the soil of their ancient home in Palestine. At many conventions we have reiterated our profound sympathy for the Jewish people in its efforts to restore the plains and deserts of Palestine to their ancient bloom. It was in consequence of that sympathy, and as a logical outcome of our belief in the essential justice of the desire of the Jewish people to build their own commonwealth in Palestine, that the American Federation of Labor at the 1942 convention in Toronto urged that with the conclusion of the war, steps be taken "to guarantee freedom and equality for them in their adopted countries, as well as their independence under the Balfour Declaration on the soil of Palestine."

Surely, the least that the civilized world can do is to carry out the pledge so freely given by Great Britain in 1917 affirmed by the League of Nations when it accorded to that nation the Mandate over Palestine in 1922, and approved by our own American Congress in the same year. The American Federation of Labor urges that the restrictions on Jewish immigration and settlement contained in the British White Paper of 1939 be withdrawn, and that the Balfour Declaration be so implemented that the hopes and aspirations of the Jewish people to build their own commonwealth in Palestine may be realized. Thus will this ancient people be enabled to take its rightful place among the demo-

cratic nations of the world, and make its full contribution to that progressive world order which we all pray will emerge from the horrible sufferings of this global war.

The eyes of the American labor movement turn with special confidence to Palestine as a haven of refuge for the homeless Jews of Europe, because it has observed with pride the splendid role played by the organized workers of Palestine in the upbuilding of their land. The American Federation of Labor greets Histadruth, the Federation of Labor in Palestine, and expresses its pride in the accomplishments of its sister movement across the seas. We know of the magnificent part that has been played by the sons and daughters of Jewish labor in Palestine in defending the gateway to the East against the Nazis. We wish for Histadruth greater strength in a greater land, in a land which has received full justice from the United Nations, in a land where every suffering, persecuted Jew who sought refuge found it, who sought the right to toil secured it, who sought human dignity and human freedom achieved it.

Near East Relief—(1924, p. 297). The A. F. of L. commends the work of the Near East Relief and recommends that local unions and central labor bodies co-operate in this humanitarian work of saving lives of orphan children and training them for leadership in various trades in the Near East countries.

(1926, p. 299) Voted to continue to cooperate with and urge financial support to the Near East relief.

(1927, p. 344) Labor advisory committee for Near East relief continued.

Negro Problems (see: F.E.P.C.; Discrimination, Racial; Lynching)

Neutrality (also see: European War, Foreign Policy)

International Affairs (1952, p. 112)
A most dangerous expression of frus-

tration, despair and self-deception in the democratic world is so-called neutralism. The A. F. of L. has been unsparing in its condemnation of and opposition to "neutralism" as a conscious or unwitting ally of Soviet imperialism. Whether "neutralism" is embraced by those honestly mistaken or advocated and pushed by the dishonest and concealed enemies of world democratic unity against Soviet aggression, it plays right into the hands of the Russian warlords.

The A. F. of L. has determinedly fought "neutralism" in the ranks of labor everywhere because it is based on a number of utterly false assumptions.

Newspaper, Labor-Owned Daily

(1936, pp. 186, 614) By Resolution No. 150, the Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L. considered the application for the establishment of a daily newspaper. The president was authorized to make a thorough investigation and submit a report to the E.C.

This report disclosed that roughly estimated the daily cost for an issue of 30,000 copies, both for editorials and production, would be approximately \$550. This estimate does not take into consideration the increased cost of office personnel.

Taking all of these matters into consideration, it seemed absolutely impossible for the E.C. to arrange for the financing and publication of an A. F. of L. daily newspaper.

Until and unless the membership of the A. F. of L. provides the necessary funds with which to launch the publication of a daily newspaper, the E.C. is of the firm opinion that it would be impossible to carry out the recommendations of Resolution No. 150 which was referred to the E.C. by the Atlantic City convention.

(1947, p. 663) Res. 130, referred to the E.C.:

Whereas—It is becoming more evi-

dent that most daily newspapers cannot be depended upon to present labor news in a fair and unbiased manner, a condition which is doing irreparable harm to organized labor, and

Whereas—Daily newspapers are read by a large segment of our population, and thus influence millions of voters to express themselves for anti-labor measures at the ballot box, and

Whereas—The sources of anti-labor groups have always been more numerous, persuasive and effective than those of organized labor, this being particularly true of the various mediums of propaganda such as the press and radio, and

Whereas—There are reported to be more than 7,000,000 members in the American Federation of Labor, a vast number of whom would support a more effective medium of expression such as a daily newspaper which would present labor's viewpoints to the reading public, and

Whereas—There is a great deal of talent in the various crafts of the American Federation of Labor, which could be employed to handle the various and associated journalistic and technical tasks of publishing a daily newspaper, therefore, be it.

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of a daily newspaper.

(1948, p. 233) Res. 2 Called upon E.C. to make every effort possible and feasible to establish or to aid and encourage the establishment of such a daily paper frankly committed to publicize the viewpoint of organized labor.

(1949, pp. 344, 502) Res. 121 called for the establishment of a daily labor paper to "make available to all the people of this nation the true facts concerning organized labor and its fight for a free America." Referred to E.C. for study and appropriate action.

(1951, pp. 273, 548) Res. I proposed the founding of a national daily newspaper. Convention referred the subject matter to the Executive Council for consideration.

(1952, pp. 419, 520) Res. 143, unanimously adopted, provided:

Whereas—Organized labor, and particularly the labor press, has agitated for many years regarding the great need for the establishment of a daily newspaper, whose columns should be devoted in their entirety to the cause of labor in this country, and

Whereas—The necessity for the launching of a labor daily newspaper has been more evident in recent years, because of the increasing anti-labor editorial trend of most of the nation's daily press, and

Whereas—The International Typographical Union, one of the founders of the A. F. of L. has launched a daily labor newspaper, to be known as "LABOR'S DAILY" in the city of Charleston, West Virginia, setting a new milestone in the field of labor journalism in America, therefore, be it

Resolved—By the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting at New York City, September 1952, that we hereby go on record as commending the initiative of the I.T.U. in giving the American trade union movement a daily newspaper, dedicated to the cause of labor, and be it further

Resolved—That we pledge our individual and collective encouragement and support to "Labor's Daily," in order to insure its success and eventually bring about the spread of this publication's influence around the country, as an effective instrument in championing labor's cause, and be it further

Resolved—That copies of this Resolution be spread upon the minutes of this convention, forwarded to the officers of the International Typographi-

cal Union, the General Manager of "Labor's Daily", and also released to the press.

(1953, p. 401) Res. 27 recommended that the Executive Council explore the possibilities of a labor-owned daily newspaper of nation-wide or continent-wide circulation, to be financed, owned and managed by all *bona fide* labor organizations of North America which can be interested therein.

(P. 648) Convention reaffirmed action of previous convention on this subject.

News Column for Labor, Syndicated (1944, p. 472) Res. 56:

Whereas—Most of the daily newspapers in the United States carry as a regular feature syndicated articles by one or more columnists who specialize in smearing organized labor and labor unions and in fomenting and encouraging of racial and religious discrimination and prejudices, and

Whereas—The malicious and untrue propaganda contained in these syndicated columns is constantly distorted, emphasized and magnified throughout the entire nation, and

Whereas—There is a present and future need for the existence of a fair, liberal and pro-labor syndicated daily column, and

Whereas—If such a daily syndicated column were available for publication in newspapers which are willing or desirous of presenting all sides of the picture through its columns, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor presently having a statistical department which specializes in gathering the facts it is in a position to establish, sponsor and maintain a daily syndicated column for use by newspapers throughout the country; therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assem-

bled in New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20, 1944, go on record in favor of establishing a syndicated daily news column as provided in the next four paragraphs:

1. That the present news service of the American Federation of Labor be extended to include a daily syndicated news column.

2. That such syndicated news service be made available to all news publications wishing to purchase a syndicated labor news service.

3. That the American Federation of Labor employ an outstanding news writer to prepare a daily column for use by newspapers throughout the nation so that the working man and the public generally may have a true, unbiased and straightforward picture of the facts concerning matters affecting labor and labor unions.

4. That the American Federation of Labor do all in its power to obtain the greatest possible publication of this news column in the newspapers throughout the country.

Your committee is in approval with the purpose of the resolutions, but believes that they should be referred to the Executive Council so that the most practical means of developing our public relations should be established.

Newsprint Shortage (Labor Press) (1947, p. 665) Res. 145, and action thereon, follow:

Whereas—A flourishing and widely circulated labor press is a vital factor in the health of the American labor movement, and more necessary than ever to its defense in 1948, and

Whereas—The very existence of many a labor publication is now threatened by the newsprint shortage and the soaring newsprint prices in black market and gray market offerings, and

Whereas—The wealthiest and most bitterly anti-labor of the commercial dailies profit by the very situation which threatens to drive our labor weeklies to the wall, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, through appropriate officers and committees, undertake immediate and thorough investigation of this problem, with a view to employing every legal and political means to induce the suppliers of newsprint to maintain the normal allocation of supply to the labor press, with normal increases in quota for 1948 at a general price stabilized below gray market levels, and be it further

Resolved—That in the event negotiations to this end appear futile, the American Federation of Labor give serious thought to financing a cooperative purchasing plan to the end that the pooled purchasing power of the Federation and the labor press be exerted to compete as far as possible with the huge purchasing power of the commercial press in the newsprint market.

Your committee, believing that appropriate action should be taken in connection with the shortage of newsprint paper, recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, A. F. of L., for study and such action as seems advisable.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Niagara River Power Development (1953, pp. 450, 656) Res. 139 opposed legislation providing for State or Federal power development of the Niagara River and urged support of bill providing for electric power development of the Niagara River through private enterprise. Convention referred the resolution to the Executive Council.

Night Work Differential—(1925, p. 174) (also see: Government Employees, Wages) The E.C. was instructed to

cooperate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of government employes to have the government recognize, in a practical way, appropriate to the needs of each group, the hardship and undesirability of night work.

(1926, p. 293) Reaffirmed declaration for higher pay for night work.

(1928, pp. 82, 216) Congress passed a bill providing that night workers in the Post Office Department should be paid 10 per cent more than those working days. The bill was vetoed by the President. This created a furore in the House and the bill was passed over the veto by a vote of 319 to 42 or 78 votes more than the necessary two-thirds. In the Senate the vote was 70 to 9 to override the veto.

Immediately after the veto of the President of a bill granting allowance for rent, fuel, light and equipment for postmasters in the fourth class was overridden in the Senate by a vote of 63 to 17. The House by a vote of 318 to 46 passed the same bill over the President's veto.

The A. F. of L. favored both bills.

(1933, p. 475) Night work should be eliminated wherever practicable. We agree that families and friends should be given ample opportunity for joint recreational activities, but we must point out the obvious impossibility of eliminating all forms of work "in all industries and retail establishments" after six o'clock in the evening. . . . There are, of course, processes in many industries which require continuous human attention during the night, in order that the plant as a whole may operate during the day. There are industries in which more or less continuity of operation is required throughout the twenty-four hours in order to operate at all. Ships cannot put into port at six o'clock every evening. Morning newspapers cannot be published without night work. The points of public recreation very largely require the use of transportation fa-

cilities, and, by the way, would not be very satisfactory under all circumstances if neither food nor beverages could be bought at retail on the grounds.

Noise Abatement (Industrial Hazard)
Res. 113 (1954, pp. 413, 487)

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled take official cognizance of this serious situation, by instituting a national movement of corrective and compensatory legislation and by taking such steps as may be deemed expedient to compel noise abatement programs in industry, and be it further

Resolved—that copies of this Resolution be supplied to all State Federations of Labor and International Unions with the urge that these Organizations exert their utmost influence to bring about accomplishment of the purposes of this Resolution.

No-Raiding Agreement (A. F. of L.-C.I.O.) (see: Unity)

Norris-La Guardia Act

Simplex Shoe Company v. Wisconsin State Federation of Labor (1940, p. 329) This was regarded as one of the key cases in determining whether the Norris-La Guardia Act imposed the duty upon the employer to abstain from coercing his employes in their choice of representatives, also whether the employer was obliged to recognize the representative of the employes for collective bargaining purposes.

Because of its importance the following brief history of the above named case was submitted to the convention by the A. F. of L. General Counsel:

The Norris-La Guardia Act, insofar as the body of the Act is concerned, contains no provisions commanding the employer to refrain from coercion of employes or to deal with their representatives. The duties and obligations in that regard must be spelled out of the preamble. The employes,

however, argued that the preamble was not what is termed substantive law.

The *Boot and Shoe Workers* case involved this question. It can readily be seen, therefore, how important this case was to the life and effectiveness of the Norris-La Guardia Act.

Representatives of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union called upon the Simplex Shoe Company officials at Milwaukee, as representatives chosen by the shoe company employes, to talk over wages, hours and working conditions for their members who were employes of the company. The officials of the company virtually ordered them out of the plant. The officials said they were not obliged to recognize the representatives sent and they could do whatever they pleased insofar as coercing the employes was concerned. They had coerced the employes by threatening to shut down the plant, by discharges and other acts. The company became so intolerant that it was necessary for the Shoe Workers International Union to go into court and seek to prevent the threats and coercive activities of the employer toward the employes. An extensive trial was held in which the employer attacked the Wisconsin Norris-LaGuardia Act and sought to limit its effect. However, the Wisconsin Supreme Court held:

... Under the Wisconsin Act any interference, restraint, or coercion of individual workmen, as those terms properly should be construed, or with the right of labor freely to associate, self-organize, or designate representatives of their own choosing for purpose of collective bargaining is unlawful. . . . In refusing to negotiate with a designated representative of a large number of its employes the defendant violated the declared public policy of this state.

In answer to the contention of the

employer's lawyers that the preamble to the Act was a declaration of public policy and not the law, the court said:

"Whether the public policy declared in section 268.18 bestows upon laborers any new or additional rights not already given them by the majority, if not substantially all of the courts of this country, need not be specifically considered. In our view, section 268.18 is a deliberate declaration by the Legislature of the rights which labor shall enjoy in this state. When the Legislature declared, 'It is necessary that the individual workman have full freedom of association, self-organization, and the designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment, and that he shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection,' it intended, in our opinion, that such declaration should have the force of law. *To hold otherwise would amount to saying that the Legislature did not intend what it said, but merely intended to write into the statutes language pleasing to labor. We can ascribe no such motive or intention to the Legislature.*"

This case, fought through the courts by the International Boot and Shoe Workers, might be termed the key case or the foundation stone on which rests the legality of the rights given labor by the Norris-LaGuardia Act. Likewise, it was a declaration that such guarantees written into any enactment as substantive law were valid and binding. It gave validity to provisions which were subsequently written into the National Labor Relations Act and the various Labor Relations Acts of the states patterned after the Federal Act.

Norris-La Guardia Act—(1940, p. p. 328) After the virtual nullification of the Clayton Act, so far as organized labor was concerned, the A. F. of L. demanded of Congress that a new law be enacted. Extensive hearings were held from 1928 to 1932, at which many labor officials throughout the country testified. The Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee was Senator Norris, and he was fortified by two able colleagues, Senator Walsh of Montana and Senator Blaine of Wisconsin. In the House the bill was ably sponsored by Representative LaGuardia. Competent advisers were called in by the Committee. When the hearings were closed the Committee filed its report in favor of the then pending bill.

These Committee Reports are a revelation. Never before had the judiciary, particularly the highest judiciary in the land, been castigated as they were in this report. Among other things the report said:

The proposed bill is designed primarily as a practical means of remedying existing evils and limitations are imposed upon the courts in that class of cases wherein these evils have grown up and become intolerable. This is a reasonable exercise of legislative power, and in order that the limitation may not be whittled away by refined definitions of what persons are to be regarded as legitimately involved in labor disputes, the bill undertakes specifically to designate those persons who are entitled to invoke the protections of the procedure required.

The main purpose of these definitions is to provide for limiting the injunctive powers of the Federal courts only in the special type of cases, commonly called labor disputes, in which these powers have been notoriously extended beyond the mere exercise of civil authority

and wherein the courts have been converted into policing agencies devoted in the guise of preserving peace, to the purpose of aiding employers to coerce employees into accepting terms and conditions of employment desired by employers.

The bill passed both houses of Congress in 1932.

At the same time similar bills were before the legislatures of various states. Wisconsin passed an enactment which is a prototype of the federal law, even before Congress passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act. The Wisconsin Act was passed in 1931. Employers immediately commenced to attack the Act. They proceeded to do so in the same manner as they attacked the Clayton Act, that is, they attempted to limit the application of the Act to dispute between an employer and his immediate employees, and they declared that the Norris-LaGuardia Act likewise was a restraint of existing law and that there was nothing new in it. However, Congress and the Wisconsin legislature, in adopting the Acts, were careful to preface them with a declaration of public policy. The declaration of public policy is the foundation stone on which an Act rests. The declaration of public policy is to guide the judges in construing the rest of the Act. The declaration of public policy in the Wisconsin Act, which is practically the same as the federal act, reads as follows:

In the interpretation and application of section 103.51 to 103.63 the public policy of this state is declared as follows:

Negotiation of terms and conditions of labor should result from voluntary agreement between employer and employee. Governmental authority has permitted and encouraged employers to organize in the corporate and other forms of capital control. In dealing with such employers, the individual unorgan-

ized worker is helpless to exercise actual liberty of contract and to protect his freedom of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptable terms and conditions of employment. Therefore it is necessary that the individual workman have full freedom of association, self-organization, and the designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment. Therefore it is necessary that the individual workman have full freedom of association, self-organization, and the designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment, and that he shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection.

The employers, at the first opportunity, sought to destroy the effect of the preamble or public policy clause. They felt that if they could remove the foundation stone the rest of the Act would crumble. The first assault upon the preamble came in the case of *Simplex Shoe Company v. Wisconsin State Federation of Labor*.

State Legislation

Unfair Labor Practices—(1940, p. 333) Efforts to nullify provisions of NORRIS-LA GUARDIA LAW took form of proposals to enact state legislation particularly in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Oregon and several other states.

(Wisconsin Act also Oregon Act) (1940, p. 333) Define "unfair labor practices" and set pattern for several other proposed state Acts. Wisconsin and Oregon bills briefly as follows:

The acts, though differing in language, generally proceed upon two

basic theories: (1) to limit all labor disputes to the employer and his immediate employees; and (2) to require as a condition of a lawful labor dispute that it should be approved by a majority of the employees of the employer. Thus the Wisconsin Act provides:

The term "labor dispute" means any controversy between an employer and the majority of his employees in a collective bargaining unit concerning the right or process or details of collective bargaining or the designation of representatives. Any organization with which either the employer or such majority is affiliated may be considered a party to the labor dispute.

111.06 WHAT ARE UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES. (1) It shall be an unfair labor practice for an employer individually or in concert with others:

(c) To bargain collectively with the representatives of less than a majority of his employees in a collective bargaining unit, or to enter into an all-union agreement except in the manner provided in subsection (1) (c) of this section. . . .

(2) It shall be an unfair labor practice for an employee individually or in concert with others:

(e) To co-operate in engaging in, promoting or inducing picketing, boycotting or any other overt concomitant of a strike unless a majority in a collective bargaining unit of the employees of an employer against whom such acts are primarily directed have voted by secret ballot to call a strike.

(f) To hinder or prevent, by mass picketing, threats, intimidation, force or coercion of any kind the pursuit of any lawful work of employment, or to obstruct or in-

terfere with entrance to or egress from any place of employment, or to obstruct or interfere with free and uninterrupted use of public roads, streets, highways, railways, airports, or other ways of travel or conveyance.

(3) It shall be an unfair labor practice for any person to do or cause to be done on behalf of or in the interest of employers or employees, or in connection with or to influence the outcome of any controversy as to employment relations any act prohibited by subsections (1) and (2) of this section.

The Oregon law provides:

Section 1. Whenever in any statute or other law of this state the term "labor dispute" is used, such term is hereby defined for all purposes to mean and include only an actual *bona fide* controversy in which the disputants stand in proximate relation of employer and the majority of his or its employees and which directly concerns matters directly pertaining to wages, hours, or working conditions of the employees of the particular employer directly involved in such controversy. . . .

Section 3. It shall be unlawful for any person, persons, association or organization to picket or patrol, or post pickets or patrols, in or near the premises or property owned, occupied, controlled or used by an employer or employers unless there is an actual *bona fide* existing labor dispute between said employer or employers and his or their employees. It shall also be unlawful to boycott directly or indirectly any employer, or the business of such employer, not directly involved as a party in a labor dispute. . . .

Section 5. It shall be unlawful

for any association, or organization, or person by any direct or indirect means to prevent, hinder or molest any person from seeking to engage or engaging his services to any person, firm, corporation or association desiring to employ him.

The purpose of the Acts indicates clearly that they are in truth and in fact anti-picketing enactments. Therefore the question organized labor had to meet was whether laws prohibiting minorities from having a labor dispute with an employer, and from peacefully picketing and engaging in other economic pressure in furtherance of such dispute, are legal.

Notes for Speakers—(1930, pp. 95, 284) Busy trade unionists need a handbook of labor information. "Notes for Speakers" gives a brief outline of the important articles, information, statistical facts that are gathered by our office each month and published in our other publications.

Trade union members also want facts and arguments stated briefly and clearly, so they will be readily adapted to local needs. One of the chief services of "Notes for Speakers" is to keep union members in close touch with important sources of labor information. Every month this booklet brings them educational material that can be used in speeches, publicity, articles, and in union discussions.

"Notes for Speakers" came out in May, 1930, for the first time. So warm was its welcome that we now have a mailing list of some 16,000 who have asked to receive it monthly. Some of these are union executives, but it is gratifying to note that large numbers are being distributed to union members who have expressed their interest. A large group of younger trade unionists, keen and alert to inform themselves by studying labor literature, is essential for our future leadership. Trade union members must be

developed into real trade unionists. The development is education in the purposes and methods of trade unionism. Study and knowledge of past experience may help to avoid unnecessary mistakes. "Notes for Speakers" provides trade unionists with the necessary educational material they need to develop an understanding of trade union problems. This pamphlet, issued monthly, serves to help trade unionists to know what information they can get from Federation publications. Outstanding articles are summarized and pointed up by use of key sentences. The publication is widely distributed to officers and active trade unionists, and has brought many requests for our other publications and subscriptions to the *American Federationist*. We plan to extend the circulation of this publication during the coming year.

Nurses, Draft—(1946, pp. 197, 607) The convention unanimously approved the action of the E.C. in opposing legislation providing for the draft of nurses for the Armed Services. The A. F. of L. felt there was no need for the legislation, and it might prove an entering wedge for universal conscription.

Nye Committee (Munitions Industry) Investigation—(1934, p. 630) The A. F. of L. believes that there shall be full publicity given of all those U.S. Government representatives, commissioned officers, or enlisted personnel of the Army or the Navy, and of American manufacturers or private individuals which the investigation by the Nye Committee indicates were involved.

Office of Production Management (OPM) (also see: War Production Board)

Labor Supply, Committee on (1941, p. 419) In accord with the suggestions of the A. F. of L., the Assistant-Secretary of Labor pro-

posed to the Associate Director of O.P.M. that a Policy Committee consisting of equal representatives of employers and workers be established for the Committee on Labor Supply. This proposal was approved and two A. F. of L. representatives were appointed by the President of the A. F. of L. to serve on the policy committee. This constructive program will doubtless be the means to the development of systematic and effective planning in the field of defense training.

We feel that the protests and suggestions of the Federation are bearing fruit.

Old Age and Survivors Insurance (also see: Social Security)

(1939, p. 632) The Executive Council reports important amendments improving this title of the Social Security Act. The date of monthly payments was changed from 1942 to January 1, 1940; the basis of calculating monthly benefits has been changed to average monthly wages earned which formula increases the benefits payable to persons becoming eligible in the immediate future; and provisions were made for the dependents, survivors of the insured persons; there is to be no increase in the tax rate; coverage has been increased.

For the self-supporting worker who becomes eligible to old age benefits, an additional amount is payable to his aged wife equal to one-half the husband's benefit, which increases to three-fourths in case of the husband's death. If an insured worker dies before he is 65 years of age, his widow and minor children in his family are eligible to benefits. We recommend hearty approval of the efforts of representatives of the American Federation of Labor in contributing to the enactment of these amendments and further recommend renewed efforts for extension of coverage to all agricultural workers covering farm laborers

and employes in agricultural industries, domestic workers, all seamen and those employed in the fishing industry.

We recommend that the A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security include in its duties aid to unions in helping workers keep wage data and such records as will constitute evidence of benefits to which they are eligible.

We recommend further that the A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security study the possibility of extending coverage to self-employed persons.

We recommend that the A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security explore the possibility of a Federal unemployment compensation law. There should be uniform provisions for unemployed workers just as we have uniformity in provisions for those disabled for work by old age. The question of constitutionality which decided against a Federal system when the Social Security Act was formulated has been answered affirmatively by the Supreme Court. The organization of industry and the problem of unemployment are both national in scope. It is obvious that our provisions against this emergency should also be Federal in scope. We note with approval the efforts of our Federation to secure authorization by Congress for an Advisory Council to study unemployment compensation and to recommend changes in the Social Security Act in accord with their studies. It is particularly necessary that we find ways to put uniformity into our provisions for the unemployed workers. We recommend that the Executive Council urge upon Congress authorization of such Advisory Commission.

Pending amendment of the Federal Act we recommend endorsement of the next step in state legislation submitted by the Executive Council:

- (1) One week waiting period.
- (2) Flat benefit period—16 weeks minimum, 20 weeks preferable.

- (3) Benefit classes not to exceed 5, with benefits in round figures.
- (4) Full-time weekly earnings to be used as benefit base.
- (5) Minimum benefit not less than \$5.
- (6) Simplify administration by eliminating merit or experience rating.
- (7) Partial benefits at least equal to difference between actual earnings and full time benefit.
- (8) Eliminate excessive provisions for disqualification. No cancellation of wage credits. Limit disqualification to reasonable time—not more than 5 weeks in addition to waiting time.

In addition we recommend that the A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security be charged with making special study of rulings on disqualifications of persons making application for benefits as well as decisions on appealed cases and provide guidance for unions handling these problems.

Amendments—(1942, p. 609) Res. 54 which called for an amendment to the OASI provisions of the Social Security Law to provide pension payments shall begin at age 55 and that the minimum payment be increased to \$80 per month, was referred to the Committee on Social Security.

(1947, p. 607) The convention unanimously approved the program of action on Old Age and Survivors Insurance as recommended by the committee as follows:

We note that in the closing days of the first session of the 80th Congress, legislation was introduced which in large measure meets the objectives and standards adopted by earlier conventions of the American Federation of Labor. This legislation extends the coverage of the system to the large groups previously excluded, such as agricultural and domestic workers, self-employed, and employ-

ees of non-profit institutions. It makes provision for extending its protections to those employees of the states and their political subdivisions who are not protected by existing programs of their own choice. It lowers the eligibility age for women and establishes protection against loss of wages resulting from extended physical disability. Benefits are substantially improved.

This proposal in our opinion merits the active support of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations and is accordingly recommended for your approval.

The question of financing this and other phases of the Social Security System is becoming more pressing. We hold to the principle of contributory insurance financed mainly from contributions borne by both employer and covered workers. However, since all segments of our economy benefit directly or indirectly from the security afforded, it is appropriate that some share be borne out of the general revenues of the government. It is recognized also that the share to be paid out of general revenues on a pay-as-you-go basis might well vary in relation to the extent of the coverage and the need for accumulated reserves. These considerations are recommended for further study as they relate to the distribution of the entire tax burden and must be considered in their relation to other broad economic and fiscal policies.

(1948, pp. 238, 460) Res. 20 called upon the A. F. of L. to "go on record as favoring a substantial increase in old age payments."

Referred to Committee on Social Security.

(1948, pp. 324, 468) Res. 113 proposed the following amendments to the Old Age and Survivors Insurance feature of Social Security:

The American Federation of Labor

in convention assembled endorses the following amendments to the Social Security Act which have been recommended by the Social Security Administration:

1. Universal coverage, including agricultural, domestic, public employees and the self-employed.

2. Adequate protection for veterans to cover their service in the armed forces.

3. Reducing the qualifying age for all persons eligible from 65 to 60.

4. Changing the benefits formula to increase benefits, particularly to the low paid worker.

5. Increase maximum amount of taxable earnings counted in the computation of benefits from \$3000 to \$3600.

6. Increase the amount a beneficiary may earn in covered employment and still draw benefits.

7. Benefits during extended or permanent disability.

Referred to Social Security Committee.

(1948, p. 323) Res. 109 proposed amendments to the Federal Social Security Act to increase the payments thereunder to meet the increased cost of living.

(P. 467) Referred to A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security.

(Pp. 267, 467) Res. 103 called for amendments to the Social Security Law as follows:

Resolved—That because of the miserly payments that are being paid under the Social Security Act today, and due to the high cost of living, that this convention go on record to increase the monthly payments under this Act. That those who pay in 40 quarters at a deduction on \$3,000 per year shall be paid not less than \$100 per month, and that the deduction from the employers' pay roll to be

increased to take care of this increase in payments.

(1950, p. 324) Res. 99 called for legislation to double the present benefits and to lower retirement age to 60 years.

(P. 486) Convention referred the resolution to the Committee on Social Security.

(P. 455) Old-Age and Survivors Insurance.

1. Broaden coverage to include all farm wage earners and independent farm operators and other groups still without protection of this or other public programs.

2. Revise definition of employee suitable to social insurance purposes so as to remove artificial limitations of coverage.

3. Raise wage base for computing both contributions and benefits to \$5,400 per year.

4. Restore increment factors in benefit formula to increase benefits for those with longer service.

(1951, p. 532) The convention approved the following committee report and recommendations:

Old age and survivors benefits are now received by four million persons. A sound, self-financed national insurance system is at last beginning to go into operation in the United States. The national old age and survivors insurance system needs to be strengthened and extended in many ways. We note as especially urgent the following action:

1. Provide benefits equal to retirement benefits to any person within the system, regardless of age, unable to earn a living because of physical disability.

2. Broaden coverage by including all persons now without protection for their old age, and by removing the artificial limitation now in effect by

revising the present restrictive definition of "employee" in the Act.

3. Increase the wage base for computing both contributions and benefits to at least \$6,000 per year.

4. Reinstate the provision for the increase in benefits in relation to each year of contributions to the insurance program.

5. To keep the effective operation of the social insurance system under constant review, initiate independent studies for the guidance of the Congress in improving the system and bringing it into harmony with changing economic conditions.

Interchange of Benefit Credits—(1953, pp. 452, 655) Res. 143:

Whereas—Present provisions of the Social Security Act, the State Employees Retirement Systems, the University Retirement Systems and pension plans maintained by political subdivisions within the framework of federal and state employment place heavy restrictions upon the movement of workers from public to private employment, and from private to public employment by denying workers the privilege of transferring benefit credits from one system to another with the transfer of employment, and

Whereas—These restrictions pose a threat to the health, morals, and spiritual well-being of workers by cancelling accrued benefits established under either system upon transfer of employment from one to the other, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor urge amendments to the Social Security Act which will permit workers in private employment to transfer benefit credits and funds established under the Social Security Act to federal and state retirement systems upon transfer of employment from private industry to public agency, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Fed-

eration of Labor urge amendments to the Social Security Act which will permit workers in federal and state employment to transfer benefit credits and funds established under federal and state retirement systems to the Social Security system upon transfer of employment from public to private industry.

Referred to A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security.

(1953, pp. 393, 645) Res. 7 called for an amendment to the Social Security Act to take into consideration the rising cost of living:

Whereas—The Federal Social Security Act was designed and enacted for the purpose of providing reasonable financial security for workers who have become too old to work, or who should be enabled to retire after spending most of their lives at work, and

Whereas—The enormous rise in the cost of living has rendered the amount of the benefits now payable under the Act totally inadequate to provide reasonable financial protection for eligible workers, and

Whereas—An increase in the amount of benefits in direct proportion to the increase in the cost of living, and a reduction of the retirement age of 65 years to 60 years would effectuate the original purpose and intent of the Act, and properly would enable more workers to enjoy the benefits of the Act, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention endorse and recommend an amendment to the Federal Social Security Act so as to increase the benefits provided for therein in direct proportion to the increase in the cost of living and reducing the eligible age from 65 years to 60 years.

(p. 645) Convention referred the resolution, together with Res. 31 with similar purpose, to the Committee on Social Security.

(pp. 180, 300, 638) Included in a comprehensive report by the E.C. on Social Security, was a section titled "Old Age Security." The convention committee which considered this portion of the E.C. Report, recommended adoption of its findings and the convention so acted:

The Old-Age and Survivors Insurance program still contains serious gaps and deficiencies which demand correction. Benefit levels need to be increased and more closely geared to current wage levels. Coverage must be broadly extended to groups now without protection. Insurance benefits and rehabilitation services for the totally disabled should be incorporated in the program, as well as a system of insurance against wage loss due to temporary disability. The American Federation of Labor must continue to press for these and other necessary improvements in the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance system.

The Lehman Bill (S. 2260), introduced by a group of liberal members of the House and Senate in the first session of the 83rd Congress, is designed to meet these objectives.

Insofar as the limited objective of extension of coverage is concerned, the Kean Bill (H.R. 6846), which embodies the recommendations of the Administration following a report by a group of consultants to Secretary Hobby represents a constructive approach to this problem. This bill is in full accord with the coverage objectives of the A. F. of L. and merits our active support in the next session of Congress.

Every wage earner has cause for grave concern over the campaigns that are currently in progress to undermine the Social Security program. The lines of attack employed in these campaigns—the Curtis subcommittee operation, the so-called "pay-as-you-go" scheme of the Chamber of Commerce, the OASI tax "freeze" propo-

sal—are clearly outlined in the Executive Council's Report. Affiliated unions should use every means to alert their members to the dangers inherent in these attacks and should lend their full and active support to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to repel them.

As its enemies clearly recognize, the keystone of the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance system is its financial integrity. The trust fund which guarantees benefit payments has accordingly been made the primary target of attacks upon the system. It is therefore important that the American Federation of Labor should, in defending the Social Security system and in advocating its improvement, place great emphasis upon the necessity for protecting the financial integrity of the program and for assuring a sound system of financing for all benefits, actual and anticipated, payable under the program. We strongly insist that increases in contribution rates should be allowed to go into effect as and when scheduled under the Social Security Act.

(1954, pp. 420, 468) Res. 131 proposed amendments to the Social Security Law as follows:

1. Increase the benefits.
2. Raise moderately the Social Security Tax to pay for the benefits.
3. Let retired workers earn as much as they can or wish while still receiving benefits.
4. Provide some medical benefits.
5. Have a man's monthly check more clearly reflect the amount he has paid in Social Security.
6. Gear the pensions to a cost of living commodity dollar.
7. Revise the payments once every two years to take inflation or deflation into account.
8. Eliminate the Social Security Tax on a worker's earnings after the age of sixty-five.

9. Make the time of retirement flexible since many cannot work to the age of sixty-five.

10. Put Social Security more nearly on a pay-as-you-go basis leaving the present fund for emergency.

Referred to Committee on Social Security.

Age, Reduction of Retirement—(1947, p. 630) Res. 14:

Whereas—The Federal Social Security Act is one of the most humane and progressive enactments of the Congress of the United States, and

Whereas—The present Act does not provide for old age and survivors insurance benefits to workers who have not reached the age of 65, and

Whereas—Experience has proven that because of the advanced age at which benefits commence, a substantial number of persons have been deprived of the benefits of the Act despite their inability to continue at work or to find employment, and

Whereas—The reduction of the retirement age to age 60 would alleviate the problem of providing employment for veterans of World War II, and would further the best interests of all of the people of the United States, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this, the 66th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, direct its incoming officers to incorporate in the American Federation of Labor legislative program a provision urging Congress to amend the Federal Social Security Act so as to reduce the age of payment of old age insurance benefits from 65 years of age to 60 years of age and to provide for payments to disabled workers at any age, and be it further

Resolved—That the incoming officers take the necessary steps to mobilize the active support of all labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the effort

to bring about this necessary change in the Social Security Act.

(1948, p. 323) Reduction of retirement age under OASI proposed by Res. 110 so that benefits will begin at age 60, and to provide for payments to disabled workers at any age.

(P. 467) Referred to the Social Security Committee of the A. F. of L.

(P. 261) Res. 83 called for an amendment to the Social Security Law lowering retirement to age 60 and instructed the A. F. of L. to "use its offices to have the Social Security Act amended accordingly."

(P. 465) Referred to the Social Security Committee, A. F. of L.

(1951, pp. 287, 561) Res. 32 proposed an amendment to the Social Security Law to reduce age eligibility to OASI benefits from 65 to 55. Convention referred the resolution to the Committee on Social Security.

(pp. 308, 564) Res. 85 called for an amendment to the Social Security Law reducing the retirement age of working men from 65 to 60 years and of women from 65 to 55.

Referred to Committee on Social Security.

(1954, pp. 383, 487) Res. 32 proposed that the A. F. of L. seek legislation amending the Social Security Law to provide that the dependent wife of any person eligible for retirement benefits at age 65 be eligible for a wife's benefit at age 60; and that any woman otherwise eligible for primary retirement benefits be eligible at age 60.

(Pp. 410, 468) Res. 103 called for reduction in retirement age, i.e., 60 for men and 55 for women.

Referred to Committee on Social Security.

(Pp. 384, 468) Res. 35 proposed amendment to the Railroad Retirement Act and Social Security Act to reduce retirement age to 60 years.

Referred to Committee on Social Security.

(Pp. 409, 487) Res. 102 and 80 called for reduction in retirement age under OASI to provide eligibility for spouse at age 60.

Referred to A. F. of L. Permanent Committee on Social Security.

Benefits—(pp. 385, 487) Res. 39:

Whereas—Working people who are nearing retirement age are prone to infirmities and often lose much time due to sickness in the last few years of their employment, and

Whereas—Unemployment is a more likely hazard in later earning years, and

Whereas—The consequent lost time under the Act as now written, causes the person who falls within the above conditions to have their Social Security retirement benefits cut down, and

Whereas—This does not show a true picture of the contributions made by the individual over his earning years, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record favoring amendment of the Social Security Act for the purpose of basing Social Security payments upon a worker's most productive years.

Referred to Permanent Committee on Social Security.

Coverage—(1939, p. 183) The difficulty of drawing a line between excluded and included employments and the obvious injustice of excluding workers once included and from whose wages payments have been deducted for old age insurance makes it even more necessary that we should extend the program to cover all workers in every type of employment. It should ultimately cover the self-employed in order that no equities in the system should be lost by a man's

changing his type of work or starting in business for himself.

(1940, p. 117) In spite of the obvious gain in protection, the Social Security Act is still open to grave criticism because of the limitation of its coverage. The limited coverage is injurious in two ways: (1) it leaves millions of workers whose incomes are too low to permit adequate savings exposed to loss of income in their old age and without insurance protection for their families; and (2) it reduces the average monthly wage, and hence the retirement benefit amount, of all workers who shift from covered to non-covered employment during their working years. . . .

To rid the system of the obvious injustice of this limited coverage, the American Federation of Labor is supporting legislation which would bring about 10,000,000 more workers under coverage. We wish to see agricultural and domestic workers and employes of non-profit institutions receive the same protection now extended to industrial employes. The problems involved in providing retirement benefits for public employes, a part of whom are already under other government pension plans, are being studied by our Social Security Committee and representatives of the wage earners concerned. We want to find some satisfactory method of protecting all wage earners in their old age without diminishing the protection some groups have secured

The American Federation of Labor believes that studies should also be made looking toward some method of coordinating other retirement plans with old-age and survivors insurance in such a way that each plan would retain its individual existence and its special advantages, but that employes who pass from one type of employment to the other should be continuously protected and not be unable to meet the requirements for re-

tirement benefits under either system.

If old-age and survivors insurance and other government retirement systems are coordinated, and together cover practically every type of employment, monthly retirement benefits would be larger on the average and there would be fewer aged persons left without an income and forced to rely on the relief program of old-age assistance. We should move toward complete coverage of the contributory insurance program as rapidly as possible.

(P. 559) We should work for old age protection for all wage earners and their families under either the Social Security or some existing public pension program.

We recommend that the A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security study the problems of providing continuous protection for persons who move in and out of covered employment or from the coverage of one type of pension plan to another, with a view to preventing loss of security to workers because of changing jobs.

(1942, p. 78) The E.C. pointed out that "no proposal has a deeper or wider appeal than extension of coverage of the old age insurance provisions of the Social Security Act to more wage earners, small salaried persons and self-employed persons. By this provision society has made it possible for workers to make their own provisions for income in their last years." "The Federation holds now, in this period of peak-time employment, is the time to extend coverage so that all who are working can make contributions to the old age insurance fund." "The widest possible coverage with economical administration makes possible the most liberal protection for all."

Cemetery Workers—(1942, p. 594) Res. 101 called for the inclusion of cemetery and memorial property workers under OASI. The convention

voted sympathy with the purpose of the resolution and referred it to the Committee on Social Security.

Engineers in Dried Fruit Packing Plants—(1942, p. 590) Res. 89 called for revision of the OASI section under Social Security to include engineers, and other specified workers in dried fruit packing plants, removing these workers from the classification of agricultural workers. The resolution specifically referred to stationary engineers, and was referred to the Social Security Committee of the A. F. of L.

(1948, pp. 262, 465) Res. 84 called for extension of OASI to employees of religious, educational and charitable organizations, and was referred to the A. F. of L. Social Security Committee.

(1953, pp. 406, 417, 649) Res. 37 and 60 both dealt with the subject of extension of Social Security and specifically endorsed one legislative bill (H.R. 6846). The convention committee report on the subject was approved:

... This bill was drafted taking into account previous actions of Conventions of the A. F. of L. and is thoroughly consistent with such actions. Specifically, with respect to extension of coverage to employes of state and local governments it provides for such extension on an elective basis with a mandatory exclusion of policemen and fire fighters. Since the measure endorsed by these resolutions meets in every particular the standards and principles adopted by the A. F. of L., your committee recommends their adoption.

Financing—(1944, p. 148) There are two current proposals for financing old age insurance: one, on a contributory basis, and the other by appropriations from taxes. The American Federation of Labor has stood uncompromisingly for the contribu-

tory basis as the way to assure workers rights and equity in the system and to afford them a dignified, self-respecting way to meet their own problems. Wage earners are counting upon this insurance for the years when they are no longer able to work. If this insurance is financed out of taxes it will irresistibly be pulled down to relief standards and away from insurance for an emergency.

The responsibility of seeing to it that benefits are available as needed, rests upon Congress. For the past two years Congress has voted not to put into effect the two per cent contribution provided in the law. Some Members of Congress hold that the 1939 amendments were intended to adjust contributions to current needs, while the Social Security Board believes that this was not the case, and that the increased rate is necessary to provide the reserves to meet obligations incurred. There should be no misunderstanding on this basic issue. If the law is ambiguous, policy should be determined and the necessary amendments enacted.

The benefit load will not develop to its normal demands until after several decades of operation. Experience will indicate normal demand for benefits. We believe the rate of contribution should not be kept high just to pile up reserves when it is possible to go on a current pay-as-we-go basis. If too large reserves are frozen outside our productive economy, employment is endangered. However, the present benefit payments are low in comparison to contributions and earnings. The age at which the wife of an insured person becomes eligible for supplementary benefits should be lowered to 60. The basic primary benefit should be increased also for those who temporarily return to work and benefit rates should be recalculated on a basis of new earnings and contributions for old age beneficiaries. In addition,

compensation should be provided for a related problem—permanent or long-time disability. The benefits should be the same as for old age.

(P. 596) The convention unanimously approved the report of the committee considering the broad field of Social Security, including OASI. (See: Social Security Amendments, 1944.)

Pay-as-You-Go Plan Opposed — (1953, pp. 404, 413, 651) Res. 34:

Whereas—The United States Chamber of Commerce has launched a nation-wide propaganda campaign designed to undermine public confidence in the present Social Security system, and

Whereas—The latest feature of this campaign is the proposal to eliminate the Old Age Assistance program of federal grants to the states for the relief of the indigent aged, the loading of all needy persons now over 65 who have never contributed to the Social Security fund onto the OASI benefit roles at the minimum benefit rate of \$25 a month, the depletion of the trust fund which stands as the chief guarantee of the financial integrity of the Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance system and its replacement with a so-called "pay-as-you-go" plan with benefits entirely dependent upon payroll taxes and appropriations adopted from year to year by Congress, and

Whereas—The Chamber of Commerce program is a fraud against the people of the United States, inasmuch as its chief effects would be: (1) the reduction of the benefits now being received by aged persons on relief, which are now in excess of the \$25 a month proposed by the Chamber of Commerce; (2) a shift in the cost of the old age relief program from general tax revenues to the OASI trust fund and payroll tax; (3) a drain on the trust fund built up by past OASI contributions, to relieve wealthy in-

come taxpayers and to pay benefits to persons who have never contributed to the fund; (4) the freezing of Social Security benefits at the present level or lower; and (5) the elimination of all guarantees or security from the Social Security system, making benefits dependent upon the changing political tides and the variable whims of Congress, and

Whereas—The Chamber of Commerce campaign is a disguised tax raid upon the Social Security trust fund by big business, and a veiled attempt to destroy the principle of social insurance and to replace it with a low-level dole system, and

Whereas—The United States Chamber of Commerce, through its campaign of vicious slander against the Social Security system, has forfeited whatever right it ever had to be regarded as a responsible or well-meaning critic of the Social Security system, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor through every medium of information available, including radio, the Labor press and educational facilities, make known to the American people, and especially the wage earners, the insidious nature of this scheme to raid the funds held in trust for the benefit of the people of the United States, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor oppose this scheme or any portion of it being enacted by the Congress.

Acting jointly on Res. 34 and 51, convention approved its committee recommendation as follows:

Resolutions 34 and 51 both deal with the vicious and ill-disguised attack of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce against the Social Security system. The chamber scheme is designed to destroy the essential character of our contributory Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance system and substi-

tute for it a system of relief based on a needs test. This program has been reviewed by the Social Security Committee of the A. F. of L. and condemned. The resolutions, in effect, reaffirm our existing policy and your committee recommends their adoption.

(Reserve Funds, Attacks Condemned)—(p. 413) Res. 51:

Whereas—President Eisenhower in his campaign speech in Los Angeles on October 9, 1952, is on record as saying that "The Republican platform affirms that we must do more than just keep our Social Security program—we must improve it and extend it," and

Whereas—Although this pledge was placed on the President's list of urgent legislation to be acted upon in the 1952 Session of Congress, and

Whereas—The Congress has resorted to delaying tactics under the old pretext of needing further time to "study" the program, and has adjourned without taking any action to improve it, and

Whereas—The United States Chamber of Commerce has proposed sweeping changes in the Social Security system, and

Whereas—Spokesmen for this organization have denounced the Social Security reserve fund as a "constant temptation to raid it for more immediate benefits" and as "an excuse for those who proposed that benefits be increased," and

Whereas—The Chamber of Commerce would seize this 17-billion-dollar Social Security reserve fund built up in part from workers' payroll deductions and use it to reduce taxes for the wealthy and for corporations, and

Whereas—In eliminating this reserve fund, they would also abolish the present federal grants to the states for aid to the aged, blind, needy children and physically handicapped,

and include these non-contributing categories of assistance under the contributory system financed by payroll deductions, and

Whereas—This would mean a drastic reduction in public assistance to these needy people to a flat grant of no more than \$25 a month, and

Whereas—The financing of these categories of outright assistance from payroll taxes rather than from the general revenues of government would mean a corresponding reduction in benefits to contributing participants in the program, therefore be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor denounce this selfish attack on the welfare and security of the nation's working people in their declining years, and be it further

Resolved—That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed and authorized to use every possible means to influence the President and the Congress to preserve and protect these hard-earned benefits from those who would deliberately wreck the Social Security program, and be it further

Resolved—That the President and Congress be reminded of their campaign pledges to improve and extend this program and their moral obligation to honor these pledges accepted in good faith by the American people.

(Trust Fund)—(pp. 445, 655) Res. 127 called for support of A. F. of L. in preventing legislation freezing contributions to Social Security Trust Fund.

Referred to A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security.

(Trust Fund, Solvency)—(uu. 441, 655) Res. 117 favored scheduled increase in contributions to the Social Security Trust Fund and opposed any attempt to amend the law in order to postpone or freeze the contribution rate.

Referred to A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security.

(Trust Funds, Investment)—(pp. 442, 655) Res. 120:

Whereas—There are now nearly 18 billions of dollars held in trust for the payment of future benefits under the Old Age and Survivor Insurance program established under the Social Security Act, and

Whereas—This fund represents the accumulation of contributions deducted from the wages of workers, together with matching contributions paid by employers which latter represent, in fact, deferred wage payments, and

Whereas—Under the contribution rate increases scheduled in the present Social Security Act it is anticipated that in the future the funds which will accumulate will total nearly 80 billions of dollars, and

Whereas—Critics of the Social Security system have created certain lack of confidence in the present program of holding the reserves in U.S. Government Bonds as required by law (though this lack of confidence is not shared by the working people nor those who understand the true nature of these reserves), therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 72nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request its President to direct the appropriate agency within the American Federation of Labor to undertake a study of possible alternative means of investing the reserves of the Social Security Trust Fund with the following objectives:

1. Protect funds against loss of value due to inflation.
2. Protect funds against diversion to purposes other than payment of benefits to wage earners who have contributed.
3. Provide secure investment in real assets that will both yield income and meet immediate social

needs—such as workers' housing, and be it further

Resolved—That in event such study reveals practical alternative methods of investing the Social Security reserve funds, the A. F. of L. President prepare and present to the Congress the necessary implementing legislation.

Referred to A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security.

Old Age Assistance (also see: Soc. Sec.)—(1939, p. 182) Labor believes that pensions should be adequate for decent living standards. It believes that the extremes in pensions reflect economic capacity of the states to make provision for their old people, rather than differences in need in various sections. The aged people of the poorer states should be given more income. We believe that federal grants-in-aid to the states for all of the assistance programs of the Social Security Act should be on a variable basis, a larger proportion of the total expenditure for the assistance of each individual being supplied by the federal government in those states whose per capita income is below the national average than in those whose income is above that average in order that the poorer states may pay pensions more nearly adequate than at present.

While Labor is firm in its belief that the person who is past his years of productive service is entitled to a reasonable income and security for his old age, we would see the social security program developed as a coordinated whole with security for young and old, unemployed and incapacitated, being expanded at an even pace. We are against extravagant programs for one group at the expense of all wage earners who must provide for themselves and their families through many years on wages often too low. We must guard against increasing too

sharply the burden of taxes on those wages.

(1939, p. 631) To assist in caring for needy aged persons, the Social Security Board may make grants-in-aid to states whose laws have been approved by the Board on a 50-50 basis. Congress raised the maximum Federal contribution from \$15 to \$20 in its last session, raising the total with-in which it would match the state contribution up to \$40.

The Executive Council points out, however, that liberalizing the Federal contribution means no more security for the needy aged unless the state increases its payment. Only one state — California — has been paying an average pension of \$30 or more; payments in eight states average less than \$10 even with Federal aid; in one state the average amount paid was \$6.05. Although these small sums cannot be called social security, they reflect the economic capacity of the states concerned to meet the problem.

We therefore recommend approval of the position of the Executive Council in urging variable grants so that for those states with less wealth and lower per capita incomes the federal government shall pay a larger percentage of individual pension paid to needy aged.

We recommend hearty concurrence with the warning of the Executive Council against extravagant programs. Security must be provided out of national income. Promises that must be met by taxes must be in proportion to capacity to pay and in proportion to the full security program.

We further urge central labor unions and state federations of labor to consult the President of the American Federation of Labor before giving their endorsement to proposals for change.

(1940, pp. 114-116, 559) Aside from the inadequate size of the old

age assistance grants in many states, much of the criticism of such grants which helps promote unreasonable demands for pensions for everyone based on right, not on need, arises from onerous and unnecessary requirements for eligibility for pensions. A number of states have unnecessarily multiplied the difficulties of a needy old person in securing a pension.

We recognize the practical problem involved in paying uniform pensions to all persons of any specified age, regardless of need. We know that many extravagant pension plans would handicap tax-paying wage earners and prevent a sound development of a well-rounded plan of social security. We therefore recommend that we work for improvement and expansion of the Social Security Act rather than its replacement by any extravagant pension plan which is not on a sound financial basis and which concentrates on only one part of the total problem of social security—that of the aged person.

(1947, p. 609) We urge the adoption of a unified public assistance program to meet the needs of those not protected by the social insurances. Such a program should provide grants-in-aid to the states adjusted to their relative needs and ability to pay. We urge support of the legislation which has been introduced and designed to meet these objectives.

Special attention is directed by the Executive Council to the curtailment of its Labor Information Service. The important service of acquainting workers with their rights and of informing them in cooperation with their union organizations of their duties under the Social Security Act, is essential. We need this service and want it continued.

(1951, p. 532) The following committee report and recommendations unanimously approved:

Constant pressures are being exerted to curtail public assistance services and to cut federal and state appropriations for public assistance programs. Labor must stand guard against the disruption and crippling of these essential services.

We must also stand firmly against the attempts in certain states and in the Congress for disclosure of information about recipients of public assistance, in defiance of the basic principles written into the law by the Congress. We especially commend the Federal Security Administrator for his courageous fight against the attempts of certain state officials to breach the law and exploit the dire needs of the poor.

(1952, p. 202) Welfare needs of the nation have been intensified in the last generation. Lack of adequate housing and sound community planning is one of the most important contributory causes to family instability and multiplying welfare needs. Labor should stand watchful guard to make sure that the essential public assistance programs are adequate, that they are soundly administered so that the welfare of those in need is properly safeguarded.

(1953, pp. 301, 639) The Executive Council Report on the broad field of Social Security included a section on "Family Security and Public Assistance" (Old Age Assistance). The convention unanimously approved its committee report and recommendations:

The Old Age Assistance program, providing aid to the needy aged through a system of Federal grants to the States, is an important and necessary backstop for the Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance program. Until such time as the OASI system is expanded and its benefit structure improved so as to enable all persons reaching the age of retirement to qualify for a decent level of benefits, the relief program must be continued and

strengthened for the benefit of those in need of financial assistance.

To abandon the system of Federal grants-in-aid and to blanket Old Age Assistance beneficiaries into the insurance program at a \$25 a month minimum benefit, as is now advocated by the Chamber of Commerce, would do irreparable injury both to persons on relief and persons who have contributed to the OASI fund and have a stake in the preservation of its financial integrity. Public assistance payments to the needy aged are, on the average, well in excess of \$25 at the present time. Since many of the States would not pick up the load if Federal grants were abandoned, this would result in complete destitution for those helpless aged persons and a return of the old county poorhouse.

A Presidential Commission has been established to study the entire field of Federal-State financial relationship, including the system of Federal grants-in-aid. Although this Commission is supposed to be made up of all segments of the community, we have not been accorded representation on it. This Commission, unbalanced as it is in its make-up, is not constituted to inspire confidence in its findings and recommendations called for in the public interest. We must therefore be especially on guard against the threat of elimination of Federal grants and other moves detrimental to national welfare. Those whose welfare depends upon the maintenance of Federal aid programs must not be abandoned to the tender mercies of the individual States—most of which either cannot or will not undertake to meet the need unaided by the Federal government. This would be an economic catastrophe for millions of American citizens.

The public assistance program has already been seriously weakened by attacks at both the State and Federal level. It needs to be strengthened and

improved, with more effective minimum national standards, and not weakened further. Labor must be constantly on its guard against new efforts, either through so-called "study" commissions or in Congress, to damage or destroy the public assistance program.

We further recommend that efforts be continued to secure the repeal of the notorious Jenner amendment requiring disclosure of public relief rolls.

Older Workers (Discrimination)— (1928, p. 274) A rule is being applied in the manufacturing industries of North America to eliminate workmen forty-five or more years of age and in many instances reject men over forty years of age who seek employment; and as this rule or policy is becoming more prevalent and applied by larger numbers of employers making it increasingly more difficult for those in middle age to secure satisfactory positions and as this condition has been intensified in many establishments because employers have inaugurated group insurance for their employees, a condition has been created which intensifies the evil of unemployment.

A most unjust hardship has been placed upon the workers who have given the best years of their lives in assisting to produce the nation's wealth. Group insurance has been used to tie men to their jobs, particularly those advancing toward middle age. If collective action to redress an injury is taken by the workmen collectively and a strike occurs, re-employment of the middle-aged man is made difficult if not impossible. A condition has developed through the ulterior uses which are being made of group insurance which makes it necessary that a thoroughgoing investigation should be made of the subject. The A. F. of L. denounces the practice of denying employment to those who have reached middle age and the growing practice by employers of us-

ing group insurance for ulterior purposes, condemning it as inhuman.

(1929, p. 94) The rapidity and the extent of industrial change in the recent past have been accompanied by great human wastes. We were accustomed to the expression "this is an age of young men." It was accepted that new industries and new methods necessitate new workers — workers without experience in the old ways. Just what sort of a problem this practice was developing was not at first apparent.

.. Many industrial undertakings have adopted policies fixing the age at which workers could be employed. Without very much consideration or study and no technical information, they assume that younger workers are more profitable than older ones. Some industries have fixed the age limit at 35, others 40, others 45, etc.

(P. 288) Discrimination against older workers presents an instructive picture of that ruthless practice of commerce and industry under which the worker as he reaches the period of middle age and full development of family life finds difficulty in securing employment because of his age. Not only is there a widespread practice on the part of firms and corporations in all sorts of business to place an arbitrary limit upon the maximum age in the hiring of new employees, but there is also evidence that many such concerns have no hesitancy in discharging older workers even after years of service. Industry as a whole must be made to understand that economic arrangements must be made whereby every person who desires employment must have an opportunity to work, or, failing in that, society, through its various political divisions, must make arrangements whereby those who are discarded by industry must be cared for at public expense. One course or the other is inevitable. A steadily widening knowledge of the

rules of health is lengthening the span of human life. Not only must ample opportunity be given for the continued employment of the middle-aged, a need so apparent that it should require neither explanation nor argument, but places must be made for those who are entering upon that period which was formerly regarded as near to the end of the human trail. The average man of sixty years today is stronger and healthier and more alert than was the average man of some years younger a few decades ago. Through physical and mental hygiene, sanitation, medicine, surgery and safety regulations in commerce and industry, man is securing a firmer hold upon life.

The E.C. is instructed to continue its investigation and study of this important question with a view to formulating some definite plan whereby the discrimination against older workers may be brought to an end.

(1930, pp. 89, 271) The problem of the older worker is not a new one, but under present day conditions it has become serious. In most families, it is necessary for adult members to make a contribution to the family income. In earlier periods, these contributions could take the form of work around the house, in the garden, sharing in household activities. The organization of the modern home has eliminated practically all of these activities and older people are forced to seek gainful employment outside the home.

Repeatedly reports come from these older workers that arbitrary hiring limits make it practically impossible for them to find employment, and their experience and abilities are not made useful. Although these reports are numerous, there is practically no dependable information as to the facts or scope of the problem.

(1931, p. 128) Resolution No. 2 of the Boston convention called attention to the age limit which applied to ap-

plicants for government employment and asked that the convention declare for an extension of the age limit. The convention directed the E.C. to confer with officials of all organizations having members in the government service for the purpose of endeavoring to formulate a new policy appropriate to the needs of each group of government workers. That conference was duly held with full and free discussion of all interested parties. As a result thereof we recommend to this convention that a clear and definite declaration be made in opposition to the government setting any maximum age limit in the applicants for appointment to government service.

When we oppose the age limit policy of private employes we are met with the position of the government as support for their position.

(P. 303) After much discussion the entire question of the practice of limiting the ages at which persons would be given employment was referred to the E.C. for further investigation.

(P. 137) Business depression has added to the difficulties of older workers who have found industry ready to discard them rather than consider plans to help them adjust themselves to meet industrial changes. We have repeatedly called attention to the social injustice and economic waste of discarding workers with industrial experience and work judgment just at a time when their maturity has become a valuable asset.

The returns from the April 1930 unemployment inquiry — summarized under the section on unemployment— shows that of the workers over 20 years of age reporting 34 per cent were over 45 years of age and 16 per cent over 55 years. This means that unemployment falls heavily upon workers most likely to have dependents and financial commitments.

We urge that planning to take care of the unemployed shall include provi-

sions for older workers and that state bureaus of labor statistics shall continue inquiries to get the facts of employment on older workers and to develop constructive plans.

(P. 351) If industry is going to continue to discard men who have reached the ages of 45 and 50 years, then we must have a readjustment in the wage system that will permit of a saving wage ample to allow for retirement of wage workers at the new age limits now arbitrarily set by industry, and we recommend that in negotiating wage scales in the future all local unions demand that wage scales be made on this basis.

(1933, pp. 93, 425) The policy of establishing an age limit for hiring workers is a grave menace to the older worker. Developments of the last few years have brought no relief. In fact, this policy is, if anything, becoming more widespread. It had at the start a definite connection with the spread of employee benefit plans financed by the employer, such as group insurance or old-age pensions; but age limits have now extended far beyond the field of such benefit plans. The practice is so general that workers over 45 in many localities find it practically impossible to get a job, and workers of 40 and even 35 are also finding age limits applied against them. The far-reaching effect of this injustice to the worker is not fully realized. Men who have spent their lives in honest, conscientious work for an employer, who have developed skill and experience with the years, may be laid off and literally thrown on the scrap heap at 40 or 45. By the time a man has reached this age, his children are at the age when education and preparation for the future will determine the course of their lives. If he loses his job and income, the children are forced to leave school and go to work. Many a young man of ability has thus been forced to aban-

don the trade or career for which he was training and has never again been able to rise out of drudgery.

The age limit also means a loss to industry, in that it eliminates workers who have reached an age of responsibility and who have twenty or thirty years' training in industrial work. Experience and responsibility are essential in any work where the quality of the product is concerned.

The A. F. of L. is opposed to discriminating against workers in industry on a basis of age as well as in other unfair discriminations. We also oppose the Government's setting any maximum age for applicants for employment. The employment or retention of workers should be based upon competence to perform work, and not on arbitrary age limit.

(1934, p. 414) The U.S. Civil Service Commission provides a maximum age limit of 48 years for new employees in all departments. The A. F. of L. urgently requests the regulations to permit of the employment of capable and able workers on temporary jobs, changing the maximum age limit to not less than 55 years.

(1937, pp. 161, 317) Representative Mead of New York has introduced a Joint Resolution in the House of Representatives directing the Secretary of Labor to investigate and report to Congress upon the nature and effect of any economic conditions or statutory provisions which tend to produce unfair or inequitable discrimination on the basis of age in obtaining and retaining employment in public service and private industry.

The resolution states that the rapid mechanization of industries and other factors beyond his control make it increasingly difficult for the older worker to obtain and retain employment. It also states that this condition affects materially the well-being and comfort of a considerable number

of our citizens and threatens our social structure so that its alleviation and correction has become a matter of public concern.

Members of Congress are very much disturbed by evidence submitted at many committee hearings that workers in private employment over forty years of age find it difficult to retain their jobs or obtain new ones. In order to express the opposition to such methods the Senate passed S. 714, which forbids any age limit being fixed by the Civil Service Commission. Any applicant who passes an examination and is later appointed to a position in the classified Civil Service shall be eligible to retire under the Retirement Act if he has served fifteen years or more. The House failed to act. Agitation for elimination of the age limit, however, caused the Civil Service Commission to make radical changes.

(P. 436) The E.C. is requested to take up with the Department of Labor the question of having a study made of age discrimination in employment and submit a report at the earliest possible time.

(1938, pp. 171, 547) H.J. Res. 453 proposed to determine the nature and effect of economic conditions or statutory provisions tending to produce unfair discrimination on the basis of age in obtaining or retaining employment in public service and private industry, failed of passage.

It provided that the Secretary of Labor investigate and report to Congress upon the nature and effect of any economic conditions or statutory provisions which may tend to produce unfair or inequitable discrimination on the basis of age in obtaining or retaining employment in public service or private industry; the extent to which age is a factor in determining the efficiency of men and women and the effect of the pension systems and

group and workmen's compensation insurance upon the employment of the older worker.

The question of discharging workers after reaching a certain age or of refusing them employment because they had an objectionable age has been the cause of great concern for many years.

The E.C. favors such an investigation and it is the intention to have the resolution reintroduced at the next session of Congress.

(P. 174) The 1937 Convention of the A. F. of L. directed the E.C. to request the Secretary of Labor to make a study of the problems of those workers who, in increasing numbers, in their fifties, forties, and even their thirties, were being denied employment. A committee, composed of representatives of employers, of organized labor, and of the public which was appointed by the secretary, has held several meetings and has appointed subcommittees which are now preparing their conclusions and recommendations on various topics, such as age limits in civil service, the effect of pension plans, group insurance, and compensation for accidents and disease on employment policies, and the relative efficiency and susceptibility to accidents of younger and older workers.

Meanwhile a legislative committee in New York State has been holding hearings at different points throughout the state, and has issued a preliminary report. Funds have been voted to continue the inquiry another year. The International Labor Office, at the instance of the American Labor delegate, has moved to launch an international study of the question.

Whatever reasons these studies may disclose for the difficulties that older persons experience in regaining employment once they have lost their footing in the present highly

competitive labor market, the great loss in productive manpower through this discrimination is fully apparent. Whatever individual employers think they may gain from refusing to hire those who have passed an arbitrary age limit, it is clear that society is losing the services of many experienced and competent workers, and that the families of these workers are foregoing their earning power just when it should be at its prime.

Among the proposed legislative remedies, the laws enacted this year by New York and New Jersey merit attention. These laws attempt to eliminate all maximum age barriers from civil service examinations and appointments, whether state or municipal, except for certain positions having unusual physical requirements—for instance, firemen, policemen, and prison guards.

(1940, p. 530) Protest was voiced by the convention against existing practice of discriminating against older workers in private and government shipping departments. The resolution on this subject, unanimously adopted, contained the following:

Whereas—Happiness can only be secured by giving all men an equal opportunity to work and live the American way; and

Whereas—There is in general little correlation between age and ability, because both experience and superannuation are functions of age, the result of such conflict is usually dependent upon the individual involved; and

Whereas—That ability, not age, must be maintained as the criterion for employment. Not only is ability a more realistic basis, but age can be arbitrarily used as a weapon of discrimination against members of various labor organizations; now, therefore be it

Resolved—That the Executive Council of the American Federation of

Labor petition the President, Congress and United States Maritime Commission to take steps to enact legislation that this discrimination, especially on subsidized vessels, be discontinued.

(1949, pp. 343, 501) Res. 118 provided that:

... the 68th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, go on record as favoring the introduction of national legislation that would make it an unfair labor practice charge for any employer to discharge any employee or to refuse to hire any applicant for employment because of advanced age unless the employee or applicant is eligible for retirement benefits either under the Social Security laws of the United States Government or a private plan or a combination of such plans.

(1950, p. 202) The E.C. reported on Res. 118 (1949 Convention) which called for the enactment of legislation eliminating discrimination against workers because of age.

It clearly points out that men and women of forty-five years of age are classified as older workers and are denied employment because of age. This is not only true in private employment but is also true in some agencies of the government and indeed in the case of police, firemen, and others in the District of Columbia, municipalities and in states, the age limit for employment is much lower than forty-five years.

The resolution requests that federal legislation be introduced making it an unfair labor practice charge for any employer to discharge any employee or to refuse to hire any applicant for employment because of advanced age unless the employee or applicant is eligible for retirement benefits either under the United States Social Security laws or a private plan or a combination of such plans.

The intent of this resolution is commendable and in our opinion workable. However, if such legislation is to be proposed in the 82nd Congress, with it should go a reduction of the retirement age under Social Security and private plans.

(Pp. 20, 459) Res. 3:

Whereas—The economic conditions of our country change from year to year, and security is becoming less stable for a great many Americans, especially among men who are reaching the winter of their life, and

Whereas—Factory and shop management are struggling to find ways and means to lay off or discharge employes of forty-five years of age and upwards, and

Whereas—Our labor papers, magazines, periodicals, pamphlets, etc., are continually pointing out that our economic system is fast becoming a monopolistic system, and pointing out instances of the above conditions and abuses, and

Whereas—Laws are made and enforced in many European countries to protect men with seniority service; therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Houston, Texas, become active in attempting to secure national laws that will better protect employes past forty-five years of age.

Officers of the A. F. of L. instructed to make further inquiry into the subject.

Oleomargarine Tax—(1944, p. 169) Margarine is a wholesome, nutritious, inexpensive table fat manufactured from agricultural commodities and, as such, is necessary to low-income groups who cannot afford to purchase butter. The ten-cent per pound tax on margarine results in an unnecessary, unjustifiable price increase which is inflicted upon the low-paid masses, and the Executive Council recom-

mends that efforts to eliminate this objectionable tax be continued.

(P. 411) Reporting on bill to repeal the tax of ten cents per pound upon colored oleomargarine, the Executive Council points out that it is a tax borne almost exclusively by low-paid workers and others in low-income groups and recommends continued efforts to secure its repeal.

The committee recommends adoption of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

(1946, p. 469) The convention unanimously adopted the recommendations of the E.C. that efforts be continued to secure the repeal of the tax on oleomargarine.

(1948, pp. 165, 409) Continued efforts to secure repeal of tax on oleomargarine was reported to the convention and previous position of A. F. of L. unanimously reaffirmed.

(1949, pp. 240, 386) For a considerable number of years, by unanimous convention action, we have favored repeal of this tax on oleomargarine and will continue our efforts.

(1950, p. 199) After many years of opposition to the oleomargarine tax on the part of Labor, the E. C. reported that the repeal became effective July 1, 1950.

Olympic Games (1935, p. 801) The A. F. of L. has in the last two conventions pledged its moral and economic force to fight Hitlerism for its destruction of the trade union movement and for its denial to its citizens of their religious liberty.

The Olympic Games, which should promote sportsmanship and good will, are being used by the Nazis to intensify hatreds and race discriminations.

The A. F. of L. reaffirms its determination to use its full moral and economic force to fight Hitlerism. In keeping with this declaration, the A. F. of L. opposes the participation

of the U.S. in the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936.

Office of Price Administration (see: Price Controls)

Open Shop—(1926, p. 46) The campaign in opposition to trade unionism expressed in the form of the open shop or American plan has spent its force. Though we have defeated and discredited the endeavor, we realize that the purpose that it expressed still persists. There are certain types of minds which seek benefits for themselves by taking advantage of others. Employers of this class will continue to oppose trade unions.

This is an age of collective or group activity. Our undertakings are on a much larger scale and cooperation has largely replaced individual responsibility. From this at once is apparent the deceit of the cry for the protection of the individual to contract for his services with an organized unit of capital.

In addition organization is continuously necessary in meeting production problems which management must take up with the workers. It is the only way through which decision can be reached and the workers assured definite responsibilities. It is essential to industrial justice and stability.

Time and experience have demonstrated the broad vision displayed by the workers in their insistence upon their unrestricted right to organization into trade unions, and the helpful and constructive policies and results that are to be furthered and secured through voluntary collective bargaining.

It is not to be assumed that the agitation for the purpose sought through the so-called open shop or American plan has disappeared from our industrial life. Our intention is only to record the fact that the promotion of this particular phase of doctrine and practice has been large-

ly abated. Neither do we attempt to lessen the importance of the workers being alert in meeting this form of opposition. We are calling attention in other sections of this report to new forms which opposition to trade unionism has assumed and we urge that renewed efforts be made by all workers in the furtherance of trade union organization and the advancement of voluntary trade union agreements based upon the principles of equality, justice, fair play and full participation in the rewards that come from the joint enterprise of Labor and capital engaged in industrial and commercial undertakings.

(P. 304) The A. F. of L. believes there are but two fundamental policies between which management must choose in deciding its personnel relations policies: cooperation or control from the top.

Cooperation implies voluntary association of the functional groups concerned with production represented through organizations evolved by each group to deal with distinctive group problems.

Control from the top denies the right of voluntary association and either forbids all group controlled organization or substitutes a form of organization controlled by employers.

The principle of voluntary association provides opportunity for individual initiative and is in accord with the spirit and the institutions which express American ideals. The application of this principle provides continuous opportunities for developing reciprocal interests and sustained advancement of mutual interests.

The anti-union shop is based on denial of the right of voluntary association of those who use the tools and materials of production and render service. This denial makes conflict inevitable. It introduces the idea of strife instead of conference and endeavor to find a common ground.

Because the effort to promote the so-called "open shop" or "company union" or "American plan" has not abated, the A. F. of L. emphatically indorses the warning of the E.C.

Optical Instruments (Importation)—(1951, pp. 281, 549) Res. 21:

Whereas—The photographic and precision optical industry is engaged in the manufacture of shutters and precision optitcal instruments, and

Whereas—Photographic and Precision Optical Workers Local Union 24659 and Optical Workers Union 18579 have bargaining agreements with industry, under which they are seeking increased pay, and

Whereas—The cost of labor represents the largest part of the cost of the products made by the industry, and

Whereas—Foreign imports made by foreign labor, such as German and Japanese, at rates only a fraction of American wage scales, and

Whereas—Due to the foreign competition, the industry is unable to obtain the prices necessary to meet the request of the unions, and

Whereas—The industry is unable to continue full-scale production of its regular products due to governmental material restrictions while foreign competition without restriction of materials can flood the American market with these products, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor seek legislation which will remedy this condition by restricting the export of raw materials to the same extent as the use of raw materials are restricted in the United States, and also to restrict imports of such competitive products so that this highly skilled industry can survive for the protection of our country in case of aggression when its production is essential for survival, and oppose any further tariff reduc-

tions that will expose our workers further to unfair competition from foreign substandard wages and working conditions.

Organizing, Assessment for—(1937, pp. 110, 633) The organizing work of the American Federation of Labor has been carried forward aggressively and in a highly successful way. Following the decision of the Supreme Court holding the National Labor Relations Act constitutitonal, workers in all lines of industry showed both a willingness and a determination to become organized. The spirit of organization became very pronounced. The fear of discrimination and persecution has overcome when the workers became acquainted with the full meaning and import of the decision of the Supreme Court.

As a consequence of these developments the organizing staff of the A. F. of L. has been very greatly increased. These organizers are carrying on a systematic campaign of organization in every state, city and community throughout the entire country. Great progress has been made in heretofore unorganized fields such as cement, aluminum, flour and cereal milling, agriculture, packing houses and canneries, white collar groups, and other miscellaneous industries.

In addition, national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. have inaugurated and carried forward most successful organizing campaigns. As a result of this joint coordinated work carried forward by national and international unions and the A. F. of L., approximately a million new members have been added to the A. F. of L. All of these are dues-paying members, men and women who show their determination to become organized through the payment of initiation fees and monthly dues.

It is the firm and determined purpose of the A. F. of L. to organize the unorganized workers who desire

to become organized and associated with an organization such as the A. F. of L. which for more than half a century has championed the principles of collective bargaining, of freedom to organize and to strike, and to use every honorable and legal means in the promotion of strikes for high wages and improved conditions of employment. It is the fixed and determined purpose to go on and on in support of campaigns launched by the A. F. of L. and of national and international unions affiliated with it for the purpose of organizing the unorganized workers of the nation.

We are confident we will win this great contest. We are sure the workers of the nation will turn to a responsible organization such as the A. F. of L., firmly established for more than half a century in the economic and industrial life of the nation.

The fighting spirit of the officers and members of the A. F. of L. has been aroused as never before. The word "defeat" cannot be found in the vocabulary of those who fight and serve the A. F. of L. Our efforts to organize will be increased, our organizing staff will carry on a militant and aggressive organizing campaign. Our state federations of labor and city central bodies, purged of those who would transform them into agencies of a dual, rival organization, united in a common purpose and established upon a sound and solid A. F. of L. basis, will take such action as may be necessary in order to protect and advance the interests of the officers and members of the A. F. of L. We are going forward, determined to win. No force will stop this onward march of the A. F. of L. to organize the unorganized of the nation.

In order to continue the aggressive, militant organizing campaign which is now being carried on by the A. F. of L., the convention authorizes the

continuance of the assessment of one cent per member per month, which was endorsed and approved by the conference of representatives of national and international unions which was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, May 24-25, 1937. With the financial income to the A. F. of L. which will flow from the payment of this one cent assessment we cannot only continue but can increase and accelerate the organizing campaign which has been so successfully carried on during the past year. This question is of tremendous importance.

(1938, pp. 80, 292) While the national and international organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. have carried on organizing work within their respective jurisdictions in a highly successful way, the A. F. of L. itself has extended its organizing work among the unorganized workers in the fields outside of the respective jurisdictions of affiliated national and international unions. This action is in conformity with instructions of the San Francisco Convention of the A. F. of L. which was held in 1934, and all conventions of the A. F. of L. which have been held since that time

In order to facilitate the organizing work of the A. F. of L., an Organization Department was created and a Director of Organization placed in charge. Through such department the organization activities of the A. F. of L. were coordinated and the intensity of our organizing campaign increased.

Unorganized workers in every section have manifested increasing interest in organization and have responded to the appeals of our organizing staff to become affiliated with the A. F. of L., in a most wonderful and successful way. We have organized many thousands of workers in industries where no semblance of organization had ever before existed.

For instance, in the agricultural and cannery industries of California, on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere, thousands of workers were organized into unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L., who had known nothing about organization before. Our experience gained in this particular field shows that these workers, notwithstanding they are employed in seasonal industries, remain loyal and steadfast to the A. F. of L. when they become organized.

The fields in which the American Federation of Labor has specialized are among those employed as office workers and those classified as white collar workers, beet sugar workers, cement workers, gasoline station attendants, and in the flour and cereal milling, fabricated metal, aluminum, agricultural and cannery, chemical, distillery and communications industries, as well as miscellaneous workers employed in other fields.

The organizing staff of the A. F. of L. has been aggressive and alert. The workers who become organized have manifested a fighting spirit and as a result, contracts have been negotiated which provide for increases in wages and improvements in working conditions. On the other hand, through the mobilization of their economic strength in well-established organizations, they have in numerous instances successfully resisted any and all attempts to impose reductions in wages. In accordance with the traditional policy of the A. F. of L. strikes have been inaugurated and supported where it became absolutely necessary in order to maintain the integrity of local federal labor union wage scales established and conditions of employment gained through organized effort and collective bargaining. State federations of labor and city central labor unions have given our organizing staff and the A. F. of L. most valuable support.

We review with a feeling of deep satisfaction the progress made in our organization work during the past year, and we are gratified, indeed, over the success which attended our efforts. The workers everywhere are turning to the A. F. of L. They are learning through experience and by contrast with a dual, seceding movement, more and more of the real value and worth of the A. F. of L. Public opinion, which develops but slowly in favor of or against movements which are launched in the economic, social and political life of the nation, has crystallized in support of the A. F. of L. We have more real friends outside the A. F. of L. than we ever before had in all the history of our great movement.

The call for assistance and help coming from the unorganized workers of the nation is increasing and the demands made upon us for organizers to perfect organization among unorganized workers, is greater than ever before. We have found it impossible to respond as fully as conditions demand to the appeals which have been made for field workers, organizers, and assistance. It is the purpose and policy of the A. F. of L. to cooperate with all national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. in carrying on their own organizing campaigns, and in addition concentrate our efforts in carrying on organizing work among those employed in the industries named in this report and in the miscellaneous industries where little or no organization has ever existed.

The A. F. of L. has gone to the limit of its financial ability in carrying on organizing work in all sections, industries and communities. We will continue this policy. Every appeal for organizing assistance and help will be met so far as our financial resources will permit. In order to do this and to carry on our organizing

work in a bigger, broader and even more aggressive way, it is necessary that adequate funds be provided.

Therefore this convention authorizes and directs the continuance of the assessment of one cent per member per month, which was legally and officially levied at the Fifty-seventh Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. held at Denver, Colorado, in October, 1937, for another year. The funds provided through the payment of this assessment will enable the A. F. of L. to continue its organization policies, maintain the gains we have already made, and render additional service both to national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and to the unorganized workers of the nation.

(1939, p. 61) The Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. authorizes and directs the continuance of the one cent per member per month assessment which was first legally and officially levied by the Fifty-seventh Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. and which has continued in effect ever since. The continuation of the income of the A. F. of L., at its present amount at least, will enable us to consolidate and hold the gains we have made, to protect the legal rights of the workers through service rendered by our legal department, to adequately and properly present the cases of subordinate unions which are presented to the National Labor Relations Board, and to continue to render the high and exalted service which the A. F. of L. has always given to the workers of the nation.

Oriental Exclusion (see: Immigration and Naturalization)

Overtime (also see: Wages)

(1929, p. 378) In addition to our fundamental policy in favor of a shorter work day, work-week and an advancing rate of wages, we record it as our policy, commended to all affili-

ated bodies, that overtime work be abolished wherever possible and that it be resorted to only when its avoidance is rendered impossible by causes beyond the control of workers and management.

Pacific Coast, Contracts for (Government)—(1948, pp. 331, 470) Res. 126 called upon the A. F. of L. to officially request the U.S. Government to recognize western industries in awarding government contracts, and especially that immediate evidence of a fair division of contracts be given by the Maritime Commission and by the Navy to western shipyards.

Paint and Varnish Manufacture by Government—(1954, pp. 405, 488) Res. 87 protested against the manufacture of paint, varnish and lacquer at Mare Island and other government installations as contrary to American system of free enterprise.

The resolution was referred to the Executive Council for inquiry and action.

Palestine (also see: Jews, Nazi Atrocities, Israel)—(1944, p. 626) Res. 166, together with convention committee report, adopted as follows:

Whereas—The inhuman slaughter of European Jewry continues unabated, and the Nazis—intent upon completing their program to annihilate the Jewish people—are devising new and more horrible methods of mass murder. The documented reports of the unparalleled crimes committed in the death camps of Maidanek, Oswiecim and Treblinka, in the ghettos of Poland, in the market places of Roumania and Hungary, have outraged civilized humanity. To date, approximately 4,000,000 innocent Jewish men, women and children have suffered horrible death by shooting, asphyxiation, starvation, strangulation and fire, and

Whereas—We are determined that those Jews who have survived the

holocaust shall be rescued and rehabilitated by the United Nations, and are equally determined that such rescue and rehabilitation shall conform to the particular needs and problems of uprooted European Jewry, and

Whereas — Decisions affecting the future of the homeless Jews of Europe are being made daily by international agencies, such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, agencies which derive their authority from the peoples of the United Nations, and

Whereas — The people of the United States have demonstrated their wholehearted sympathy with the plight of Europe's Jews and have expressed America's determination to bring about a just solution of this most pressing of human problems — a solution which will take into account the real needs and desires of the Jewish people. During the past year the American people have called for the fulfillment of the pledge contained in the Balfour Declaration. An overwhelming majority of our people desire the opening of Palestine's doors to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. These sentiments have been voiced through the forthright Palestine planks included in the platforms of both major political parties, and through the notable statements endorsing Jewish aspirations in Palestine made by a large majority of the membership of both Houses of Congress, and

Whereas — The President of the United States, in an historic declaration made on October 15, 1944, reaffirmed our country's traditional policy of support for the Jewish National Home in the following words: "I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Pal-

estine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization," and

Whereas — The American Federation of Labor has followed a policy of staunch and unwavering friendship for Jewish Palestine and has throughout the years supported the Jewish National Home and admired the magnificent accomplishment of Palestine Jewry, and

Whereas — The American Federation of Labor has always had deep respect for and a feeling of kinship with the Histadruth, the General Federation of Labor in Palestine, and has during the past year supported the program so admirably carried out by the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine, and

Whereas — Jewish Palestine has demonstrated its willingness and its ability to rehabilitate Europe's persecuted Jews and has, despite the Chamberlain White Paper of 1939 and other obstacles, fought the war against the common enemy with almost unparalleled devotion to democratic cause, and

Whereas — Resolutions, reflecting America's conviction that at long last justice must be done to the long suffering Jewish people, have been introduced into both Houses of Congress: These bi-partisan measures H.R. 418-419 and S.R. 247) call for the free entry of Jews into Palestine and full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth, and

Whereas — The Secretary of War has recently announced that no military reasons stand in the way of action on the Palestine resolutions, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urges the passage at the earliest possible moment of the pending Palestine resolutions, and, be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor calls for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth and urges upon the Government of the United States to take speedy and definite action on the Palestine question—action which will be in conformity with the historic, but as yet unfulfilled, pledges made to the Jewish people, and with the present needs of the persecuted Jews of Europe.

Your committee, in reporting favorably upon this resolution and recommending its adoption, submits the following comments and observations:

While the armies of the United Nations are fighting their way into Germany, the butchery of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe continues with unabated ferocity. Eye-witness accounts which began to reach this country a number of years ago, have now accumulated in sufficient quantity to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt the determination of the Hitlerite gangsters that, come what may, the Jewish people shall disappear from the face of the earth. Latest reports are that 4,000,000 Jews were executed in the ghastly death camps. The horrifying photographs from the Maidanek camp near Lublin provide visual proof of the systematic and coldly scientific methods by which Nazi officials use the ashes of Jews destroyed in the slaughter ovens to fertilize their fields. They sort the garments and toys of murdered Jewish infants and send these to the Reich.

The American Federation of Labor is determined that every effort shall be made to salvage the remnants of European Jewry, and that nothing shall stand in the way of the rescue and rehabilitation of a people which

has suffered indescribable agony and torture at the hands of the enemy, a people which has been singled out for total annihilation by the godless Nazis.

In order to implement the firm resolve we have made that the Jews be saved through all means at the disposal of the United Nations, we demand that the existing avenues of escape be utilized and those which have been closed be re-opened. We repeat our demand that immediate action be taken to realize the tremendous possibilities which Palestine, the internationally-sanctioned Jewish Homeland, offers for mass rescue and rehabilitation.

Day by day it becomes clearer that decisive action on Palestine must be taken if the homeless Jews are not to be consigned to a lifetime of wandering and discrimination.

The American Federation of Labor has time and again gone on record as demanding the withdrawal of the White Paper policy and its replacement by a program which will lead toward the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth. It has done so because the plight of Europe's homeless and stateless Jews demands rehabilitation in a free, undivided, Palestine and it has done so because the nations of the world, including the United States of America, have guaranteed the Jewish National Home in Palestine. The A. F. of L. has included in its recorded resolutions a tribute and testimony to its sister federation in Palestine, the Histadruth, which has done so much toward the realization of the hopes and aspirations of the Jewish people for the establishment of the Jewish homeland, and toward raising the general standard of living in Palestine and in the neighboring countries.

In conformity with the pronounced declarations and policy of the A. F. of L., President William Green stated

in June 1944, that: "We intend to press with all power and influence at the Peace Conference for the permanent establishment of Palestine as the Jewish National Homeland . . . We have appealed, we have expressed, we have petitioned, we have begged . . . Now the time has come when our nation under the pressure of Labor and its friends must say to Great Britain: 'You must now open the doors to Palestine, wide open—not for thirty days, for sixty or ninety days out of the year—but for 365 days.'"

During the past year there has been a heartening indication that the position the American Federation of Labor has taken is supported by the people of the United States. The great majority of the members of Congress of the United States have, in public statements, expressed their approval of Jewish aspirations in Palestine. Strong pro-Palestine planks, calling for unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and the rededication of that country as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth were incorporated into the 1944 platforms of both major political parties.

The Palestine Resolutions in Congress, H. R. 418-419 in the House, and S. R. 247 in the Senate, evoked nationwide approval at the time they were introduced. Because those vital measures, which were deferred last Spring at the request of the military authorities, may now be acted upon, and because the remnants of European Jewry are threatened with extinction, the American Federation of Labor urges immediate, definitive and decisive action on Palestine, action which will be consistent with the needs of the hour and the aspirations of the century.

In his statement in October 1944, President Roosevelt recognized the historic continuity and justice of the desires of the Jewish people, in these words: "I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and

prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim, and, if re-elected, I shall help bring about its realization."

Your Committee, therefore, urges that the Palestine Resolutions now pending in Congress be passed without delay. The problems of persecution, discrimination and homelessness which have plagued the Jewish people of the Old World for centuries must be solved in our time, else our expressions of sympathy and our solemn pledges shall have been in vain.

We further recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call upon the President of the United States to use his good offices to the end that the declaration made concerning the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth be implemented, the pledges made be fulfilled, and the Government of the United States assume its share of responsibility in the carrying out of the pledges and assurances given.

(1947, p. 614) Res. 27 was introduced into the convention with specific recommendations for the solution of the problems of the Jews and the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State. The convention, however, adopted the following special committee report in lieu of the resolution:

As this convention of the American Federation of Labor gathers, we seem to be on the verge of reaching a final solution to the age-old question of the Jewish people, a people who for 2,000 years have been without a national homeland. This tragic, historic homelessness of the Jewish people has led to grave consequences, which reached their climax during the recent war when 6,000,000 Jews were wiped out in Europe, with no government to take a direct stand on their behalf,

no military force aiming at their direct liberation from the hands of the Nazi beasts.

The democratic world, including the United States, in 1917 endorsed the Balfour Declaration which promised the Jews a national homeland in Palestine. Thirty years have passed, a period in which a great deal of sweat and blood has been invested by Jewish pioneers in reviving the desolate Holy Land so that people might again inhabit it. The returning Jews have created a flourishing homeland out of a wilderness, without depriving the native population of any rights or privileges. On the contrary, the Arab people in Palestine have immensely benefited from the economic and public health activities of the Jews.

The vast tragedy of World War II, in which 6,000,000 men, women and children were slaughtered merely because they were Jews, has left a great debt which the civilized world owes and must pay to the pitiful survivors of the Hitler fury. These survivors, who have been investigated by commissions without end, have repeated their earnest, compelling desire to go to Palestine and there build a new life on a democratic, creative, dignified basis. When the problem was tossed into the laps of the United Nations by the British Government, a new opportunity was granted for an impartial study of the entire question. Through the web of tangled interests, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine finally drafted a report.

This Report calls for the admission of 150,000 Jews into Palestine in the next two years and the creation of an independent Jewish state, in part of the country, within the same time limit. Although the Report represents a further whittling-down of the area originally promised the Jews in the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations' Palestine Mandate, re-

sponsible Jewish organizations and representatives of the Jewish Community in Palestine have signified their willingness to consider the recommendations, with minor territorial adjustments, as a basis for the final settlement of the problem.

This convention notes with gratification that on October 11, the representative of the United States at the United Nations officially put our government on record as supporting, with some territorial modifications, the Majority Report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. The American representative also stated that our government is willing to participate through the United Nations, in providing aid to meet "economic and financial problems and the problem of internal law and order during the transition period."

This statement is certainly in line with the traditional American stand on the Palestine problem since 1917. It will be welcomed by all freedom-loving people who have always given their aid and support to the struggle for Jewish aspirations for statehood in Palestine.

The Jewish state envisaged by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine will unquestionably be the finest example of a working democracy in the Middle East. The pioneering builders of the country are imbued with a zeal for democracy that can be expressed only by those who were threatened with extinction by the enemies of democracy. The Jewish labor federation, the Histadrut, plays a dominant role in the development of the country, assuring that the working population will enjoy the highest degree of freedom, high living standards, social security, health and educational institutions, which are desired by organized labor throughout the world and which have been achieved only in the most advanced countries thus far. The working de-

mocracy of Palestine can become the spark plug of progress in the Middle East.

The American Federation of Labor has been a champion of Jewish national aspirations in Palestine since the inception of the Balfour Declaration. We take pride in the knowledge that we have always fought racial persecution and have sought its eradication. As firm believers in democracy and justice, we hail the stand announced by the American Government. It is our hope that the other nations of the world will join in this stand so that speedy implementation of the Committee's recommendations will be assured.

Mindful of the fact that hundreds of thousands of homeless and stateless Jews still suffer great physical deprivation which requires immediate humanitarian action, we strongly urge that the recommendation of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine with reference to the immigration of 150,000 Jews into Palestine within the next two years, be put into effect at once. As an initial step, the long-suffering 4,400 Jews of the "Exodus" who were recently forced to return to Germany after reaching the shores of Palestine should be included in the first monthly quota under the system of immigration recommended by the United Nations Committee. Thereafter, the concentration camps and assembly centers of Europe, a blot on the conscience of humanity, should be emptied of Jews as soon as possible in an orderly movement to Palestine.

It is gratifying that the majority report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, representing as it does the considered judgment of a high international tribunal, again reiterates the right of the Jewish people to statehood. In view of the declared stand of the United States and other governments in favor of

the majority report, it is our hope that the United Nations Assembly will take favorable action on the recommendations of the committee. Indeed, the hour of justice for the Jewish people has come if the nations of the world, following the forthright position taken by the government of the United States, will stand prepared to share in the implementation of the majority report.

We commend and heartily approve the government of the United States for its stand, and urge that our government exercise leadership in bringing about a speedy and definite decision on the part of the United Nations as a whole. We hope that an early international decision in accordance with the majority report is forthcoming and that this will be followed by speedy and complete implementation of its provisions.

American Trade Union Council for Labor—(1947, p. 633) Res. 28, unanimously adopted by the convention as follows:

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor was represented at the Emergency Conference of the American Trade Union Council for Labor Palestine in Atlantic City on May 16-18 by President William Green, and

Whereas, Sixty-four international, national, state, city, and local affiliates of the American Federation of Labor officially participated in the deliberations of this conference which considered the entire question of Palestine and the role of organized labor in the upbuilding of the Jewish national home, and

Whereas, The conference unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon American trade unions to support the American Trade Union Council for Labor Palestine in its activities; to make known to our government and to the public at large that American organized labor favors the

establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine and to raise \$1,000,000 for the Histadrut program of rescue, rehabilitation and reconstruction, therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, greets the establishment of the American Trade Union Council for Labor Palestine, and calls upon all affiliates to channel their support to Palestine through this Council and be it further

Resolved, That all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged to take an active part in the promotion of the program of the American Trade Union Council for Labor Palestine in aid of the Histadrut in Palestine and the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people.

Pan-American Federation of Labor
—(1924, p. 87) Pan-American relations have continued harmonious and helpful during the year. Through our affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor we have been able to be of assistance to the oppressed workers of other countries in the Western Hemisphere and to cement the fraternal relations between the organized workers of the various countries.

Our friendly relations with the workers of Mexico have been materially helpful to the wage earners of both countries. In connection with the single problem of migration back and forth across our southern border, the friendship of the two labor movements has been a distinct advantage on both sides of the line. Where governmental diplomacy alone might easily enough provoke distrust and friction, the understanding possessed by the workers on both sides of the line and their confidence in each others integrity have resulted and will, we are sure, continue to result helpfully.

Our movement is at present not affiliated with any other international organization and we cannot refrain from expressing the thought that it is just as important that we should preserve this bond and develop its helpful possibilities as that we should have any other possible international affiliation, desirable as such other affiliation may be.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor, which has its headquarters in the American Federation of Labor building in Washington, D. C., and of which the president of the American Federation of Labor is also president, has during the year been helpful in many instances in Latin American countries. Good will and understanding between the American people and the peoples of many other countries have been promoted and strengthened. This is true in the case of Panama, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Colombia, Nicaragua, Mexico and some other countries. The Pan-American Federation of Labor has several times interceded with the American State Department in behalf of better understanding and in an effort to solve misunderstanding and disputes.

With some show of reason it may be suggested that the problems of foreign relations are only remotely related to our great trade union problems, but in reality our movement is most intimately affected by our foreign relations. Every condition of labor, political and economic, in Latin America is of concern to us and has a bearing on our own domestic problems.

It is reported to us, for example, that much of the machinery in important industries in Mexico is so antiquated that it cannot be operated in such a manner as to provide a living wage for the workers. As a last desperate method of escape from such intolerable conditions the Mexican workers have resolved to desert such

industries and already ten thousand have deserted the Mexican textile industry to find employment either in other industries or on the land. Our own wage earners can not escape the consequences of such a condition and they can not shirk their legitimate responsibility in connection with the resulting problems.

Still another element enters into the situation. The organized labor movements of Latin America will somewhere find affiliation with an international movement. If they can not find it with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, supported by the A. F. of L., they will seek and find it elsewhere and we shall have in all Latin America the threat of European domination—a threat which constantly looms on the horizon and which has thus far been held ineffective because of the friendship, influence and fraternal relations which the A. F. of L. offers.

The agents of radical and revolutionary European organizations have been and are at work seeking to destroy among Latin American workers their confidence in the A. F. of L. and its constructive, democratic principles and policies. They have made little if any headway, but if the A. F. of L. were to withdraw, or even to diminish its interest and activity they would find a fertile field. The result of the domination of European radical and revolutionary philosophies among the labor movements of Latin America can only be imagined, but that it would be disastrous must be conceded.

In continuing our helpfulness in this direction we are holding the line for democracy throughout the New World and it is in no sense exaggerating to say that the effect of this great effort on future world history will be tremendous.

We have faith in our principles. We know that democracy offers the one hope for all workers and we feel

in duty bound to carry that faith and that hope to all who will listen. We recommend a continuance of our affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor and of all possible helpful activity in every opportunity for rendering assistance to the workers of Latin America and in every opportunity for developing understanding between the labor movements, the governments and peoples of all American Republics.

(p. 302) The A. F. of L. has sought from the formation of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, to inculcate in the minds and hearts of the delegates and representatives the transcendent importance of organization of the wage earners in the trade union movement, to encourage discipline, to urge trade union activity along constructive lines, to recognize the rights and liberties of all who give service in our joint collective movement to ameliorate the conditions of the workers and of all who give service in the effort to bring about better and better living and working conditions for all concerned.

The greatest effort was centered in Mexico. The A. F. of L. may well feel proud of its record of unselfish helpfulness and devotion so freely given to the exploited people of unhappy Mexico. We were not content to adopt high-sounding resolutions, but gave that service and advice calculated to help guide the workers of Mexico and to safeguard and make for constructive, fruitful operations.

(1925, pp. 223, 371) Report of resolutions adopted by the Pan-American Federation of Labor held in 1924 as reported by the delegates of the A. F. of L.:

"The Pan-American Federation of Labor was organized for the purpose of establishing liberty and justice for those who toil in industry, and to cement the bonds of fraternity which should unite the trade union move-

ments of the Western Hemisphere, and as the experience of the organizations composing this Federation has taught their respective members that the application of certain principles and policies is essential both to their welfare and that of this Federation

"In establishing those conditions for which we are united and in the application of our purposes and ideals, that we now declare and place upon our records those principles and policies which we consider fundamental.

"Political freedom and equality is the first step in giving liberty to those who toil, but this freedom and equality when achieved has not and cannot save the toiler from injustice and exploitation. Political institutions which enable free men to make the laws of the state which govern them, cannot serve all purposes or solve all human problems.

"So long as free men work for their daily bread, whether as employes in private industry or employes of the state, their status as workers will be determined by the strength, intelligence and activity of their economic organizations, more than by any other factor.

"The law may declare that men are free, but the existence of freedom will be found only among those who are determined to protect and to exercise this basic human right. The law may declare that industrial wrongs shall not exist, but the printed page is not sufficient. Those who toil must have within themselves the power to declare and decide that injustice shall cease. They have this power in the principles, policies and methods of the trade unions which compose the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

"We hold that the principle of self-government by free people and the principle of self-government in industry are one and identical, the first functioning through political institu-

tions and the second through those industrial institutions which trade union movements have established. Through these two institutions each acting within their proper sphere, civil and industrial democracy is made to function continuously, so that in civil life and in industry there shall be no rule, regulation, law or authority except by the consent of the governed.

"Men are not and cannot be truly free, regardless of their full measure of political liberty, unless industry presents an equal opportunity for self-expression and self-government.

"In the same manner that men established free political institutions so that tyrants could no longer exploit them, the trade union movement established an institution of industrial freedom which enables the men and women of labor to overcome and destroy tyranny in industry and establish in its place liberty, justice, equality and fair dealing between all those who participate in the production of wealth.

"We urge upon the affiliated organizations and upon the labor movement everywhere the importance of encouraging education and of self where there is ignorance. The more highly our civilization is developed, the greater education. It is a fundamental fact that democratic civilization cannot fully express it—insisting upon a full opportunity for education to every child and every adult worker. We are convinced that education cannot reach its fullest development until the representatives of our trade union movement participate in the development and administration of the inventive genius of our people, the more highly developed our industrial processes become, the necessity for greater knowledge and understanding on the part of the workers becomes more essential. Our movement cannot succeed in its

great purpose without well organized militant strength.

"It can not hope for success unless this militant strength is guided by a sound knowledge of the facts and the principles which must govern men, if equality of rights and justice is to prevail. We therefore declare it to be our solemn obligation to do all that lies within our power to foster and develop education through every legitimate channel available and to participate in the administration of public education and foster within our respective movements, in cooperation with this Pan-American Federation of Labor, educational services, which will enable the toiler to more thoroughly understand his problems.

"We regard as essential the extension of democracy in industry. We declare our unalterable opposition to interference in the problems of industry by forces outside of the industrial field and therefore incompetent to deal with its problems. We urge upon the labor movement everywhere the extension of the practice of negotiation between the workers and employers, and the entering into of collective agreements regulating the terms of employment. We hold this to be fundamental in the development of democracy in industry. We hold that in no other way can such democracy be established and developed.

"We declare our sincere desire to assist the trade union movements of all the countries and to maintain thoroughgoing, practical, fraternal relations with them.

"We hold it as a fundamental principle that the organized wage earners of each country are better qualified to determine the methods and policies most advantageous to them in extending the beneficial influences of their organization. We hold that there exists no right upon our part to interfere with the policies of the labor

movement of any country. We hold it equally true in principle and in practice that the labor movement of no other country has a right to interfere or attempt to interfere with the methods and the policies which we shall adopt for the strengthening and development of our trade union movement.

"Those from other countries who have endeavored to force their policies, programs, and principles upon us have worked greater injury than the most powerful combinations of anti-trade union employers in their efforts to rouse suspicion and division. Hiding behind the hypocritical mask of friendly interest they have striven to divide and discourage. To establish doctrinaire policies they have sought to destroy the trade union movement. They have sought to destroy institutions which they lacked and the constructive ability to create.

"In defense of our rights, in defense of the trade union movement which we have established, we pledge ourselves severally and jointly to resist with all of the vigor and the resources at our command any and every attempt on the part of some other labor movement to interfere openly or covertly with our affiliated organizations, or attempt to dictate or determine the policies which shall govern us.

"We now declare that it is essential to the success of this Pan-American Federation of Labor that its policies and programs should be established only through mutual agreement.

"This Federation has a right to existence only because it will be of practical service to the workers. The aim of this Federation must be to define and establish those principles, programs, procedures and tactics upon which full and cordial agreement can be secured. Nothing could be more destructive of our purposes and our ideals than to permit the spirit of

coercion and compulsion to enter into our deliberations and our conclusions. The great strength which this Federation can develop must exist wholly through the free consent of those who participate. There may be matters regarded as essential by some but not by all, and where such conditions arise, the final decision should be held in abeyance until understanding and experience have developed agreement among us. We are convinced that any attempt to force principles, policies or tactics upon minorities in an international federation of labor such as this must lead to the destruction of those fraternal bonds which now unite us. In like manner every attempt by minorities, through strategy or otherwise, to force their decisions upon majorities must be equally fatal.

"We do not base our hope upon theoretical doctrines or the doctrinaire.

"Our hope for today and the future is based upon the application of the principles and the methods of democracy, to the solution of all of the problems with which we are compelled to deal.

"These principles and policies can only be of practical value to the toilers when their trade union organizations have the strength to give them practical application. The success of this Federation will depend upon its ability to place these principles and policies into full effect. To accomplish this we must extend the influence of this Federation until it includes in its membership all those who toil. In the interests of human liberty and justice we call upon all wage earners of Pan-American countries to rally to the standards of trade unionism, to organize in unions of their trade and calling, to unite and solidify the forces of all wage earners, and under the banner of the Pan-American Federation of Labor advance the aspirations and enlarge the participation of

Labor in all lands in the movement to establish industrial justice. With the object of extending the beneficial influence of this Federation, we pledge ourselves to do all within our power to set into action a vigorous campaign of organization, and to give encouragement and be mutually helpful in carrying into effect this fixed determination."

(1926, p. 61) The Pan-American Federation of Labor has concentrated on what seemed of primary importance—strengthening its organization and rendering all possible assistance to workers of other countries in understanding the principles and procedure of trade unionism. In many Latin-American groups the labor movement is yet in formative stage. Much can be done by correspondence and this has been given faithful and resourceful attention. Plans are now in progress for the next convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Our affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor has been inspired by our desire to be helpful to the Latin-American organizations in such efforts as they may put forth to promote and advance their economic and industrial welfare. The formation of an effective labor movement in the Western Hemisphere is essential for proper consideration to human welfare in the formation of international policies and practices.

Our interest has been concerned purely with the welfare of wage earners of other countries. We have refrained from interference in the domestic and internal affairs of either Mexico or other Latin-American republics.

We have attempted to help other workers to understand the principles of trade unionism. Fundamental in trade unionism is the principle of trade or functional autonomy. Because we so firmly believe that those pri-

marily concerned must have the right to decide their own affairs, the A. F. of L. has scrupulously refrained from interference in the domestic and internal affairs of any organization affiliated to the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The principle of tolerance is so firmly embedded in our trade union practices, regardless of creed, nationality or race wage earners can unite for the promotion of mutual economic interests. But if matters which should be determined personally are injected into a movement based upon mutual-ity, cooperation for any purpose becomes impossible. Without tolerance the individual is denied his right to decide his religious affiliations. For these various reasons the A. F. of L. has not interfered in the difficult situation that developed in Mexico over religious policies. The Federation has not tried in any way whatsoever to intervene in this matter and has made absolutely no effort to influence the decisions of the Mexican Federation of Labor. We believe that the Mexican labor movement should exercise unrestricted authority to make decisions for Mexican labor and to adopt policies to be pursued in their labor problems. We believe that the principle of tolerance is the key to personal liberties and that the right of decision must lie with those immediately concerned. Obviously this principle must obtain in the policies of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. They have been scrupulously observed in our relations with Mexico.

There are many convincing evidences of the success which has attended the efforts of the A. F. of L. to influence the working people of Mexico and of the Latin-American republics in favor of A. F. of L. principles and trade union philosophy and trade union doctrines.

(1927, p. 38) The fifth congress of

the Pan-American Federation of Labor brought evidence that it is an established institution. In its infancy every institution is primarily dependent upon individuals. The Pan-American Federation of Labor has passed that period and has developed a personality of its own.

As was to be expected many matters with which the Pan-American Federation was at first occupied were largely political. Many Central and South American countries do not have stable governments and free speech and free press with their guarantees of freedom. Freedom of action is necessary for the development of a labor movement.

Although the Fifth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor considered many problems of political unfreedom, it expressed in very genuine terms its appreciation of the fact that its main mission is the promotion of trade unionism in Latin-America. The congress urged the development of information by which the Federation could check credentials and organizations in order to assure *bona fide* trade unionists for its work.

The last congress provided an opportunity for the delegation from each country to relate its major international difficulties, so that in effect it heard the voice of the peoples of those countries. Free from the limitations of official responsibilities, the envoys of the people gave information most important with regard to our Pan-American policies. The Pan-American Federation of Labor will be a power against imperialism and exploitation.

It seems definitely obvious that regional organizations and federations should bring together peoples in geographic areas representing a definite unity, and that such organizations might constitute units through which world organizations could be built.

There are definite cohesive ties that bind together the nations of the American continents, such as similarity in historic experience, geographic influences, interdependence of economic and commercial interests. These facts make important the development of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor in its last congress gave evidence that it had a definite role in promoting peace and good will between the peoples of Pan-America and that it was fitting itself to perform a constructive service.

(P. 98) The Fifth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor met in the E. C. room of the A. F. of L. July 18 and adjourned July 23, 1927. The following resolution, introduced by the A. F. of L. delegates, was unanimously adopted:

(P. 100)

Whereas—The Pan-American Federation of Labor was organized for the purpose of establishing liberty and justice for those who toil in industry, and to cement the bonds of fraternity which should unite the trade union movements of the Western Hemisphere, and as the experience of the organizations composing this Federation has taught their respective members that the application of certain principles and policies is essential both to their welfare and that of this Federation; therefore be it

Resolved—That in the establishing of those conditions for which we are united and in the application of our purposes and ideals, that we now declare and place upon our records those principles and policies which we consider fundamental.

Political freedom and equality are the first step in giving liberty to those who toil, but this freedom and equality when achieved have not and can-

not save the toiler from injustice and exploitation. Political institutions which enable free men to make the laws of the state which govern them, cannot serve all purposes or solve all human problems.

So long as free men work for their daily bread, whether as employes in private industry or employees of the state, their status as workers will be determined by the strength, intelligence and activity of their economic organizations, more than by any other factor.

The law may declare that men are free, but the existence of freedom will be found only among those who are determined to protect and to exercise this basic human right. The law may declare that industrial wrongs shall not exist, but the printed page is not sufficient. Those who toil must have within themselves the power to declare and decide that injustice shall cease. They have this power in the principles, policies and methods of the trade unions which compose the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

We hold that the principle of self-government by free people and the principle of self-government in industry are one and identical, the first functioning through political institutions and the second through those industrial institutions which trade union movements have established. Through these two institutions, each acting within their proper sphere, civil and industrial democracy is made to function continuously, so that in civil life and in industry there shall be no rule, regulation, law or authority except by the consent of the governed.

Men are not and cannot be truly free, regardless of their full measure of political liberty, unless industry presents an equal opportunity for self-expression and self-government.

In the same manner that men established free political institutions so

that tyrants could not longer exploit them, the trade union movement established an institution of industrial freedom which enables the men and women of Labor to overcome and destroy tyranny in industry and establish in its place liberty, justice, equality and fair dealing between all those who participate in the production of wealth.

We urge upon the affiliated organizations and upon the labor movement everywhere the importance of encouraging education and of insisting upon a full opportunity for education to every child and every adult worker. We are convinced that education cannot reach its fullest development until the representatives of our trade union movement participate in the development and administration of education. It is a fundamental fact that democratic civilization cannot fully express itself where there is ignorance. The more highly our civilization is developed, the greater the inventive genius of our people, the more highly developed our industrial processes become, the necessity for greater knowledge and understanding on the part of the workers becomes more essential. Our movement cannot succeed in its great purpose without well organized militant strength.

It cannot hope for success unless this militant strength is guided by a sound knowledge of the facts and the principles which must govern men, if equality of rights and justice is to prevail. We, therefore, declare it to be our solemn obligation to do all that lies within our power to foster and develop education through every legitimate channel available and to participate in the administration of public education and foster within our respective movements, in cooperation with this Pan-American Federation of Labor educational services which will enable the toiler to understand his problems more thoroughly.

We regard as essential the extension of democracy in industry. We declare our unalterable opposition to interference in the problems of industry by forces outside of the industrial field and therefore incompetent to deal with its problems. We urge upon the labor movement everywhere the extension of the practice of negotiation between the workers and employers, and the entering into collective agreements regulating the terms of employment. We hold this to be fundamental in the development of democracy in industry. We hold that in no other way can such democracy be established and developed.

We declare our sincere desire to assist the trade union movements of all the countries and to maintain thorough-going, practical, fraternal relations with them.

We hold it as a fundamental principle that the organized wage earners of each country are better qualified to determine the methods and policies most advantageous to them in extending the beneficial influences of their organization. We hold that there exists no right upon our part to interfere with the policies of the labor movement of any country. We hold it equally true in principle and practice that the labor movement of no other country has a right to interfere or attempt to interfere with the methods and the policies which we shall adopt for the strengthening and development of our trade union movement.

Those from other countries who have endeavored to force their policies, programs and principles upon us have worked greater injury than the most powerful combinations of anti-trade union employers in their efforts to rouse suspicion and division. Hiding behind the hypocritical mask of friendly interest they have striven to divide and discourage. To establish doctrinaire policies they have sought to destroy the trade union movement.

They have sought to destroy institutions which they lacked the constructive ability to create.

In defense of our rights, in defense of the trade union movement which we have established, we pledge ourselves severally and jointly to resist with all of the vigor and the resources at our command any and every attempt on the part of some other labor movement to interfere openly or covertly with our affiliated organizations, or attempt to dictate or determine the policies which shall govern us.

We now declare that it is essential to the success of this Pan-American Federation of Labor that its policies and program should be established only through mutual agreement.

This Federation has a right to existence only because it will be of practical service to the workers. The aim of this Federation must be to define and establish those principles, programs, procedures and tactics upon which full and cordial agreement can be secured. Nothing could be more destructive of our purposes and our ideals than to permit the spirit of coercion and compulsion to enter into our deliberations and our conclusions. The great strength which this Federation can develop must exist wholly through the free consent of those who participate. There may be matters regarded as essential by some but not by all, and where such conditions arise, the final decision should be held in abeyance until understanding and experience have developed agreement among us. We are convinced that any attempt to force principles, policies or tactics upon minorities in an international federation of labor such as this must lead to the destruction of those fraternal bonds which now unite us. In like manner every attempt by minorities, through strategy or otherwise, to force their decisions upon majorities must be equally fatal.

We do not base our hope upon theoretical doctrines or the doctrinaire.

Our hope for today and the future is based upon the application of the principles and the methods of democracy, to the solution of all of the problems with which we are compelled to deal.

These principles and policies can only be of practical value to the toilers when their trade union organizations have the strength to give them practical application. The success of this Federation will depend upon its ability to place these principles and policies into full effect. To accomplish this we must extend the influence of this Federation until it includes in its membership all those who toil. In the interests of human liberty and justice we call upon all wage earners of Pan-American countries to rally to the standards of trade unionism, to organize in unions of their trade and calling, to unite and solidify the forces of all wage earners, and under the banner of the Pan-American Federation of Labor advance the aspirations and enlarge the participation of Labor in all lands in the movement to establish industrial justice. With this object of extending the beneficial influence of this Federation we pledge ourselves to do all within our power to set into action a vigorous campaign of organization, and to give encouragement and be mutually helpful in carrying into effect this fixed determination.

(1928, p. 339) The wage earners of Central and South America have been and are now struggling under social and economic conditions born of centuries of oppression and repression with no rights, liberties or freedom of action obtained or granted them. Their opportunities to obtain an education and gain knowledge were limited. Organization in trade unions was and is limited and in many cases denied. Under these conditions wages

were and are miserably small and hours correspondingly long and burdensome.

The A. F. of L. found under these circumstances a fertile field to lend its assistance and helpfulness in organizing these workers into trade unions. Helpful efforts were first directed to organize local unions and national and international unions in the various countries in Pan-America. Ten years ago the Pan-American Federation of Labor was formed. Rapid improvement has since that time taken place in the lives of the wage earners. Stronger and better manhood and correspondingly better social and living conditions have resulted. Greater justice, freedom and equality are taking the place of industrial and productive serfdom, all of which has resulted in the extension to and covering all lines of production, trade and commerce, finance, and the social, material and political welfare of the people in general.

The thoughts herein expressed are spoken in a friendly fraternal spirit with the hope that our longer and fuller experience may be of some value to our fellow workers in Central and South America in advancing their economic, social and material well-being. We recognize that these people have their own problems based upon environment, climate and past traditions with which they are in a position to judge for themselves what should be done and how best to do it.

(1928, pp. 94, 340) Since the Pan-American Federation of Labor was organized by the A. F. of L. ten years ago, there has been a growing realization that closer political, industrial and social relations should exist between the peoples and the labor organizations of the Western Hemisphere. The Pan-American Federation of Labor is being developed to deal with matters and policies of far-reaching impor-

tance to human relations in Latin-American countries.

Those countries already know financial, industrial and commercial enterprises, from our country. Our American investors have been interested in the exploitation and development of the natural resources of the Latin-American countries. Our industries are seeking Latin-American markets.

We believe that commercial and industrial purposes should not be permitted to dominate Pan-American internal relations and therefore we have urged and continue to urge that all groups of people and especially Labor should be represented in all international conferences and congresses that determine policies and agencies for handling Pan-American affairs.

Our A. F. of L. seeks to bring to Latin-American countries the idealism and the humanism of our people. The one hope for release for oppressed peoples is through the extension of the labor movement. The trade union movement is basically economic but there can be no free functioning economic movement in Latin-America until political despotism has been removed.

Therefore, the A. F. of L. urges at this time that a special effort be made for the continuation of the policy to draw the workers of the North, Central and South American countries more closely together in fraternal relationship, for their mutual advancement and protection.

(Pp. 95, 341) A great deal of correspondence has been received and answered through the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Most of the labor representatives of all the Latin-American countries have kept in constant communication regarding national and international questions and Labor events, especially those referring to Mexico, Cuba, San Salvador,

Guatemala, Panama and other countries. Comprehensive reports in the interest of these nations have been sent broadcast to all the Labor centers of the Western Hemisphere and Europe. The presidents of various Latin-American republics have agreed to create in their countries departments of labor, dedicated to promoting and fostering the welfare of the masses of the producers of each country.

We are informed that it is not the intention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to hold its sixth convention in July of next year, as was scheduled. Instead, it will be arranged to hold the sixth convention in February of the year 1930 in Havana, Cuba. Meanwhile, the relations of the A. F. of L. with the labor movements of the various Pan-American countries are being continued in the most friendly and helpful manner.

(1929, pp. 108, 395) The convention call for the Sixth Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention laid down the following fundamental principles which are the basis of our aims, activities, and relations with the labor movements throughout the Americas:

We hold this to be fundamental—no relations between the Pan-American countries can be permanent that are not based upon the will of the masses of the people and in accord with their concepts of justice.

We deem it an essential step toward democracy and justice that there shall be established for the masses who have hitherto been without regular agencies for expressing their views and desires, opportunities that will enable them to have a voice in helping and determining international affairs.

The labor movements of the various countries constitute the instrumentalities that can best accomplish

this purpose and give expression to national ideas and convictions that have been too long inarticulate and impotent.

In the past years we have followed very closely these principles and we have had the gratification of obtaining the confidence of almost all the labor movements south of the United States. It has been a hard task for the Pan-American Federation of Labor to have its aims and purposes known and understood in Latin countries of the Western Hemisphere. There have been many forces put into action to try to undermine our influence in these countries.

Our desire is to help working people in these countries. Through a resolution approved in the Fifth Congress we have been able to bring about the creation of bureaus or departments of labor in Costa Rica and El Salvador. In Chile, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Peru we have interested the governments in the establishment of these departments and they have the matter under consideration. In Cuba a sub-commission to study labor problems has been created.

It has always been the wish of the officials of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to send a commission to the Pan-American countries in order to be in closer contact with the labor organizations of these countries and to find the most convenient way to help them. We have had requests from all of the countries concerned to send this commission.

(1931, pp. 147, 477) By a demonstration of intelligent friendship and by continued explanation of its principles and objectives, the A. F. of L. won thousands of workers into a fraternal family of mutual trust and co-operation that laid the foundations upon which the Pan-American Federation of Labor was built and that has

held our movement in close relationship ever since.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor has been in existence now for more than twelve years. Its principles, its policies and its good name are known throughout Latin America. For various reasons which have seemed unsurmountable it has been compelled to proceed slowly, often without the aggressiveness necessary to real progress and development.

A special report of 38 typewritten pages in Spanish was sent to over 300 labor centers, labor papers and dailies throughout the American continent and Europe. The report contains besides the activities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, an exact description of the thought, ideals and spirit of the A. F. of L. The primary objective of this special report is to show once more the spirit that prevails in the A. F. of L. conventions, its resolutions and actions, representative of the organized labor movement of the United States. The report was sent broadcast, for the benefit of the labor centers throughout the Latin American Republics.

The report also contains a substantial history of the A. F. of L. and the account of the "contemporaneous labor tragedy" together with the best selections of the various addresses and statement made in the convention in defense of the noble cause of Labor that gives the greatest credit to the responsible leaders of the Federation.

Correspondence received from all the labor centers showed the appreciation for this report and many Labor and other papers have published the same.

Labor centers of two nations, Cuba and Venezuela, have requested us lately to make representations in Washington to get some kind of civil intervention on the part of the U.S.,

in the affairs of those countries, meaning to formulate a strong protest against its rulers.

Of course, some of the Latin-American governments are despotic and autocratic. The Pan-American Federation of Labor has been always ready to emphasize the rights of the peoples and to secure for them economic, political and social freedom. At the same time the Pan-American Federation of Labor has endeavored by every honorable means and within the limits of the powers derived, voluntarily associated every effort to secure the cooperation of the various governments of Pan-America to firmly establish the principles of protection and liberty of their own peoples.

The working people of North America besides have given to the Pan-American Federation of Labor wholehearted, personal and collective support to obtain social justice and political freedom for the workers. Unfortunately and very recently, social and political unrest arising out of widespread military revolutions and otherwise, have created a very exceptional condition that prevents the Pan-American Federation of Labor from following the requests of these labor centers that are suffering oppression and tyranny.

Requests for help coming from almost every labor center of Latin America are being addressed to the A. F. of L., in the hope that through the instrumentality of organized labor the United States will oppose dictatorships and all forms of oppressive governments.

Our generous attitude in defense of the oppressed peoples has created among them a feeling of trust in the A. F. of L., and has given it such prestige and reputation that from time to time in the past 12 years the representatives of the working peoples of several Latin American re-

publics have come to Washington requesting the moral support of the American Federation of Labor in the protection of the civil rights of those peoples as against oppression and injustice.

In regard to the holding of the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor some time in the near future, favorable answers have been already received from Mexico, Cuba, Venezuela, Guatemala, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Chile, Honduras, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Ecuador and lately the Railroad Brotherhood of Argentina for the first time says as follows:

With regard to the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor we are glad to let you know that it is our desire to participate in such a great assembly. It would greatly facilitate the sending of our delegates to know with enough time in advance the date when the congress is to be held. We will appreciate it if you communicate these facts to us.

In conclusion, there is a combined service to humanity and to our own country and its institutions that can be done by the Pan-American Federation of Labor in helping these great masses to achieve real freedom. For, in bringing Labor to a position of freedom and dignity we offset the exploitation of capitalists and help to still the cry that only exploitation comes from the United States. Such work promotes good will for America and for the great idealistic concepts of the masses of the American people.

(P. 477) Latin-American countries, largely producers of raw materials, have been acutely affected by the world-wide fall of prices and financial difficulties. Revolution and political unrest have added to economic depression. In some countries the labor movement and its leaders have been

wiped out. The labor movement in many countries has been the instrumentality which has sought to secure for the common people those political rights, economic and civil liberties that are necessary for the advancement of the well being of the workers and for raising the general standards of living.

In this situation we commend the responsible officials of the Pan-American Federation of Labor for their wisdom in proceeding slowly. Individual countries must first restore the normal agencies for progress before it is possible for a coordinated movement to function constructively and effectively.

We note, with approval, the circulation throughout Latin-American countries of a report explaining the principles and policies of trade unionism. We believe that such educational methods and exchange of counsel will be a constructive force in the development of national labor movements. The majority of Latin-American workers have yet to make the transition from agricultural work to industrial employment and from the spirit and practices of an effort to establish freedom to the utilization of the opportunities and responsibilities of practical freedom.

The Pan-American Federation is dedicated to the advancement of social justice and economic and political freedom of the workers of our two continents. While the Pan-American Federation of Labor can give its moral support to workers struggling against oppression and injustice, it must act with appreciation and respect for the sovereignty and responsibility of each nation. Within the limits of voluntary cooperation expressed by our movement, support and encouragement have been given to movements for political freedom.

We commend the officers of the A.

F. of L. for their procedure with reference to requests for civil intervention in political struggles in specific countries. While our sympathies are with every movement for human freedom, we recognize that civil intervention is inseparable for political intervention. We furthermore approve a policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of Latin-American countries by the Government of the United States.

(1932, p. 115)—Our relations with the various labor movements of Latin-American nations through the Pan-American Federation of Labor have continued to be mutually satisfactory. We have been able to be helpful in numerous occasions, more than justifying our participation in the Pan-American Federation of Labor and offering conclusive reasons for its continuance and enlargement.

It has not been possible to hold a convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor during recent years owing to existing economic conditions, continued political revolutions, and military uprisings that have taken place.

Through the Pan-American Federation of Labor we have consistently sought to develop understanding between the masses of the people of our own country and the countries to the south. We are convinced that our efforts have been fruitful.

Notwithstanding the special and economic conditions in which the Pan-American Federation of Labor is developing its activities, we are doing everything possible to help our brothers below the Rio Grande and to interest and induce the workingmen of the various Pan-American countries to organize, to federate nationally, and to combine and affiliate internationally.

It is also true that the lack of

strength of the labor organizations and the recent reactionary and military revolutions and political disturbances in various countries have completely absorbed in many cases the sentiments and moral authority of the labor movements to defend themselves against new reactions and new military powers.

For years the A. F. of L. has advocated a closer relationship between the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. The Panama Canal opened new trade routes, new markets, and, therefore, new industrial and commercial opportunities, and with them the necessity for closer ideals of solidarity and cooperation.

If as a nation we have a true conception of the value of human life, we ought to make human relations of chief concern in all our plans. The Pan-American Federation of Labor was created to stand for human welfare and human rights among the various countries of the Western Hemisphere. It always has helped in the battles of the weak and cleared the path for progress in order that all the toilers of Pan-America may join in the forward movement toward freedom.

We deem it wise to urge at the present time the continuation of special efforts and policies to draw together more closely in fraternal relationship the workers of the North and South American continents.

Through the Pan-American Federation of Labor efforts have been put forth to assist and to help the labor movements in Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Santa Domingo and other Latin-American countries. Assistance and advice have been given the representatives of organized labor in these Pan-American countries through correspondence which passed between their representatives and the president and secretary of the Pan-American Fed-

eration of Labor. Such assistance and help will be continued through personal contact and correspondence on the part of the representatives of the labor organizations affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor and the officers of said organizations.

(P. 438) Military and political revolutions, together with economic depression prevailing in various countries of Pan-America have added to the oppression and tyranny to which Labor in South America is subjected. Labor in many countries is being denied the right to properly organize in trade unions or to strike to acquire economic justice, and to otherwise gain civil rights.

Some of these people suffering from oppression have requested in the name of humanity, that the Pan-American Federation of Labor should suggest and foster good will and promote civil intervention from the people of the U.S. in order to promote the establishment of justice and freedom in their respective countries.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor has attempted, to the best of its ability, to respond to these and other appeals presented to it. In this regard attention is directed to the fact that while on the one side there has been conducted venomous propaganda on the part of combined big interests against the good will and sentiments for liberation felt by organized labor of the U.S. in behalf of those oppressed people; on the other side these same combined big interests have secured for themselves a free hand in the economic and political destinies of Pan-American countries of South America, doing it to further their own interests, at the expense of the people and the prestige of the nation.

The E.C. is directed to continue to render every possible assistance and service to the wage earners and their

trade unions in all Pan-American countries.

(1933, pp. 136, 539) The thought underlying the establishment and maintenance of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, has very many high purposes and high aspirations for the protection and promotion of the rights, interests and the welfare of the masses of the people of all Pan-American countries.

The success of this great movement, the permanency of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, depends, first, on the protection of the rights of humanity, the promotion of the welfare of the wage earners, the producing masses of our respective countries in all the Americas; on exerting our moral influence and our citizens' rights, that the rights of the people in our respective countries shall be protected; and upon the establishment of good will among the peoples of our respective countries, and upon our doing all that lies in our power in our own country to prevent tyranny and oppression imposed upon other peoples by their own governments and ours.

It is indeed very regrettable that owing to the general economic depression, the affiliated labor centers of Pan-America, though in great need of solidarity and help from the labor movement, have not been able in the past to finance a representative delegation that could have visited the most important labor centers of the Pan-American countries, to explain the ideals and obligations of close cooperation between the affiliated labor movements. It is more than certain that if such good-will delegation had made that visit, a better understanding of cooperation could have been obtained, the labor solidarity affecting both hemispheres would have been closer, and substantial results obtained. We have been in constant correspondence with all the labor

centers and have assisted them whenever it was possible to do so.

Owing to the resolutions approved in the past, the office of the Pan-American Federation of Labor was prevented from taking action on protests from Cuban organizations which denounced the political tyranny and oppression existing in that country and from asking for a civil or moral intervention.

The office of the Pan-American Federation of Labor has been ready at all times to render all possible services in behalf of affiliated organizations of Cuba.

The Railroad Brotherhood of Cuba requested our support in their efforts for the modification of the railway and street railway pension law, which had been approved by the Senate of Cuba but not by the House of Representatives. The railroad workers claimed that the Cuban Electric and Gas Company was opposing the passage of the law and using all its influence to defeat it in the House. According to the statement of the Railroad Brotherhood the law would protect 20,000 persons who are widows, orphans and invalids.

The president of the A. F. of L. addressed an important communication to the Railroad Brotherhood, which was made public in the newspapers of Cuba, condemning the tactics of the Cuban Electric and Gas Company. He said in part:

My impression is that such a legislative measure should have the whole-hearted support of the Congress of Cuba to do justice and help the great mass of workingmen of your island.

We hope that the members of the House of Representatives will become aware of the relief that this measure will bring to their people and following the example of the Senate unanimously approve the same.

The "Free Union of Cigar Makers" with headquarters in Havana, Cuba, stated the following:

We are enthusiastic and decided admirers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and it is our most desired ideal to be affiliated with your organization, which joins the U.S. labor movement with Latin American labor organizations with common ties of mutual affinity and affection and the same views with regard to labor problems and their solution.

In the near future we hope to form a new federation and it is our wish to become part of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The Mexican Federation of Labor informed us that a so-called Chamber of Labor had been created in Mexico, led by men who were expelled from the Federation, whose principal aim was to disrupt the Mexican Federation of Labor and build a new international organization of the Latin-American labor movements in opposition to the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

In this connection the Mexican Federation of Labor informed us that the Chamber of Labor, through its influence with the national revolutionary party, was seeking the appointment of one of its members to represent the workingmen of Mexico at the Labor Conference of Geneva.

The Mexican Federation of Labor requested the officials of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to meet the representatives of the International Labor Office who visited Washington and informed them of the situation of the labor movement in Mexico. The president and secretary of the A. F. of L. conferred with the representatives on the matter and they promised to cooperate with the workingmen of Mexico in order to bring about an harmonious settlement

of the question of the nomination of the delegate to the International Labor Conference.

Nevertheless, Mr. Elias F. Hurtado was appointed representative of the labor movement of Mexico to the conference in spite of the objections of the Mexican Federation of Labor, on the ground that Mr. Hurtado did not represent the *bona fide* labor movement of Mexico.

(P. 536) We regret that the great depression, world-wide in its effect, has hampered the development of Pan-American labor relations during the year and that the sending of a mission through the Latin-American nations has not thus far been possible.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor stands as a symbol of freedom for the masses of the people of the nations on these two continents. It is an inspiration to the workers of this hemisphere. This hemisphere, we declare, is at this time the world's refuge for freedom and for the orderly working out of the destinies of peoples through democracy. The Pan-American Federation of Labor is the leader in the expression of this idealism throughout Pan-America, as the A. F. of L is the leader in that respect in the U.S. and Canada.

The officers and E.C. of the A. F. of L. will do all in their power to assist the Pan-American Federation of Labor and we commend them for their past endeavors. There is altogether too much industrial and political oppression remaining.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor can and should play a vital part in the development of understanding and of good relations between the peoples of this hemisphere, striving everywhere to destroy the evil operations of greed and exploitation. It stands in the minds of millions and it is in truth the enemy of exploitation, the enemy of Fascism

and the enemy of Bolshevism. It stands for freedom and for democracy, for the rights of the wage earners, and for the lifting of their lives to new and ever higher levels.

We call attention to the forthcoming Pan-American Congress of Governmental Representatives to be held in Uruguay and to urge upon the E.C. continued efforts to secure labor representation on the delegation which will represent the Government of the U.S. These congresses must, we feel, become much more than congresses to deal with financial relations and with property interests. Their scope should be broadened that they may deal with great and grave social issues, in which only the workers can speak with understanding and authority. We urge that immediate steps be taken, as they have been taken prior to past congresses, to secure the appointment of labor representatives on the U.S. delegation.

Finally, we urge upon all delegates and upon our movement generally a continuous study of Pan-American affairs, so that we may understand the peoples of our sister nations and that we may develop a true unity of spirit and idealism with the workers of those nations. It is not too much to say that in every forward movement throughout Latin America in the last fifteen years the Pan-American Federation of Labor has been regarded as its spokesman and guide toward the achievement of the aims and objectives that characterize wage earners' movements everywhere.

(1934, pp. 169, 725) The Pan-American Federation of Labor has continued whenever possible to lend its helpful assistance to the labor movements of the Latin American countries.

We find that great interest has been aroused in the labor circles of these countries by the National Recovery

Act. The press of Latin America has widely publicized its development and ultimate effects on both labor and industry.

Cuba achieved political freedom through the overthrow of political autocracy. During the political despotism of President Gerardo Machado Cuba had no open, free labor movement. Assassinations, oppressions and imprisonments had been reported to the Pan-American Federation of Labor by labor leaders. Many labor leaders disappeared or were killed. Though this information reached us, we were powerless to help those afflicted for they would have suffered worse fate if the charges made had been given to the public. We knew that the people of Cuba would work out their own salvation. They did; and now, with the new freedom achieved, Cuba will be able to build up a great trade union movement. Already, communications received from our affiliated groups in Cuba express hope for better and greater things to be attained through the medium of labor organization.

We hope that the President of Cuba will look forward and will see his way clear to encourage the workers to organize for their mutual peace and benefit.

The Mexican Federation of Labor extended cordial invitations to the A. F. of L. and the Pan-American Federation of Labor to attend its twelfth convention. Previous engagements prevented us from attending.

Nicaragua is thriving under a democratic government. Under the able direction of the President of the Republic, Dr. Juan B. Sacasa, Nicaragua again will be able to progress socially and economically. This progress will benefit directly the masses of the people. Labor will again reorganize and federate. It will be recalled at this time that in 1926 we

lent our sincere cooperation to Dr. Sacasa at the time when General Emiliano Chamorro was holding illegally the Presidency of the Republic, which he attained through a *coup d'etat*. Dr. Sacasa, who was then Vice-President of the Republic, had to flee from the country. He came to Washington to present a statement of facts to the Department of State with regard to the real situation of Nicaragua. Dr. Sacasa in a communication to our President stated:

With great satisfaction I have read in the press the interest that your important Federation has shown in the actual affairs of my country, and in the name of the people of Nicaragua I am glad to express to you my profound gratitude.

The agents of radical and revolutionary European organizations are still seeking to destroy the confidence which Latin American workers have in the A. F. of L. In Brazil, Cuba, Colombia, Uruguay and other countries, their propaganda is carried on in a subversive manner. The result of the domination of European radical and revolutionary philosophies among the labor movements of Latin America can only be imagined; but that it would be disastrous must be conceded.

Labor leaders from Colombia, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Honduras, Haiti and Santo Domingo are endeavoring to reorganize the labor masses. During these years of depression, the labor movements in Latin American countries have been more or less in a stagnant state.

The Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor is still postponed. Labor organizations from Colombia and Chile have stated in communications that they would like the Congress to be held in their respective countries. Cuba was selected

by the last Congress as the meeting place for the Sixth Congress.

(1935, pp. 160, 719) The Pan-American Federation of Labor was originally founded for the advancement of the common interests of the workers in every nation upon the American continent. In carrying out these purposes we are interested in raising the standard of life and living among working people. We wish to encourage the workers represented in the Pan-American Federation of Labor to mobilize and develop their economic strength so that it may be intelligently and constructively used in furthering their general common welfare in the interest of the men, women and children dependent upon the working people of all Pan-American countries. In this respect we differ from those Pan-American organizations formed for the purpose of promoting commercial enterprises, for the purpose of exercising financial and corporate power in an attempt to exploit the resources of nations.

We are interested in the human element in every nation and in every country upon the American continent. We want to serve in such a way as to promote the intellectual, the spiritual and the moral well-being of Pan-American men and women.

Not only have we in mind economic freedom, the exercise of the right to organize, but we also have in mind the exercise of all other phases of freedom and liberty that are the inherent right of every man and woman in all the countries of the world. Men must be industrially free, intellectually free and politically free. In this respect the organized labor movement stands fairly and squarely upon these fundamental principles. There must be freedom of the press. The press in every country must be free, free to publish such articles as are not libelous, such articles as may be educational and helpful,

even though they may meet with the opposition of special interests.

At the request of the government of Chile, the International Labor Office is planning a regional conference to be held in Santiago, Chile, within the coming year. In this conference issues and problems of the International Labor Office are to be discussed and the nations which are members of the International Labor Office will be invited to participate. The nations of Latin-America have rarely availed themselves of their opportunity to send a full delegation to Geneva. Inasmuch as the industrial development within these nations is coming rather rapidly, it is necessary to establish good labor standards in these countries so that their output will not come into the world market to the disadvantage of those countries where higher standards prevail. The fundamental purpose of the conference is to create a more understanding interest in the work of the International Labor Office and to insure more representative participation. The Chilean conference is in no way in conflict with the activities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The affiliated labor centers of Pan-America have been and are in great need of moral solidarity and mutual help from the labor movement, but we have not been able in the past to finance a representative delegation that could have visited the most important labor centers of the Pan-American countries, to develop and strengthen close cooperation in the defense of our common cause between the affiliated labor movements. It is certain that if such good-will delegation had made that visit, a better understanding of cooperation could have been obtained, the labor solidarity affecting both hemispheres would have been closer, and substantial results obtained. But American labor representatives never had the opportunity

to go further than Mexico, Cuba and Puerto Rico. We have been in constant correspondence with all the labor centers and have assisted them whenever it was possible to do so.

A situation of real unrest exists in Cuba. President Carlos Mendieta has been making every effort, so far as we can determine, to give the nation sound government and to rebuild its shattered economic fortunes. But he faces an almost impossible task, as far as the immediate future is concerned.

The Cuban government is confronted with a grave economic situation concerning the wage earning masses. This condition has created a situation dangerous to *bona fide* labor aspirations and to the government. We cannot fail to be concerned about the outlook for trade unionism.

The E.C. in considering the question of the possibility of holding the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in the near future, maintains that considering the financial condition of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and its constituent bodies, the opinion unanimously prevailed that the Pan-American Federation of Labor is not prepared to hold a convention at the present time.

(1936, p. 196) The spirit of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, a Federation founded for the advancement and defense of the workers in every nation of the American continent, is living in the souls of hundreds of thousands of wage earners who hope that their big brother, the A. F. of L., might perform the miracle, and relieve them of the oppressive and tyrannical dictators and employers who are exploiting and preying upon the workers' helpless position, and who also are being sustained by their own imposed governments.

The circular letter sent in Febru-

ary, 1936, to all the labor centers of the Latin American countries upon the holding of the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, received enthusiastic response from the labor organizations of Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Venezuela, Mexico, and Cuba. In these countries the workers feel the need for discussion of their problems in organization, unemployment and legislation with their brother workers in other countries.

In a few of these countries, unfortunately, oppressive tactics are still used by the government to smother workers' organizations. The Pan-American Federation of Labor has tried through correspondence and public statements, at the request of these workers' organizations, to bring to the government officials and public opinion the plight of the workers.

Workers are still suffering persecution and oppression in Cuba, according to the reports received from labor sources. It is reported there are two hundred "political prisoners" still in prison, in spite of the fact that the Congress approved an amnesty law. The President of the A. F. of L. made an earnest request through the Ambassador from Cuba to the Cuban government in behalf of the workers of Cuba asking for complete amnesty for political prisoners and freedom for workers organizations. The workers have asked our cooperation in their efforts to abrogate Decree Law No. 3, regulating strikes, which in reality is a law practically abolishing the right to strike and the right to organize, cessation of intervention of military authorities in labor matters, reorganization of the Department of Labor, and selection of men to head the Department with genuine knowledge of labor problems, and granting amnesty to all strike-law violators.

The labor movement in the Dominican Republic has been practically wiped out. The former affiliate of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the Dominican Confederation of Labor, is no longer in existence. The country is now under the dictatorship of General Rafael L. Trujillo, who is charged with antagonism toward any form of organization of workers. It is impossible for labor leaders to organize workers. The government has forced agricultural and industrial workers to return to work after striking for higher wages.

From Venezuela the report came that with the end of the era of oppression under the late General Vicente Gomez, labor leaders are looking hopefully to the organization of a strong labor movement. It is gratifying to know that at last Venezuela is free of tyranny and oppression and that workers will again resume their normal rights in the economic and social life of the republic.

In Colombia, the Tropical Company, whose parent is the Standard Oil Company, is carrying on terroristic activities against workers identified with trade unions. The organized labor movement of Colombia is fully aware of the importance of holding the Sixth Congress at the present time, and has earnestly appealed to the Pan-American Federation of Labor to select a date in the very near future.

The organizations in the western hemisphere are still hopeful that the Pan-American Federation of Labor will send a representative mission of good will to all the important labor centers in those countries which will culminate in the celebration of a representative Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

It is expected that labor delegates will be invited to attend the next Pan-American Conference which will

be held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in the very near future. At the Sixth International Conference held in Havana, February 7, 1928, the following motion, introduced by the Mexican delegation, was approved:

The Sixth International Conference of American States recommends to the governing board of the Pan-American Union, that it shall include as a topic of coming conferences, beginning with the Seventh Conference, for their study and resolution, the problems relative to the material improvement of workmen, their standard of living and the standards of living in the states of the American continent.

(P. 688) As an affiliate of the Pan-American Federation of Labor we pledge to it our continued support and we send, through it, our warning to dictatorship, whether Fascist, Naziist or Communist, our warnings that there must be no encroachment upon the free nations of the Americas, for in the Americas freedom must find its permanent home.

To the oppressed of those nations which are for the time being undergoing oppression, including Haiti, Colombia and the Dominican Republic, we send fraternal greetings and the message that freedom must come. We shall not forsake our pledges nor forget our ideals. America, North and South, must mean freedom and a challenge to tyranny everywhere.

We concur in the A. F. of L.'s report and we do so with a pride in its stern adherence to the libertarian idealism with which it has carried forward the battle for human freedom and justice.

This convention records its commendation of the mission of the President of the U.S. to the Pan-American Conference in Buenos Aires, to further the cause of international un-

derstanding in the Western Hemisphere; it should prove of help in the furtherance of peace and good will among the other nations of the world. It is our hope further that at the Buenos Aires Conference consideration can be given to the "material standards of the workers, their standard of living in the states of the American Continent," as proposed in the Sixth Labor Conference held at Havana in 1928.

(1938, pp. 199, 524) We should consider the immediate advisability of reorganizing the Pan-American Federation of Labor, as an instrumentality of labor unity and best understanding among the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

Many of the so-called free governments of Central and South America deny the laboring man freedom to organize and better his working conditions. Indeed these governments can claim very little of freedom and democracy, and in fact are no less oppressive than military dictatorships.

It is therefore imperative and necessary that the experience in labor problems, the principles and methods of the A. F. of L., be extended to our less fortunate brothers below the Rio Grande, even in those countries utterly revolutionary or reactionary.

Free labor movements cannot be distinguished by correspondence alone and therefore the Pan-American Federation of Labor should send an exploratory commission to ascertain where and which are the free labor movements in all these countries even in the lands of the most tyrannical of the dictators.

Then, when the commission becomes satisfied as to how many free labor movements there are and where they are, we should proceed immediately to call the Sixth Convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to band, strengthen and revive the la-

bor movements of the three Americas.

Raising the standard of living of the workingmen in all these countries to the American level is what the Pan-American Federation of Labor is striving for. However, before this can be accomplished, a strong and sane labor movement has to be organized in each country, in order that it may fight successfully its own labor problems.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor should render all possible and effective assistance, cooperation and guidance to these workers in the organization of their own labor movements.

(1939, p. 224) In accordance with recommendations of the last Convention and the E.C. of the American Federation of Labor, President Green called a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor which was held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor last May.

The Committee held two sessions to give consideration to the distinctive problems of each country and the situation of the labor movements in the Western Hemisphere. Consideration and study were given to all matters concerned with the well-being of all those peoples.

The paramount question, most carefully considered, was to ascertain what were the best methods to pursue to effect the reorganization of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The organized working people of the United States are firmly convinced that cordial and friendly relations can be established and maintained between all countries represented in the Pan-American Federation of Labor through the development of a perfect and sincere understanding of all the labor movements of the Western Hemisphere.

The working people in the Pan-

American countries should be guaranteed the right to organize and to cooperate within their respective countries in the furtherance of their legitimate, social, industrial and economic interests. The right of free speech, free assemblage and free press should not be abridged. Liberty, democracy and justice should triumph over autocracy and unfreedom in any form.

After careful consideration and discussion of the aforesaid subject it was recommended by President Green and unanimously approved that a general and careful survey should be carried on throughout the most important labor centers of the twenty South American republics to know their actual standing on the principles and activities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The work is to be started by correspondence and followed by a representative commission to those countries.

After such a survey has been made a call will be issued to hold the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, to perfect the organization, to improve fundamental and important cultural standards of life and labor of the masses of the people, in all those countries.

All suggestions were approved by those present, giving the President the power to decide regarding the proper time and best way to carry out the recommendations adopted.

(1939, p. 678) At this time of world crisis it is inevitable that both movements and nations should look to their own defenses. As the twenty-one nations which make up the Pan-American Union meet in Panama to build a defense in the Western Hemisphere against involvement in the present conflict by closer collaboration, so the labor movements of the Americas should be prompt to recognize the importance of closer cooperation. The Pan-American Federation of La-

bor was the creation of the American Federation of Labor. It grew out of the necessities of the time. For many years Samuel Gompers was its president and moving spirit. Its service to the workers in the Central and South American Republics was distinctive and helpful. Every reason that called it into being originally is now reinforced by the events of recent months.

Your committee notes with satisfaction that the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor held a meeting in May of this year; that it explored the effective methods of reorganizing the Pan-American Federation of Labor and establishing a closer bond of unity between the workers in the Western Hemisphere. One of the direct results of this exploration was the decision on the part of the Executive Committee to approve a careful survey of labor conditions in the twenty South American Republics, to learn more definitely the state of the labor movement in these countries and the best way in which they could be brought into closer collaboration with the Pan-American Federation of Labor. It was the further decision of the committee, when such a survey had been completed, that a congress could convene in Havana or Washington to lay the basis for a vigorous reorganized program of the Pan-American movement.

Your committee wishes to underline the general conclusion of the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and to point out the special urgency of the present crisis. It makes any effort for international cooperation in the Western Hemisphere a matter of pressing importance. We, therefore, express the hope that President Green will take it upon himself to inaugurate such a study of the Central and South American Republics and carry forward such

a program as will make possible a convening of the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor either in Washington or Havana some time in the near future.

(1940, p. 218) The activities of the Pan-American trade union federation during the preceding year were briefly reported to the convention. The importance of a strong Pan-American federation was emphasized in the statement adopted by the convention which follows:

(P. 670) Today, as never before, America is striving to unite all the many ties that link us with the 21 republics of the Western Hemisphere. The new continental defenses of the United States look toward a more adequate protection of the entire Western Hemisphere. The Declaration of Havana to which our nation was a signatory brings to a focus previous declarations made by the governments of the 21 republics at Montevideo, Lima and Panama. America as a nation is resolved that the policy of the Good Neighbor shall be implemented by political, financial, and cultural aid.

To American Labor, this policy of our government reflects in part the broad purposes for which the Pan-American federation was founded. We have sought that implementation by uniting in common effort the workers of these countries for the common purpose of elevating living and working standards and the promotion of social justice.

Candor compels us to admit that our Pan-American federation has not functioned during this last year as it should. To help revive it we sent Brother Iglesias on a Good Will Tour less than ten months ago. We are prepared to cooperate in rebuilding the Pan-American federation to something of its former effectiveness. That means the *bona fide* trade union movements in these countries must be

helped to function more vigorously. It is not, however, our purpose to dictate to our brother trade unionists in these other republics. We do not desire to do anything in any of these countries which would in effect mean "we'll tell you what to do and help you to do it." A strong, free trade union movement must be born out of the sacrificial services of Labor, free from dictation from without as well as within the nation. With this in mind, we shall urge that the American Federation of Labor continue to do all it can to foster and develop the closest constructive cooperation with the citizens in each of the Central and South American countries. If any time any *bona fide* trade union organization seeks our help and cooperation then we shall stand ready to answer their call.

We do feel that if we are to be in a position to cooperate with our friends to the south, we should seek continuously, to inform ourselves fully of their activities, their problems, their interests, and in turn to make available for their information, similar data concerning us.

To begin with, we must realize that we can say "South Americans—." Each country is distinct and distinctive; in each there are problems—social, economic, cultural, political, born of that soil.

On only a few points can one generalize at all:

1. Each of these countries is still essentially rural.
2. Industrialization in each of these countries started long after Europe and North America had passed through the industrial revolution.
3. The rise and development of trade unionism in each of these countries is of relatively recent origin.
4. The political independence of each of these countries is of a some-

what later date than ours, and in many of these countries when they gained political independence from their European mother country, they kept the same practice of *governmental administration* to which they were accustomed under their former rulers—a form, strong traces of which, in certain instances, still is clearly in evidence; this in spite of constitutions written in forms closely resembling our own.

5. Social and economic patterns of their earlier history still strongly persist in each country, and on and in these patterns a present-day complex industrial system of conflicting ideologies is being constructed by and for these people.

6. Most of these countries are very rich in natural resources; some are fabulously rich. Oil, gold, silver, copper, tin, rubber trees, nitrate, hardwood of all kinds, fruits in abundance, coffee, cocoa, leather, livestock, precious and semi-precious stones, coal, iron, cotton—just about everything nature can give man, is to be found in this hemisphere, in abundance. The land is rich; but the majority of the people are poor.

7. A small number of large land-owners, an agricultural economy in which the worker is intimately attached to the land on which he works, absentee ownership of corporate holdings, a distinct cleavage between urban and rural groups, are basic factors which confront worker organizations in each country—even before they seek to organize and obtain a degree of social and economic security in their work.

8. The high rate of illiteracy which is a problem being courageously attacked in many of these countries, as it was by some of our own people, is in many of these countries, born of an inherited old world concept of education for a few—and that education to be of the very best. Let us not for

one minute think that these nations despise formal education and the fine arts. They revere them. In fact we are mindful of the fact that the oldest university in the Americas is the University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru, which is almost a century older than our own Harvard in the North and William and Mary in the South. Their problem is not one of developing a feeling or appreciation of learning and beauty, but of making their cultural life available to larger numbers.

9. There is religious freedom for each citizen in each of these countries regardless of the functions of any church.

10. The people of practically all of these countries have at some time or other (a number right now) lived under a dictator, but they have never had a totalitarian government in any Latin-American country at any time. And even the most flattering courtships of Nazi and Communist agitators during the last few years, has not resulted in any union being solennized at any time.

11. The people are warm, cordial, colorful, kind, be they of Spanish or Portuguese origin, or of pure or mixed Indian descent, or of the Negro group, which is quite thoroughly assimilated there. And indeed, their kindness and warmth, their credulity makes one fear if some of them today may not be treacherously 'captured.' As 'Stout Cortez' destroyed the credulous and noble Aztec chief and as Pizarro destroyed the kindly, trusting Inca ruler—so today the invader is carrying a Pandora box of Nazi or perhaps Communist slogans—what's the difference. But, so far, these people have not fallen victim to these attacks, for the most part they have realized they have problems enough of their own, born of their own soil and their own inherited traditions, problems which they must solve for themselves and by their own methods.

Your committee recommends that there be established a means of exchanging information, of promoting cooperation among the free trade union groups of the Americas; and that the Executive Council be empowered to take such steps as may promote the best and closest steps among the peoples of the Americas. . . .

We recommend further that this convention record again our determination to uphold the rights of all workers in the Western Hemisphere to independence of choice and freedom of the trade union organizations and activities without the domination and interference of governments and recommend that whenever or wherever such attempts come to our attention that we so advise these governments and do whatever we can to protect the rights of workers to self-organization.

We would likewise urge the re-establishment of old contacts through the Pan-American Federation of Labor and in making of new connections with the trade unions in Latin-America. To that end we recommend that the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor undertake to make a survey of trade union conditions in the Latin-American countries and consider the holding of an early conference of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and all *bona fide* trade unions.

Your committee would call attention to the historic fact that in 1942 we celebrate the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the New World. We believe the American Federation of Labor should take the initiative in calling the governments of the Western Hemisphere together to properly celebrate this great event. We would urge that at the same time and place there be a great conference of the Pan-American Federation to celebrate the solidarity and service of the trade unions in

helping to build constitutional democracies in the New World.

(1941, pp. 215, 702) Giving due consideration to the comprehensive and factual report with regard to the Pan-American Federation of Labor and its problems, the convention adopted the following recommendations:

To give practical expression to the principles herein set forth, and as contained in the report of the Executive Council, your committee recommends that Labor officials from each of the countries of the Western Hemisphere be asked to meet informally, to consider the basis for a more formal conference of the Pan-American Federation of Labor; to discuss not only broad general terms of social welfare, but include specific means and processes through which to give practical expression to these ideals.

As a first step in promoting closer functional relations between the U.S. and our sister republics, a representative of the A. F. of L. went to Mexico City as a fraternal delegate to the Mexican Federation of Labor. He extended our fraternal greetings and bade them to play a major role in helping to bring about the actual functioning of a vitalized Pan-American Federation of Labor. The President of Mexico assured our representative of his earnest desire to cooperate in a program which the Mexican workers might initiate. He assured him of sympathetic support looking to the development of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. In view of the progress made your committee is prompted to recommend that the effective work which has been begun by the Executive Council, through our representative be continued and extended with all possible support from the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee further recommends that the data on labor laws,

social trends, economic problems, and threats to our democratic ideals relative to countries on the Western Hemisphere should be gathered, compiled, analyzed, and reports thereon distributed regularly to all of our members; and be distributed among our fellow trade unionists in other countries.

Your committee would further call to the attention of the delegates that the workers in the British possessions in the Caribbean seek now to raise their standard of living. Trade union activity in the islands is still very limited, but gives promise of sound development. The British Trade Union Congress should be advised of our interest and of our desire to serve with a British trade union committee and with the trade union leaders from each of the British West Indies to consider what may be rightfully described—our mutual problems.

Your committee also recommends that the workers of each of the countries of Central and South America should have the opportunity to derive an immediate and personal benefit from or through any loans which the Government of the United States may make to any of these countries and therefore urges that the American Federation of Labor through its president present to the Congress of the United States an appeal that all loans made to any Latin-American country for its economic development should be conditioned in such a way as to assure the workers of the country involved an opportunity to share in the benefit from the loan itself.

Then, too, your committee calls attention to the fact that the Federation has for some time urged that there be close cultural cooperation among the workers of all countries. It is our belief that the culture of a nation is expressed in every phase of its daily experience; that it is a gross error to regard the culture of a na-

tion as limited only to its purely academic work supplemented by a limited expression by fine arts and fail to embrace the culture of the humanities. Hence we urge that exchange in the field of cultural relations be more widely extended and be not limited to persons or groups interested in a purely formal academic experience, or to an educational experience in the formal higher levels.

(1942, p. 232) Developments during the past year, due to the current war situation, make it imperative that an earnest effort be made to work out a Pan-American Labor program embracing not alone support of the war by the nations of the Western Hemisphere against the Axis powers but including as well a post-war program designed to strengthen and enrich the nations and all of the peoples of all of the Americas.

Production in the United States is more than ever directly related to the supply and transportation of raw materials from Latin-America. In addition, our government today, as well as American interests, are making sizeable investment in the developing of Good Neighbor relations with Latin-America; our government is even going to the point of sending missions of persons who have little to contribute to lasting relationship, and in developing industries with Latin-American countries, but our Government has not taken leadership in seeing to it that representation is provided in all existing Pan-American institutions.

It is of greatest importance to this country, as well as to all Pan-American countries, that mistakes of former years should not be repeated. It is equally essential that the basis for new economic progress should be the development and maintenance of labor standards similar to the best in the United States, so that these new industries shall not have an unfair

competitive advantage due to low wages and unwholesome working conditions. New industries should bring to the whole of Latin-American nations opportunities for higher standards of living, with the rights and protection necessary to prevent their exploitation.

International minimum standards could and should properly be developed which will give protection to the workers and which would lift trade and economic relations between the United States and Latin-America to a level for more good neighborliness and Christian ideals. For example, capital from the United States is going into the development of the rubber industry in Brazil, but the standards of pay in that country differ little from those of forced labor along the Congo. Such a basis for business cooperation is not worthy of a supreme effort to achieve a new era of human cooperation and human welfare in the New World.

Development of labor standards could well be placed in a labor office in the Pan-American Union, so that labor progress could parallel progress in all other fields. In addition, provision for Labor representation should be included in national delegations to the meetings of the Pan-American Union and to all other like meetings. In addition, provision for adequate Labor representation should be included in all agencies and activities relating to Pan-American affairs.

It must be self-evident that the suppression of Nazi propaganda which is going on in the South and Central American Republics cannot be dissociated from the cooperation and support of the trade union movement of these countries. The effort to control prices against inflation is fast going to be realized as one of fundamental proportions and requiring the active representation of Labor in all phases of control and regulation. All of this

makes imperative the working out of an Inter-American Labor program.

A sound beginning in the creating of an Inter-American Labor solidarity was made in November, 1941. At that time the representatives of the Latin-American National Labor Federations, members of the Confederation of Latin-America, met with representatives of the American Federation of Labor. They discussed with us frankly and at length their common interests in the present world crisis. The offer of friendly cooperation based upon mutual respect in all matters relating to internal problems might well be implemented now by positive action by all who participated in those conversations, including, of course, the American Federation of Labor itself.

These positive facts might well relate to those subjects which properly concern organized labor as a vital member of the American Community of Nations. Lack of cooperation between Federations of Labor on the continent has made it difficult for a proper presentation of America's war aims before the Latin-American masses. It has weakened the protection of Labor's interests in the transfer of rural labor from one country to another as in the case of Mexico and the United States. It has also deprived Labor of proper representation in the formation of plans for a maximum of necessary raw materials produced for and by Latin-America. There is no need of channels for the exchange of information among labor organizations in Pan-America. The participation of Labor in international bodies dealing with continental problems and the educating of all peoples of all the Americas to the fact that Labor is fighting for higher living standards for all, and not merely to serve selfish interests, are all problems which existed even before Pearl Harbor and have now become

acute and await urgently the attention which they deserve.

The clarification of these purposes and the creation of machinery necessary to make them operative can be achieved most rapidly and effectively by the convening of an Inter-American Labor Congress. Throughout the past year we have explored the possibilities for such a Pan-American Labor Conference in order that channels for constructive consultation, collaboration and cooperation might be set up. Progress has been made in this direction. It is hoped soon that this ideal might be realized and that such a conference may be held shortly. To that end it is recommended that the officers of the Executive Council be urged to continue their efforts in that direction and, if need be, call upon the proper agencies of government to assist, financially, if necessary, in bringing about the convening of such a Pan-American Labor Conference.

A Pan-American Labor Conference could well devote its attention to the consideration of the basic and fundamental subjects of how workers of the American Hemisphere may best assist in increasing the output and transportation of the instruments of war against Axis powers. The improvement of the health and efficiency of the workers through programs of better housing, medical service and vocational training and by means of improving the economic cooperation among the American peoples to the fullest use of their industrial and agricultural resources should receive the attention of such a conference. In addition such conference will prove extremely helpful in the maintaining of Labor's gains, advance civil liberties, and improve wage and working standards, as well as further to protect the right of voluntary organization of workers into trade unions as an indispensable requirement of the democratic nature of the war aims of

the American people as well as of their democratic objectives in the peace conference.

(1942, p. 631) The following convention committee report was unanimously adopted:

Active cooperation among all the Republics in the Western Hemisphere in support of the United Nations war effort has become one of the important influences for victory in the world struggle. Today that cooperation is more advanced than ever before in the history of the free republics of the Western Hemisphere. This cooperation, carried out in the spirit of the "Good Neighbor Policy" covers a wide range of military, political, economic and social activities.

A program for the development of inter-American cooperation was formulated at the Conference of American Foreign Ministers at Rio de Janeiro last January and is now going into action in many ways. South and Central American countries are assisting in the development of hemisphere resources and expanding existing production for supplies of metals, rubber, quinine, fibers, drugs and other essential war materials which were formerly obtained outside the hemisphere.

From Canada to the vital Panama Canal area, the continent is at war against the Axis. The two largest countries to the south in population, Brazil and Mexico, are war allies of the United States. Eleven of the other American Republics have declared war. All of the Americans are working together to eliminate anti-American activities, and to improve communications and bases for defense against attack by air, sea and land. As a result, there is greater unity and a more solid front against a common enemy than ever before in the history of the American Republics.

The United American Nations constitutes one of the hardest cores of

resistance yet developed against the Axis bid for world domination. From our neighboring republics, the United Nations secure much essential needs. We obtain from them part or a major share of supplies of bauxite, copper, lead, zinc, manganese, nitrates, mercury and other minerals, and hope in the near future to get increasing quantities of rubber, fibers and drugs to replace our losses in the Far East.

However, the progress already achieved and the hopes for the future cannot rely solely on political co-operation. Labor has learned in its own struggle that action in the field of adequate and efficient Hemisphere relations requires a broad economic and social approach in which the workers of the Republics will play an important part. Any program which may be developed must derive its major sanction from a fundamental acceptance by the masses of people. In this connection, the field groups of tropical medical specialists and sanitary engineers who have been sent by our nation to twelve countries on projects for the protection of the health of the workers is a notable contribution.

The support of the other Americas for the United Nations war effort is the more impressive when consideration is given to the hardships those countries suffer from the wartime disruption of trade. They have lost, and are losing, much of their outlets for coffee, cotton, cocoa, grain and other export commodities essential to maintenance of internal trade and employment. They find it increasingly difficult to obtain from the United States the steel, chemicals, rayon, machinery and other imports they need to maintain employment. At a time when they need revenue most for relief of unemployment, they have suffered serious loss in revenues from import duties.

Conditions facing the trade unions in Latin America have deteriorated

considerably since our last meeting. Food scarcities have provoked public demonstrations of discontent. Unions have organized nationwide protests against rising costs and the insufficiency of existing machinery to maintain ceilings as provided by law. The right of assembly for lawful trade union purposes has been curtailed in some instances. International communications among trade union leaders has been restricted. Nazi agents more than ever are attributing the sacrifices the people are required to make to the United States. Mass immigration of workers in search of better employment conditions is affecting production of vital war materials. These trends are turning for the worse from week to week, and in many instances are threatening the very existence of independent trade unions.

Although it is difficult to speculate on what kind of a world will come out of this struggle, we do know that all the republics must play an important part in shaping the post-war reconstruction for the days of peace just as they play a vital part in wartime mobilization of hemisphere resources. We shall continue to need our good neighbors, and they will need us, as much in peace as in war. We are expanding our capacity to produce airplanes, tools, light metals, steel and other products which our neighbors need most, and although because of war needs we can not supply them now, we can produce and make available these necessities when the war ends.

The other Americas are largely in tropical areas. Their products complement those of the United States. Possibilities are great for increasing inter-American trade growth from such tropical commodities as rubber, vegetable oils and fibres. These developments will make a lasting contribution not only to inter-American trade but

to the foundation and maintenance of peaceful relations in the Western Hemisphere, provided of course we prevent exploitation of Latin American workers by foreign capital and capitalistic interests.

Inter-American unity and understanding can be one of the most powerful influences in the shaping of a decent world when peace returns. In the development of this unity and understanding the American Federation of Labor and the officers and members of International and National Unions can make a significant contribution in helping to harness the resources and capacity of all our peoples for the well-being of our American Republics.

We recommend, therefore, wholehearted approval of the work of the Executive Council in exploring the possibilities of a Pan-American labor conference for the purpose of developing channels of consultation, collaboration and cooperation to promote higher material standards of living with broader educational opportunities for all the workers of the whole of the American continent. We recommend that efforts to bring about a Pan-American Labor Conference be continued.

We recommend further that the Executive Council consider the advisability of creating an Inter-American Labor Council or other agency for purposes of obtaining and disseminating to labor in all of the Americas facts pertinent to the war effort, the maintenance of independent trade unionism throughout the hemisphere and to keep all labor in the Americas informed on the economic, social and material interests which they have in common.

Then, too, encouragement should be given to a policy of bringing representatives of trade union leaders from Latin America to Washington and other cities in the United States for the purpose of consulting and confer-

ring with responsible union leaders of our country as well as with governmental officials on matters relating to vital problems of production, transportation, health, food and vocational training.

We urge also that every effort be made to have labor representatives included in national delegations to the meetings of the Pan-American Union. Indeed, we are requested to extend to this convention the greetings of the Director General of the Pan-American Union and are advised by him that he desires to stress the work initiated in the field of research, public information and assistance to trade unions and is deeply concerned and interested in working out closer relations among our trade unions in the Western Hemisphere.

The opportunities thus presented should not be permitted to pass for after all our Federation and its affiliates can make a helpful contribution toward making human welfare the end of all Pan-American Union policies and undertakings.

Pan-American Union — (1928, pp. 94, 340) Because there was no representative of Labor in the American delegation to the Sixth Pan-American Congress which met in Havana in January, 1928, the president of the A. F. of L. requested the secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to attend as an observer. Two members of the E. C. happened to be in Cuba and the three labor officials held a conference with the chairman of the U. S. delegation and urged the incorporation of the following amendment to the constitution of the Pan-American Union: "That in the program of topics to be discussed at future conferences, there be included the subject of improving the material standards of life and labor of the masses of the people of the respective countries, so that by improving the conditions of labor, production is fo-

mented and consumption increased, thereby contributing to the development of commerce."

The Pan-American Conference of Havana approved the addition proposed to the constitution of the Pan-American Union, establishing as one of its duties and functions, the study of labor problems throughout the Latin-American countries.

Panama Canal Zone (See: Canal Zone)

Panamanian Boycott (1949, pp. 270, 419) The report of the Maritime Trades Department contained reference to the practice of certain American steamship operators placing their ships under the Panamanian flag, which practice has resulted in much unemployment to American seagoing personnel. The seamen in many European countries are also adversely affected by the ship operators in their countries resorting to the same sharp practice. The convention committee in making a report on the report of the Maritime Trades Department made the following recommendation which was unanimously approved: (p. 419).

There has been referred to our Committee a section of the Executive Council's Report which deals with the nefarious practice of certain steamship owners in placing their ships under the Panamanian flag in an effort to evade or destroy the hard-won working standards for which our men have so valiantly fought through the years. The report states the matter is now before the I.L.O. Should there be any delay in effecting an equitable solution through this agency, your Committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to take whatever steps it can through national and international agencies, public and private to assure the stopping of the transfer of the registry of our ships to nations whose standards of working conditions are lower than ours.

Paper Makers (Label and Dept. of Justice)—(1928, p. 264) It is the duty of each craft, not only to protect the product of its union from substitution of non-union goods by deception and false claims, but also to protect the consumers of union-made goods from the penalties growing out of faulty service of the distribution system in the marketing of these union label goods.

In the performance of this duty by the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, the Department of Justice of the U.S., upon the complaint of several persons (whose names are not yet divulged by the Department), has entered suit against the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers in the District Court of the U.S., charging violation of Sections 1 and 2 of the Sherman Act—an Act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraint and monopolies.

Should the U.S. court sustain the contention of the Department of Justice that it is unlawful for the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers to exercise its proprietary right in the control of its union label, in that it cannot take measures to prevent deception and substitution of non-union paper for union paper of designation by authority of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, then the decision will be used to subject the union label of every trade union to the expediency of every manufacturer in disposing of his goods be they union or non-union.

The American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instructs its E.C. to use the influence and authority of the Federation to protect the union label of the Paper Makers in the event of dismissal of the case against the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers. It is the sense of this Federation that trade unionists shall seek relief from any alleged unfair practices, in respect to the dis-

tribution of union label goods, through the councils of this Federation rather than to appeal to the courts, which practice places in jeopardy the very purpose for which the union label exists, "The discrimination between union and non-union goods.."

Paper Makers-Stereotypers (Juris) —(1942, p. 63) Convention was informed that no adjustment had been effected of the dispute between the named organizations over the manufacture of paper for dry mats. The Executive Council reported that at their meeting in May 1941, jurisdiction in the case was awarded the Paper Makers. The Stereotypers appealed the decision and were given a rehearing, after which the original award of the Council was affirmed.

(1942, p. 452) The Executive Council at its February meeting, 1941, appointed a Vice-President of the A. F. of L. to meet with the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union in an attempt to reach an agreement on this controversy. The meeting was held in the A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington, D. C., and while the conference between the interested organizations and the A. F. of L. Vice-President decided at its May, 1941, meeting that the jurisdiction in question "the manufacture of paper used for making dry mats" was the work of and belonged to the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

Subsequent to this decision by the E.C. at its January, 1942, meeting, a hearing was granted to the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union for the purpose of their appealing from the decision of the council. At the conclusion of this hearing on their appeal, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor reaffirmed its previous decision in giving the making of paper for dry

mats to the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

Representatives of both organizations appeared before the committee and presented their arguments and your committee after giving due and careful consideration to the subject matter approves of the E.C. decision and recommends that President Green together with the E.C. continue their effort to have the decision accepted and applied by the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union.

Parcel Post (Change in Weight)—(1949, pp. 345, 391) Res. 124 proposed that the A. F. of L. "condemn and oppose the present parcel post operation and insist upon the return to the 11 pounds maximum weight per parcel, and increase the rates of same to at least cover the cost of handling same" . . . The resolution pointed out that during the period of years the post office had increased the maximum weight allowance from 11 pounds to 70 pounds, it has become an unfair competitor in the general transportation industry since in this period of time no appreciable increase in cost of parcel post rates has been affected, while of necessity rates of private and common carriers have been greatly increased and a large amount of business has been diverted to parcel post at the taxpayers' expense. Convention instructed E.C. to confer with the affiliated organizations concerned before taking definite legislative action.

Parent-Teachers' Association—(1931, p. 348) The A. F. of L. urges its members to bring this matter before local labor bodies urging on such members as are parents of public school children that they participate in the activities of the Parent-Teachers' Association of their communities to the end that this influence upon the training of the children of America shall be in furtherance of the ideals which they as trade unionists are pledged to sustain.

Parker, Judge John J. (Defeat) (also see: Yellow-Dog Contracts)—(1930, p. 101) The outstanding victory of Labor was the defeat of the confirmation of the appointment of Judge John J. Parker to be a member of the U.S. Supreme Court, mainly because of his decision upholding the "yellow-dog" contract.

(P. 324) The president and the members of the E.C. are entitled to the hearty congratulations of the entire labor movement for the effective and intelligent manner in which they successfully opposed the appointment of Judge Parker because of his anti-Labor prejudices. Of even greater significance, however, was their achievement in the use of the occasion to focus the attention of the country upon the iniquity of the "yellow-dog" contract.

It is significant that during the debates in the Senate, not a single Senator attempted any defense of the so-called "contract." None made any effort to justify its use in industry. The Senators who supported Judge Parker went no further in their arguments than to offer an excuse in the form of a claim that he had followed the decisions of other judges.

It is within reason to expect that the U.S. Senate, having had an opportunity for the fullest discussion of the "yellow-dog" contract, and finding not a single one of its members to defend the use which is made of that sort of contract, will now proceed to the enactment of legislation designed to prevent the courts from continuing the practice of using "yellow-dog" contracts as a basis for the issuance of injunctions to prevent workers from organizing.

It would seem that the Senate, after acting as it did in the Parker case, ought to proceed in this matter without further pressure of public opinion. We note with satisfaction, however, that the president and the members

of the E.C. have, figuratively speaking, left no stone unturned in their efforts to enlighten the public on the subject of "yellow-dog" contracts. Immediately after the Senate had acted, they made a compilation of the Senate debate which is being given wide circulation by the American Federation of Labor. We recommend that the action of the Executive Committee in relation to the Parker case and the "yellow-dog" contract be given the hearty approval of this convention.

The "yellow-dog" contract, as used in industry, is a legalistic fraud—it is duress of a most vicious character—and should have no standing in our courts. It is not enforced at law, in that none of the parties to it can be successfully proceeded against for failure to carry out its provisions. It is used only as a subterfuge for the issuance of injunctions against organizations and persons who were not party to the alleged contract in order to prevent them from assisting the workers to organize. The alleged contract is simply a promise on the part of the worker, forcing from him as a condition of employment, that he will not remain or become a member of a trade union. If the worker disregards it, the employer has no recourse at law, for he has suffered no damage. If, however, the worker is advised of his rights in the matter and acts thereon, the persons so advising him may be enjoined and later imprisoned for contempt of court.

Notwithstanding the widespread discussion which has lately taken place on the subject of "yellow-dog" contracts, it seems that there are still many who do not understand the full scope of these so-called "contracts." It should be remembered that they are not restricted to written agreements. The alleged contract is frequently in written form, but, more often, it is simply oral and, in a great number of cases, is merely implied. In each of

its phases, however, whether written, oral, or implied, it is used as a basis for the issuance of injunctions to prevent organization activities on the part of trade unions, even though, in instances, it is not referred to in the injunction when issued.

If a worker accepts employment in a non-union plant, it is assumed, under the "yellow-dog" arrangement, that he has agreed to work under prevailing conditions. Or, in other words, there is an implied contract. It is for this reason that the "yellow-dog" contract is described in the Anti-Injunction Bill as, "Every undertaking or promise hereafter made, whether written or oral, expressed or implied, constituting or contained in any contract or agreement of hiring or employment," in which the party surrenders his right to remain or become a member of a labor organization. We direct attention to this for the purpose of reminding the convention that the "yellow-dog" contract is much more widely used than many suppose.

Patent Law Adjustment—(1931, p. 128) Resolution No. 46 of the Boston Convention proposed adjustment of patent laws to offset destructive effects of automatic machinery and scientific processes.

The convention directed that the E.C. should study patent laws in relation to machinery and processes used in production and transportation with the thought in mind to recommend such changes in the laws as the result of the investigation might warrant. We submit the following:

Clause 8 of Section 8 of the United States Constitution gives to Congress the power to promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for a limited period to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

In a long series of cases, it has been decided that it is for Congress

to determine what time and under what circumstances protection shall be granted. While rights are to be secured for but a limited time, Congress may extend the term upon the expiration of the time originally specified and in doing so, protect the rights of purchasers and assignees. Congress may also modify rights under an existing patent, provided vested property rights are not thereby impaired.

This power to grant a patent is not given to Congress generally but only as a means to promote the progress of science and useful arts. Hence it appears that Congress is not empowered by the Constitution to pass laws for the protection or benefit of inventors except as a means to promote science and useful arts.

Under existing law, an inventor is given a monopoly of his patent for the term of seventeen years. That can be extended only by special Act of Congress. Where foreign countries recognize American patents, the U.S. in turn extends the same courtesy.

Under the Constitution Congress has full power to legislate upon the subject of patents but this power must be used with due regard for the Fifth Amendment which provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

Should Congress enact legislation upon this subject which would be held inimical to the rights of patentors, there would be nothing to prevent such patentors from securing a patent in a foreign country and under the treaty existing between such country and this have his patent protected here, provided that it was found to be new and original. If such inimical legislation were passed, there is nothing to compel a patentor to secure a

patent. He may take his chances of putting it on the market and having it infringed upon.

We are not prepared to make any recommendation except that the subject be given further study.

(1932, p. 113) The last convention recommended that a continued study be given to the proposed adjustment of patent laws to offset destructive effects of automatic machinery and scientific processes. The E.C. has done this but no satisfactory solution has as yet been worked out. It is giving and will continue to give further and detailed study to this subject.

Payroll Savings Plan (also see: War Bonds)—(1947, p. 169) The American Federation of Labor emphatically endorsed permanent continuation of the Payroll Savings Plan by the Treasury Department for the purchase of U.S. savings bonds through Labor-Management cooperation on a strictly voluntary basis. This policy is based upon abundant evidence of the degree to which wage earners have learned to appreciate the virtues of systematic thrift through experience gained during the war.

As was to be expected, there was a slump in the purchase of savings bonds immediately following V-J Day. This was accompanied by an increase in the redemption of savings bonds. The reasons are obvious. Wage earners had patriotically invested all the money they could spare in government securities during the war, postponing purchases of all descriptions. Almost immediately this trend was reversed so that the redemption of savings bonds by organized wage earners is now rapidly decreasing and purchases by them through payroll savings and otherwise are on the upgrade.

We are informed that, at the present time, approximately 5½ million wage earners, most of whom are members of organized labor, are volun-

tarily continuing participation in payroll savings plans and that they are purchasing upwards of \$110,000,000 worth of these securities every month.

(P. 442) Convention urged continued support of the Payroll Savings Plan by members of organized labor.

(P. 665) Res. 146, asking for additional endorsement of the Payroll Savings Plan in effect, received reaffirmation of the convention as previously voted.

(P. 679):

Resolved—That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing United States Savings Bonds for the Security Thrift Program, urging all members of the American Federation of Labor to participate and urge employers to establish payroll savings plans where they do not now exist. The Executive Council is hereby empowered and instructed to prepare and distribute literature which is, in their judgment, necessary for the promotion of this nationwide plan, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor request all members to hold their bonds as their stake in our country's future, thus defeating the inflationary trends that are so apparent in the domestic market.

Peace (also see: *Post War; Atlantic Charter; Armistice; Post War Planning*).

Peace, World—(1931, p. 43) The E. C. is directed to give attention to the study of the methods of promoting world peace; the growing interdependence of men and nations, and the accomplishments to date of organized world-wide movements in the interest of human betterment.

(1937, p. 631). The Convention Committee on International Labor Relations, submitted a special report on the subject of world peace which was

unanimously adopted by the 1937 convention as follows:

The A. F. of L. is gravely concerned and shocked that the Chinese nation and civilizations are threatened by ruthless warfare that attacks civilian population as well as armed forces. We are disturbed by the increasing lawlessness in the international field as evidenced by treaty violations. Democratic institutions in many countries have been replaced by the rule of force and the subordination of individual well being to state regimentation. With armed conflict already in progress in Europe and the Far East, the menace of another world war overshadows the civilized world.

Labor abhors war and knows only too well that war does not solve our problems. American Labor does not wish to be involved in European or Asiatic wars. We, as a nation, early established the policy of avoiding entangling alliances which would involve us in the toils of foreign diplomacy. We have written in the law of the land neutrality procedure to prevent our becoming involved through trade in munitions. But as to the great moral issues that developed out of violation of the integrity of a nation, barbaric attacks upon defenseless citizens, disregard of the rights of others—upon these things no free people with a sense of moral obligation to those unable to protect themselves can be neutral. But we want peace—not war. This desire lays upon us the obligation to seek peace.

Labor believes that peace is essential to the best interests of peoples of all lands and that we have a responsibility for helping to maintain peace between nations. We realize that this cannot be done by mere words or wishes but that enduring peace can result only from a positive effort toward a world order assuring justice for all, economic progress for all with special privileges for none, and co-

operative action guided by the understanding that the rights of one group are the obligations of another.

Such a world order would make possible in every land peace and freedom for individual self-development and collective well being. Economic and social security cannot safely be separated from those moral standards and forces that lie at the heart of human fellowship. Without morality there can be neither cooperation nor sanctity of agreements. Without these our civilization breaks down.

Concerted action between free people to protect the world's right to peace is our only guarantee of peace. That action must be cooperation to assure justice and opportunity for national progress for all. Poverty and business depression in any one country endangers the prosperity of the others trading in the world market. Force is not our remedy but rather intelligent development of a world order in which friendliness and cooperation advance the interests of all nations with special privilege for none. Between nations as between individuals the important and enduring things in life are kindness, fellowship and cooperation.

We urge this course upon our own government and appeal to the free labor movements of all other countries to use their influence to the same ends.

(1938, p. 504) In considering the subject of world peace we must also consider the conditions that confront us and out of which may grow a world war; conditions which, even without war, are causing the most acute suffering. One phase of the great picture of injustice is that dealing with what the dictators of Europe call racial purity. Under the guise of promoting race purity, although no major race is pure and none has been pure for centuries, the totalitarian states are expelling thousands of peaceful, helpless Jewish

people. Great numbers of Gentiles also have been compelled to flee for their lives, but the plight of the Jewish refugees is worst of all. Their numbers are greater and the places to which they may go to reconstruct their lives are fewer. We extend to them our full sympathy. We denounce the brutality that has forced them into exile and we believe our hatred of that brutality should be expressed at every opportunity and in the most forceful manner.

We commend the President of the A. F. of L. for the energetic action he has taken in response to declarations and decisions related to this subject. We refer particularly to the boycotting of German goods and in other forms manifesting our disapproval and condemnation of the practices being pursued by Nazi Germany. We recommend not only the continuance of the activities and policies heretofore pursued by the A. F. of L., but urge intensification of our efforts in behalf of the persecuted and oppressed minorities in Germany.

We further commend the President of the A. F. of L. for the timely and fitting cablegram, sent while we have been in session in Houston, addressed to Sir Walter Citrine of the British Trade Union Congress, protesting against narrowing the opportunities for Jewish refugees to find a haven of refuge in Palestine. We call upon the British Trade Union Congress, as a faithful and consistent defender of the institutions of democracy, to intercede with the British government, in accord with the spirit of the cablegram dispatched to Sir Walter Citrine, which we herewith quote: "Convention A. F. of L. now in session gravely concerned over reports British Government may announce new policy which in effect would greatly limit Jewish migration to Palestine. We believe complete open door for Jewish migration to Palestine should be maintained. Persecuted millions of Jewish people in Central and

Eastern Europe must find new homes. In light of these facts it is inconceivable that British Government would restrict Jewish immigrants to the country which now offers them place of refuge. Will appreciate all assistance you and your associates can give in response to this appeal." He likewise requested the State Department of our Government to intercede in this matter. Finally, we believe that labor movements of the democracies should work in harmony for the protection of and the relief of the helpless refugees from the barbarism of the race-hating policies of the dictator states of Europe. We can offer no semblance of friendship to nations that defy all the laws of decency; we can have no tolerance of intolerance. We commend the officers for their work in the past year in helping to ease the burden of the refugee multitudes and for their part in helping to arouse the conscience of civilization against this most revolting expression of dictatorial barbarism.

Peace Treaty

(1941—pp. 14, 300, 301, 623) The president of the A. F. of L. in his keynote speech declared that labor must be represented in the war settlement and peace negotiations when the time comes. A number of resolutions were submitted on this subject. The convention declared that the A. F. of L. is in accord with the purpose and substance of these resolutions, and in so doing particularly emphasized that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor name a representative from among the men of Labor and present the name of such chosen representative to the President of the United States.

(Objectives)

(1942, p. 235) The E.C. called attention to the importance of considering post-war planning even while fighting a war. Attention was directed to the fact that "an important part of winning the war is to maintain democra-

tic institutions and procedures in operation and to state our war objectives in simple, clear terms so that they become a power in helping us to win the war".

(Labor Representation Proposed) (1942, p. 236) When the time comes for negotiation of political terms and conditions to prevail in the post-war world, organized labor of the United States must be fully and adequately represented in our national delegation that negotiates the peace treaty—with a voice in determining the whole treaty.

As representatives of the largest numerical group in all nations concerned, we maintain Labor should have representation in delegations from all countries concerned.

The workers of all countries want to use their influence for better world organization so that problems can be settled by conference instead of by war.

They want to make sure that world trade in the future does not profit financially because of sub-standard labor conditions in any industry or any country.

They want to do their part in making the world peace a treaty peace in which all nations are given equal consideration with equal opportunities for progress and pursuit of happiness.

We cannot attack problems and decisions from an emotional idealistic approach alone, but we must reinforce our ideals with exact knowledge of the forces involved and careful consideration of facts. We should not try to eliminate force from the political field, but to harness it to constructive policies and agencies.

Proposals to isolate countries, to set up buffer states, to balance powers off against each other, belong to the past. Technical progress, which eliminates space, also eliminates "isolation."

1. The principle that must be basic

in that peace is "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." The kind of government which other countries may choose may differ widely from the institutions of the United States, as the genius and character of one nation differs from another. The important thing is that the government shall have the approval of the governed and that there shall be no type of aggression.

2. The territorial security of all nations and opportunities for peaceful change should be assured. By such machinery we hope to work toward and to develop a world community of nations.

We realize that the basis for these must be laid to the development of regional cooperation between contiguous countries with common economic interests and, if possible, similar cultural institutions.

When we consider peace we must realize that the entire world is the scope and be mindful of relationships between the continents. The terms and agencies of peace must deal with the whole world and give ample consideration to situations likely to result in injustice and retardation in every country. No one race or continent should be dominant.

3. We further propose that as essential for participation by Labor of all countries in these world conferences and agencies, wage earners shall be guaranteed the right to membership in free unions controlled by the membership concerned. We have repeatedly witnessed the initial attack by the new despotism upon the free labor movement, because the shackling of this largest group in a democracy left other groups and interests helpless to make effective protest. We propose this basic right as essential for the world democracy for which this war is waged.

4. There must be a world agency to decide policies in which all countries are concerned, definite provisions to make decisions effective, and a world court.

5. Every political, economic and social institution must service the freedom and the welfare of human beings. The inalienable rights of free men are the ultimate end which civilization promotes.

(P. 515) Two related resolutions (Nos. 71 and 91) were before the convention calling for labor representation on all peace deliberative bodies, and for greater participation in war economy deliberations. The convention considered these resolutions in connection with the section of the E.C. report titled **PEACE OBJECTIVES AND PEACE TREATY**. The following report of the convention committee was unanimously adopted:

The central part and the most vital recommendation in the Executive Council's report deals with the necessity of adequate labor representation in all delegations from the countries concerned, for organized labor must have the opportunity of applying their influence for a better world when the war ends. Unless there is this adequate representation of labor, it will be impossible to negotiate a final treaty which will contain the provisions essential to a better world.

Adequate labor representation in itself is not sufficient; there must be a knowledge on the part of the American Federation of Labor of the peace objectives and policy connected with them on the part of the other trade union federations of Europe, for unless trade unionism internationally can present a unified program, the welfare of labor and the welfare of the United Nations would suffer.

For this reason your committee believes that the responsibility of the Post-War Problems Committee of the American Federation of Labor should

include a thorough-going study and close contact with the Anglo-American trade union movement.

In connection with Resolutions Nos. 71 and 91, your committee is equally convinced of the necessity for adequate labor representation upon all Federal agencies dealing with the present war effort, and post-war planning.

In connection with proper labor representation provisions should be made which will assure that representatives of labor, appointed and engaged in the activities, should be protected in the continued employment from which they have been withdrawn to render outstanding service, not only to labor, but to the nation.

Your committee therefore recommends endorsement of the Executive Council's report.

(1943, p. 9) In keynote speech to the convention the President of the A. F. of L. declared—

This war has taught us that America cannot isolate herself from the rest of the world. As a nation we face a new era in international relations when the war ends. Our first objective must be to assure lasting peace. We know now that peaceful intentions on our part are not enough, that we must assume our full share of responsibility that the warlike tendencies of other nations do not break beyond bounds. To win this war against the enemies of democracy, freedom and human decency, America has allied herself with other nations. In the post-war era, America must join with other nations of good will in preserving peace throughout the civilized world.

This is the outstanding reason why labor demands full representation at the peace conference. We intend to see to it that the desire for permanent peace of the American people is not thwarted by professional international diplomats. We also will insist on the

restoration of political and economic independence to those nations which have been overrun and pillaged and despoiled by our enemies. And we will not be satisfied until the guarantees of justice and democracy embodied in the Four Freedoms are established for all time throughout the civilized world.

We shall insist that the peoples of the world shall be made free—free from Prussian militarism, free from Fascism, free from Nazism and free from Japanese savagery.

It is our firm purpose and determination to serve in every way we can to establish free democratic trade unions throughout the world. That is an objective that we place high as our ideal and our goal.

In conclusion, may I state that we all realize that these are trying days. We, along with the people of the world, are living and moving in the shadows of sorrow and sadness. The clouds of adversity hang heavily over a war-torn world, and in characteristic fashion, as hope springs eternal in the human breast, we have turned our faces toward the rising sun, toward the dawn of a new day—a day when peace will come, when we can live normal lives again, a day when righteousness will triumph over injustice and wrong, when the Allied Armies will finally have won a decisive victory. These are the days we are looking for, and with scrutinizing vision we pierce the clouds and the shadows that lie between us now and the realization of that great objective.

But our slogan is victory, and we will stand with our great President, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and with our Allies in the fight which is being made to achieve victory—victory for free democratic labor, victory for helpless people, victory for those who suffer from the yoke of Nazism, Fascism, and Japanese savagery, vic-

tory for righteousness, the victory that must be achieved before we quit the war.

(1944, p. 455) In his official reply to the British Fraternal Delegate, President Green included the following:

We are determined that the voice of labor, as expressed by the American Federation of Labor, shall be heard at the Peace Conference. We shall insist and demand, with all of the power at our command, that the American Federation of Labor shall be represented at the Peace Conference, wherever it is held, when victory is finally won. The American Federation of Labor will go to that conference with a program, and that program will be formulated in democratic fashion by the seven million members of the American Federation of Labor. Those who represent us will present that program, the program of American labor, to the Peace Conference, and we will fight together with any who will fight with us for the establishment of a just and lasting peace which will guarantee freedom, justice and liberty throughout the world.

(P. 279) While war has long been the major enemy of human happiness and comfort, it has been accepted as a political instrumentality necessary both for aggression and in defense of liberty. There was much hope put in the Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war as a political instrumentality. But we neglected to increase the procedures and agencies which a nation must exhaust before resorting to war and we neglected to lodge somewhere authority to compel appeal to decision by peaceful means. The League of Nations also was not effective in dealing with aggression.

The Second World War has mobilized all technical progress for incredible destruction so that the total labor force must be available for essential

and needed work and for service in the armed forces. There is no longer possible a distinction between non-combat civilian workers and citizens in the armed forces. The whole of national life must be geared to the efforts on the fighting front. We now have the robot bombs used against the homeland of the British army—thus extending the fighting front to the whole nation.

War has become so terrifyingly efficient as to menace our whole civilization. We have every reason to seek a peace founded on justice and to help build up the agencies for the peaceful adjustment of problems and situations such as have resulted in wars.

(P. 572) We recommend concurrence in the principles which the Executive Council proposes as the basis for world peace. The nations of the world live together in what technical progress has made one community. So completely have distances been conquered and so disastrous the weapons of war that if we would have peace we must organize to deal with aggression. Yet power to deal with aggression must respect the rights of nations which in turn must assure individuals those rights which guarantee personal freedom. The United Nations must not set up new agencies through which the powerful can dictate to other nations.

As the Executive Council points out, since World War I we have experimented with some international agencies and the only one that has endured through peace and war is the agency which brought into its work representatives of functional groups of many lands—the International Labor Organization. The tripartite basis on which this agency was organized has brought into its administrative and legislative work representatives of the government, the employers and the workers of all countries affiliated with it. These representatives

in turn, reporting back to the groups they represented, had a concern and responsibility for their work in their home lands as well as in the international office. We believe that by extending the representative principle to other agencies we can develop a sense of responsibility on the part of the citizens of all countries for the policies and activities of the United Nations that will make for genuine efforts to maintain the peace. It would be a serious mistake to delegate full responsibility for world peace to the diplomats and other statesmen. It is the citizenry of the world who have a burning desire to end the situation which periodically sends their young men to the battlefield. They should have a voice and a responsibility in maintaining world peace.

As the Executive Council intimates in its insistence that only *bona fide* trade unions shall be the agencies to designate representatives of workers, so *bona fide* organizations of other functional groups shall designate representatives of their groups.

(Proposals) — (P. 280) The American Federation of Labor believes that the United States has a responsibility for helping to plan and operate agencies to keep the peace between nations; to determine policies in promotion of world economic welfare; to develop an adequate body of international law with a world court of justice. Any world organization responsible for keeping the peace must have the means to prevent aggression.

The Federation believes that regional organization should be formed to deal with regional problems and to promote regional welfare covering such areas as the Pacific, Asia, Pan-America, Africa, Continental Europe or federations thereof. Federation in regional organizations would give small countries more effective protection and participation in progress.

We must safeguard the rights of

individual nations while promoting international security.

The Federation believes the four fighting United Nations have a responsibility for submitting proposals to other nations and for taking the initiative in setting up such institutions as are agreed upon by representative nations.

Labor, like all other functional groups in our national life, shall need representation in those international economic conferences and agencies dealing with matters which affect our welfare.

In connection with international labor conferences or agencies under governmental auspices, we reserve the right to select our own delegates.

In organizing our *bona fide* international labor organization we necessarily must insist that the basis be representative, *bona fide* trade union organizations.

(P. 574) Several resolutions were introduced in the convention all calling for representation for Labor in delegations to outline peace terms. The intent of the resolutions was approved and the following "resolve" adopted:

That this convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby records itself in favor of insisting that duly accredited representatives of the American Federation of Labor shall be appointed to participate in the peace conferences.

(P. 469) Res. 6:

Whereas—We are today involved in a vast struggle of world-wide proportions against those who have sought to conquer the world and impose upon it tyrannical domination, and

Whereas—We are fighting in this war for the right of every man to have a voice in the government of his country; for the right of every man to live in peace and security, and to

enjoy social and economic standards consistent with human comfort and human dignity, and

Whereas—It is our belief that in order to achieve these aims the old discredited system of power politics, balance-of-power manipulations and arbitrary divisions of spheres of influence must be abolished and that this modern interdependent and closely-knit world must be reorganized on the basis of collaboration among all nations, large or small, and

Whereas—It is our unshakeable belief that such collaboration cannot attain its full effectiveness unless labor is fully and adequately represented on the international councils by delegates chosen by organized labor itself, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the United States shall help to establish an international machinery with adequate power to maintain the peace against all possible future aggressors and to assure the small nations of the world security from unilateral action or domination by the bigger powers, and be it further

Resolved—That the free and democratic movements of all countries shall have direct and adequate representation on such international councils, and be it further

Resolved—That our foreign policy be directed toward support of the principles of Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, and the removal of trade barriers and the encouragement of the exchange of goods among nations as a means of advancing their economic stability and collective well-being.

Your committee recommends that the second resolved be amended by inserting the word "labor" between the words "democratic movements", and further recommends that the last resolved be amended so that it will read:

Resolved—That our foreign pol-

icy be directed toward support of the principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, and the promotion of commercial relations between the nations of the earth as a means of advancing their respective economic stability and well being.

Labor's Attitude (1946, p. 432) In his cable of January 10 of this year to Secretary of State Byrnes, then in London, President Green thus outlined the position of the American Federation of Labor toward the problem of world peace: "The principles of the Atlantic Charter should be the foundation for wholehearted cooperation to attain a just and enduring peace to stand on the solid foundation of the Four Freedoms." This was a reaffirmation of the position taken by the A. F. of L. during the most trying hours of the war when the hardest battles were still ahead of us. This also was the solemnly proclaimed policy of our government and our allies during the darkest days of the war when victory was still in doubt or at least distant. This remains the position of the A. F. of L. after victory, no less than before victory.

We of organized labor had great hopes that this sane and sound approach to the problem of peace would also continue as the policy of the triumphant powers after no less than before the military victory. Nothing could be more fatal to the cause of decent international relations and world security than for the victorious nations to throw overboard these guiding lines to peace. With profoundest disappointment do we report that since the defeat of the Axis some of the triumphant powers have cynically distorted and flagrantly discarded the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. That is why suspicion and distrust have spread among the allies of yesterday. That is why

the world is today cursed with power politics and struggles over imperialistic spheres of influence. Here is the real reason for the costly delay in peacemaking and the drafting of treaties at the Paris Conference which, if finally adopted, will sow the seeds of new conflicts.

Foreign affairs today are no longer the business or property of professional diplomats. Today, foreign affairs are the burning concern of the great mass of the people—the workers in the factories and mines, in the fields and offices. This was a people's war and the peace must be the people's peace. Throughout the war and since its conclusion, the A. F. of L. has demanded that the voice of labor be heard and that the hand of labor be felt at the peace table. Realizing the urgency of organized labor taking an active part in helping the nation adopt and apply a truly democratic foreign policy, the Executive Council has insisted on effective labor representation in the United Nations and has made various concrete recommendations for action by our government. The A. F. of L. has won the right to have advisors to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. . . .

We are happy to report that these representatives have already taken the initiative in presenting the first International Bill of Rights ever proposed by any national or worldwide labor organization. This bill has won immediate extensive acclaim. It embodies a concrete and constructive program for applying the Four Freedoms in every country—victorious and vanquished alike. The A. F. of L. Bill of Rights is to be considered by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations for incorporation into the general peace treaty.

We express the sincere hope that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations will approve the

Bill of Rights submitted by the American Federation of Labor in behalf of the workers of the world. We likewise call upon the workers everywhere to impress upon their government the necessity of approving this Charter of Rights, this Magna Carta of Labor, as the guiding rule that shall not only declare but safeguard the workers as free men and women throughout the world.

Because of the increasing importance of the United Nations Economic and Social Council and the several international organizations which have come into existence and in which the workers are deeply interested and greatly concerned, the work of our permanent International Labor Relations Committee and that of the consultants hereinbefore referred to will constantly involve greater technical requirements and demand increasing time and attention. They will also need research services and the like. It is therefore recommended that the Executive Council allocate funds for budgets submitted from time to time by this committee and by the consultants referred to.

(P. 73) The problems attendant on negotiating a peace treaty were set forth in a section of the E.C. Report under the above title. The convention committee which considered this subject reported as follows:

(P. 556) The Peace Conference in Paris has had to contend with conflicts between two basic systems of government in which democracy, freedom and administration have different and conflicting definitions. The Communist-controlled countries believe in highly centralized domination of the people governed with enforcement in the hands of the secret police with absolute power to arrest and sentence. Democratic countries believe in representative government providing majority rule with individual freedom assured by civil liberties and rule of

law. The Slavic countries have operated as a *bloc* against democratic countries and have sought expansion and power.

The peace treaties for the five enemy nations are necessarily compromises. Decisions have not been reached upon Trieste nor upon freedom of traffic on the Danube. Decision on the trusteeship of the Italian colonies was also deferred for a year. The Soviet insistence upon sharing this trusteeship has no basis in war contributions but is part of their policy to secure "friendly" relations with Mohammedan nations. These nations could be used for an anti-European revolt, which could give the U.S.S.R. control over North Africa, most strategic in air operations. The U.S.S.R. is seeking to reopen the Dardanelles agreement, and force unilateral terms upon Turkey without consulting other interested countries.

Treaties determining the future of Germany and Austria yet to be made are even more fateful for the future of world peace and progress. As the future of Germany determines the economic life of Continental Europe and western democracies, we urge that the policies set forth in Secretary Byrnes' Stuttgart speech be the guide.

With democracy and employment, Germany and Austria will no longer be at the mercy of totalitarian armed force and there will be greater security for the Western Hemisphere. A further measure of security for Europe and freedom is recognition of Mohammedan interests in North Africa.

Peace terms have yet to be determined for Japan. Civil war between the Communists and Nationals still harries China.

We are anxious to hasten the determination of peace so that armies of occupation can be withdrawn where possible. We hope countries in the throes of desperation and poverty will not

turn from freedom and orderly progress.

Our own country has a heavy responsibility for helping those who would regain freedom while our labor movement and other voluntary organizations must assist workers and employers of other countries to regain free organization.

But we must guard against letting our desire for peace lead us to forego the force and insistence that are necessary for securing the kind of peace with justice that will be lasting. We are all weary of war, impatient with regimentation and controls, and long to return to the ways of peace, but only the determined and strong can have peace with security. Appeasement of obstructions will get us nowhere for the U.S.S.R. seek domination of other people's lives and countries, not freedom. We must beware also of the agents of the Communist Party within our own country, some of whom occupy strategic positions in our Government or control them through party followers. These persons have pledged allegiance to Moscow, not our democracy, and promote policies that bring foreign disfavor to our Government.

We urge upon our Government continued vigor and firmness in insisting upon policies to promote peace through justice to all and through opportunities for democratic self-government for all.

(1948, p. 241)

Whereas—Since the end of World War II, it has become increasingly apparent that, while the United States has stripped down its Army and military establishments and attempted to build up a world order based on law and peaceful settlement of disputes between nations, our efforts have been undermined and opposed and our motives have been smeared, and

Whereas—There is a force at work

in the world today, that is plotting world conquest and the destruction of individual liberties and national independence, on a scale and with methods that far exceed in magnitude, the zeal, brutality and incendiarism, the pernicious world conquest of Hitler and his Nazis. This force is the Soviet Government and its rulers. They have thwarted every honest effort to establish an effective United Nations. They have thwarted every effort to place the atomic bomb under international control and inspection so as to prevent its use to destroy the peace of the world. They have thwarted every effort to bring democracy and economic stability to the war-wracked countries of Europe. Instead, they have brutally extended their power through fifth-column Communist Party agents in Eastern Europe, Eastern Germany, China, Korea, Greece and Czechoslovakia. The world waits with bated breath for the next victim, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor supports the Government of the United States in its policy of justice and firmness in international affairs and we support the efforts of our Government to give aid and comfort to all democratic, peaceful nations who attempt to resist the new menace from the East, therefore, be it

Resolved—That we call upon our Government to go beyond this policy of mere self-defense, of mere economic aid to the Marshall Plan countries and to China. The time has come not merely to encourage their resistance to Soviet aggression and imperialism, but to give them the assurance they are seeking today that we are their true allies, ready, able and willing to give them direct military aid in the event of aggression against them. The British and the French have already welded together a military alliance of Western Europe. We must back up their efforts with a clear statement of

alliance with them. The new Soviet Hitlers must be given no chance of misunderstanding our intention to go to the military assistance of our friends if they are attacked, directly or indirectly. They must be made to understand that there will be no appeasement and that we will defend liberty and peace—by arms, if necessary.

(P. 491) Convention endorsed the "spirit and aims of the resolution" and referred it to the International Labor Relations Committee, A. F. of L. for appropriate implementation and application.

Pension Plans (also see: A. F. of L. Employees Plan; Social Security)

(Non-Contributory)—(1940, pp. 116, 559)

Extravagant Pension Plans—Our present program for aged persons is based on two approaches: (1) insurance to which wage earners contribute during their working years, which provides monthly payments to the aged worker when he retires or to certain dependents if he should die prematurely; and (2) public assistance, non-contributory, granted to needy aged persons upon proof of need. There are many groups in the country who urge that the Social Security program be abandoned and replaced by non-contributory pensions for all aged persons or for all whose incomes fall below some specified amount. Several bills to this effect have been introduced in Congress, but so far none have been acted on. Several states have also had proposals before them.

If uniform pensions were paid, with no inquiry into the need of the recipient, they would have to be large enough to make supplementary relief unnecessary or they would fail to give the security aimed at. Pensions of a size to give security to those without other income would give unnecessary incomes to many persons. We can more easily finance reasonable secu-

rity for those who need it if our funds are not used to contribute equally to those who individual resources are sufficient without public grants. It is clear that in our present economic state no such sums as would be needed could be raised by additional taxes levied only on wealth or the top incomes. The greatest part of the tax burden would fall on the moderate and low-income families. The hope is frequently held out by advocates of such pension plans and taxes that the increased circulation of money would vastly increase the national income and lead the country to prosperity. If, as would be the case, a large share of the taxes fall on low-income families, there would be no new demand for goods. It would only mean a shift of money from the family which needed it to an aged person who needed it. It would mean inflationary price increases damaging to the worker's budget. Until the needs of wage earners and their families are more adequately supplied, until health insurance, more adequate workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation systems, and temporary and permanent disability programs provide security throughout the worker's lifetime, we cannot endorse the use of a disproportionate share of the national income for that part of the population over 60 years of age, and we cannot approve tax systems which would bankrupt the nation and lay unwarranted burdens on the working population.

We urge, therefore, that the Social Security Act be not discarded, but amended to improve both the old-age assistance and the old-age and survivors insurance programs. The former should be amended immediately along the lines suggested above. The old-age and survivors insurance program needs to be broadened so that millions of persons now excluded may, during their working years, build up rights to monthly benefits in their old age

or protection for their surviving dependents. We believe firmly that the Social Security Act can be built into a comprehensive and sound system of protection for old and young, employed, unemployed and handicapped persons—a system which fits into and enhances our democratic way of life.

(P. 559) We know that many extravagant pension plans would handicap tax-paying wage earners and prevent a sound development of a well-rounded plan of social security. We therefore recommend . . . that we work for improvement and expansion of the Social Security Act rather than its replacement by any extravagant pension plan which is not on a sound financial basis and which concentrates on only one part of the total problem of social security—that of the aged person.

Widows—(1941, p. 594)

Whereas—In the establishment of the retirement legislation, Congress acknowledged that postal salaries are not sufficient to maintain the American standards of living and at the same time to purchase annuities against the approach of old age, and

Whereas—The security of his widow is a vital concern to the postal employee, and his salary deduction is in reality a joint deduction from both husband and wife, and

Whereas—It is just and equitable that the widow or dependent as specified by the employees should receive special consideration for the deduction made; therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing H.R. 1847, which bill provides the security we desire.

Municipal and County Workers—(1950, p. 40) Res. 52:

Whereas—Many subdivisions of lo-

cal government have no retirement plans for their employes, and

Whereas—State employes do have a retirement plan as well as Federal employes, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention of the American Federation of Labor herewith instructs its officers to seek the necessary federal legislation making it mandatory for local subdivisions of government to provide an adequate retirement plan to be eligible for Federal Aid Funds.

(P. 497) The committee concurs in the purpose of this resolution and recommends that it be adopted. The committee further recommends that, before any specific legislation is introduced, the Executive Council make a survey to determine the extent to which the resolution would apply and consult the affiliated organizations thus affected.

Proposed for All A. F. of L. Members—(1947, p. 646) Res. 29 which was non-concurred in by the convention, called for the establishment of a general retirement plan to take in all members of the A. F. of L. The resolution, and committee report thereon, follows:

Whereas—The present Federal retirement plan at the age of 65 years is inadequate, and

Whereas—Employers are today vying for help between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five, and

Whereas—Employees over the age of thirty-five and forty are experiencing difficulty in obtaining work, and

Whereas—Such plan can best be accomplished by the American Federation of Labor establishing a retirement plan for all American Federation of Labor members, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor make a study of such retirement plan for the A. F. of L.

members, whereby the members contribute monthly to the support of such plan, and that such plan provide for an earlier retirement age than sixty-five.

Your committee in recommending non-concurrence with the resolution because, among other things, it calls upon the American Federation of Labor to establish a retirement pension for the entire membership, calls attention to the fact that many National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. have established retirement pensions in connection with their collective bargaining with their employers, a practice which might well be established in future negotiations with employers where such a provision does not now exist.

Comparative Study Proposed—
(1950, p. 327) Res. 107:

Whereas—A retirement pension plan has been established by law for a large number of the employes of private industry, and

Whereas—A retirement pension plan has also been established for the employes of the Federal Government, and

Whereas—Each of these plans is continuing to develop, but along different lines and at different rates, and

Whereas—An accurate comparison of the two plans as they exist today would be of great value to the participants in each as a base for determining relative progress and future development, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 1950 convention of the American Federation of Labor make a survey of the comparative benefits and costs of each pension plan.

(P. 486) Since the subject matter had been covered in the report of the E.C. no further action required.

(1952, pp. 94, 449) The Executive Council reported to the convention that a technical pamphlet on this sub-

ject had been prepared and made available to those interested in the establishment and operation of negotiated pension plans.

The convention committee submitted the following report and comment on the pamphlet, which was unanimously approved:

This is one of the most practical service publications ever issued by any labor organization. It will be of particular benefit to Internationals, Locals or any other trade union groups that are planning to set up pension programs and to those who wish to evaluate critically those which have already been negotiated.

This booklet points out the important fact that a pension plan which may be perfectly suitable for one group may not be of any value at all to any other group. Each plan must be drawn up to meet the special needs which may arise under the particular conditions under which any group may work.

Details of any plan depend on the make-up of the group—just what the members want to get out of the plan—how they expect to finance it. These and many other factors must be given careful consideration before any group signs a pension plan contract, whether it is negotiated with employers or set up in any other pattern. All these variable factors are reviewed in the 100 pages of the Guide.

In plain, forceful, trade union language, it reviews such topics as cost factors, methods of financing and administering a plan, benefit provisions, "pension plans and the law", pension negotiations—and dozens of equally important points. It closes with a list of references for further study.

Labor's concern with pensions has spread throughout the movement. It is significant that, of the 5 million workers who are said to be "covered" by existing pension schemes, very few

will actually receive a pension. By supplying this new Guide, the American Federation of Labor has taken a long step forward to cut down the number of ineffective pension plans and to help our unions establish programs which will really do what members expect them to do.

Your Committee recommends that this pamphlet be given immediate, wide circulation in our ranks and that delegates here take steps to have their unions carry reports on the pamphlet in their respective journals. They will find the study to be thorough yet simple—just what the members want.

(*And Welfare Plans*) — (1951, pp. 46, 410) During the last few years, unions have negotiated "fringe benefits" for their members, through pension and welfare plans.

Unions have become interested in the possible effects of such plans in relation to workers' free mobility, geographically and economically and other related aspects of this subject. As a result, a study was instituted to examine the entire subject of pension and welfare plans instituted by collective bargaining between unions and employers.

Your Committee recommends that as soon as this study is completed, copies be widely distributed among our membership, that unions be asked to study the report and submit their questions and comments to the American Federation of Labor.

This is our problem and we must give it our fullest attention.

Pension Funds—(1955, p. 232)

(As) it is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate fully with any duly constituted investigating body or agency engaged in an objective and impartial effort to determine the character, extent and source of corrupt or unethical practices in the operation of health and welfare plans,

the American Federation of Labor extended its full cooperation to members and staff of the Subcommittee on Welfare and Pension Funds of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. This Subcommittee is engaged in the investigation of the problem of abuse in the operation of welfare plans and the need for legislation.

On March 21, the Subcommittee held a panel discussion, inviting representatives of management, labor, and the insurance and banking industry to participate. Staff members of the Social Insurance Activities department joined in the discussion and submitted a statement on behalf of the American Federation of Labor. The statement said in part that:

The sums contributed to these plans by employers are, in effect, wages paid for services rendered and are therefore the collective property of the group of workers covered. They should therefore be administered in such a way as to provide the greatest possible real benefit to the workers covered, consistent with considerations of safety and prudence. Any charge against these funds that is out of proportion, or unrelated to the value of the benefit or service derived by the intended beneficiaries conflicts with this objective—whether it be excessive or unwarranted commissions and charges by brokers or consultants, "kick-backs", malfeasance... on the part of trustees, or profiteering by medical practitioners. All of these actual or potential abuses must be avoided or corrected if the plans are to fulfill the purpose for which they were created.

In calling upon the Subcommittee to extend its field of investigation to encompass plans which are administered unilaterally by management, the statement noted:

... The fact is that such unilaterally-administered plans are more common in industry today than are jointly-managed funds. If, as is alleged, there is inadequate protection under the Taft-Hartley Act of the worker's interests in joint funds, then there is absolutely no protection of the worker's interests in management-administered funds. We know from experience that it is far more difficult for covered workers to obtain information... about the operation of such unilateral plans than is the case under jointly-administered plans—even where the workers themselves contribute directly toward the cost of the program. And we have absolutely no reason to believe that such plans, administered solely by employers, are more free of abuse, kick-backs and favoritism than are those in the administration of which unions participate—labor, after all, did not invent these practices, and condemns them now just as vigorously and sincerely as any other group.

Personnel Research Federation— (1925, p. 32) The A. F. of L. was one of the charter members of the Personnel Research Federation which has developed into an active research agency. With the opening of a permanent office and the provision for a full-time director, made possible by a modest budget, the Research Federation was incorporated and its constitution modified. The Personnel Research Federation has been able to draw to itself the necessary information and contacts to become a clearing center for personnel research and is now in position to render practical service. At its regular semi-annual meeting held in Washington, May, 1925, the chief discussion occurred on the methods employed by the Russell Sage Foundation in its study of the company unions organized by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. The

discussion in very pointed implications indicated what Labor had to gain by keeping in touch with research studies, the methods of investigation and the interpretation of research reports. The interest in the discussion of the C.F.I. study was heightened by the fact that the investigation showed how company unions depend upon trade unions for decisions of fundamental trade standards. The May meeting provided for a small standing committee to carry forward sustained study of the technique of personnel research. The A. F. of L. is represented on this committee.

As the undertakings of the Personnel Research Federation are developed we shall endeavor to keep in close touch, so that we may counsel in the formulation of plans and policies.

(P. 271) The convention recommends continued affiliation with the Personnel Research Federation as long as in the judgment of the E.C. it finds this federation of service to labor.

(1926, pp. 60, 318) Labor has much to gain from friendly contracts with outside groups which constitute opportunities for promoting a wider understanding of Labor's problems and ideals. If public as well as industrial decisions and policy are to be determined after full consideration of wage earners views and needs in the situation, wider circles of citizens must understand labor's problems and the workings of the labor movement. Outside groups convinced of the righteousness of our cause can help us with influence and opportunities for wider contacts and information.

Relationships with the Personnel Research Federation will be continued. An increasing range of problems arising out of human relations in production are being studied from the approach of psychology and physiology

and it is important that labor have representation in the organization that is serving as a national clearing center.

We note with satisfaction the report on relationships with the American Bar Association, the American Library Association and the American Legion, colleges, and universities and certain religious organizations interested in social and religious problems. We urge continuance of these friendly and helpful relationships and their extension wherever and whenever possible.

Peru (Labor Situations)—(1948, p. 330) Res. 123 requested the A. F. of L. to officially condemn and oppose the action taken by President Bustamanto and his associates and the military government against the *bona fide* labor movement of Peru.

(P. 492) The following special statement prepared by the Committee on International Labor Relations was adopted by the convention:

The American Federation of Labor, consistent with its long-standing tradition of uncompromising defense of the basic civil and trade union rights of the workers throughout the world, emphatically protests against the repressive, anti-labor measures taken by the Peruvian Government, including the arrest of hundreds of trade union leaders, and the confiscation of trade union properties, as a result of the revolt staged by naval and military personnel in the City of Callao, Peru, on October 3rd of this year. It protests also the abolition of constitutional parliamentary government and the advent of the military dictatorship which now rules that country, and asks for the immediate restoration of all the constitutional guarantees and civil rights.

In reference to the situation of the Peruvian labor leaders who are imprisoned by order of the military gov-

ernment, in spite of their repeated denials of any connection whatsoever with the Callao revolt, the American Federation of Labor asks that a fair and public trial be given them without delay in the civil courts of the country, with permission to labor organizations from other American countries to participate in their defense.

The American Federation of Labor reaffirms its solidarity with Brother Arturo Sabroso Montoya, President of the Peruvian Confederation of Labor, who is seriously ill in the Lima prison hospital, and with other victimized leaders of the Peruvian organized labor movement.

It praises their courageous opposition in spite of violent persecution and terror, against both forms of Fascist and Communist totalitarianism, and pledges full support for the recovery of their freedom and the right of their organization to exist and function without interference.

Your committee finally recommends that the International Labor Relations Committee be instructed and empowered to take the necessary steps required to carry out the manifest intent and purpose of this declaration.

Petition Rule (Congressional)—(1926, p. 66) There is urgent need for arousing all liberal minded citizens to the need of maintaining a deliberative and responsive Congress under conditions that permit of effective discussion and decision.

Rules of procedure have been adopted by the House of Representatives which can and do prevent full and free opportunity for the discussion and disposition of legislation coming before it for consideration. All these restrictive rules have been promoted under the guise of efficient and business-like administration of government and the limitation of needless

discussion. The actual result of these rules has been to deny to members of the House of Representatives full freedom to consider and discuss whatever legislative proposal they might champion for the general welfare of the people.

When the 68th Congress met December 3, 1923, a small number of progressive Republicans and Democrats in the House demanded that the rules be changed so that no committee could "pigeon-hole" a bill submitted to it for consideration. After weeks of bitter verbal clashing the House adopted a rule that when 150 members signed a petition to withdraw a bill from committee the question would come before the House and a majority of those present would be sufficient to order its consideration. In previous Congresses a few men were able under the rules to prevent consideration of any bill.

When the 69th Congress met, the first Monday in December, 1925, this rule of the 68th Congress was changed. The new rule requires a majority of the members of the House—that is, 218—to withdraw a bill from committee. This change made it possible to order a bill back from committee. This rule has given control of Congress to three men—the Speaker, the Leader of the House, and the Chairman of the Rules Committee.

Although bills are reported favorably and placed on the calendar it is impossible to have them considered by the House as long as these three men refuse consent.

To manifest our disapproval of the House rules now in effect and in order again to reestablish freedom of opportunity for discussion, consideration and action on all legislative proposals submitted to Congress, we recommend approval of the following rule for reference to and adoption by the next Congress:

After a bill has been in the hands

of a committee for 30 days a motion will be in order on the petition of 125 members to withdraw the bill from committee. If a majority of those present in the House vote in favor of calling the bill back from committee it shall become unfinished business and will not require a rule from the Rules Committee for permission to act upon it. It shall be debated and acted upon before any other business is transacted.

(1934, pp. 84, 551) One of the greatest grievances of members of the House of Representatives was the practice of committees to withhold reports on bills. This became so prevalent that finally a rule was adopted that a bill could be withdrawn from a committee on the signing of a petition by 145 members. Several petitions were placed on the Speaker's desk in the last session. Every means was used to defeat the obtaining of signatures or action on the bills when the petitions were complete. The reactionary members do not like this rule and threaten the next Congress to amend it so that it will be necessary for 218 members to sign petitions. This would make it practically impossible for any petition to receive the required number of signatures. The E.C. is directed to protest the threatened change.

(1935, p. 142) The first act of the Seventy-fourth Congress was to amend the rule in the House of Representatives requiring 145 names on a petition to withdraw a bill from a committee. This permitted action on the bills that were being held up by a committee chairman.

The House, however, changed the number necessary to sign a petition from 145 to 218. The object was to eliminate petitions.

Philippines (Independence)—(1927), p. 364) The A. F. of L. heartily favors the immediate grant of independence to the Filipinos.

(1931, pp. 113, 409) The sentiment for Philippine independence is growing fast in both Houses of Congress. It was admitted, however, during the last session by the representatives of the Philippine Islands, that if the bill had passed in the last session it would have been vetoed.

In order to prevent Filipinos coming to the United States, it is necessary that the islands be given their independence. Many thousands of Filipinos are on the western coast and are gradually coming east. They are a growing menace to the standard of living of the wage earners of the U.S. and we will do our utmost in the next session of Congress to have the Philippines granted their independence.

Representative Welch of California has prepared a bill to be introduced in the next Congress recognizing the independence of the Philippines and to regulate the migration of its citizens to the United States. He believes it will have favorable support.

(1932, p. 385) The A. F. of L. urges the U.S. Senate to make the waiting time for independence as short as possible.

(1933, pp. 107, 451) The Hawes-Hare Philippine Independence Bill passed Congress but was vetoed by President Hoover. Both Houses passed the bill over the veto by a two-thirds vote.

The law provides that when the Act has been accepted by the Philippine Legislature only fifty immigrants can come into the continental United States from the Philippines until independence has been consummated. After the Philippines become independent no Filipino can come into the United States as the islands are in the barred zone and they would not be eligible to citizenship.

After the bill became a law a great uproar arose in the islands against its provisions. A large committee came to the United States to see if a law

containing provisions more acceptable could be enacted.

(1934, pp. 84, 551) The political leaders of the Philippine Islands succeeded in having the independence law which was enacted by the Seventy-second Congress defeated by the Philippine Legislature. The opponents of the law appointed a commission to come to Washington to work for the enactment of new legislation. However, when they found that it was impossible to secure changes in the law they sought, they accepted the law practically as originally enacted.

Labor was interested in this measure because of the immigration question. Filipinos are neither citizens nor aliens, but they can come freely into the United States. Many thousands are now on the Pacific Coast, where unemployment has reached extreme conditions. The new law provides that after the legislature approved the law only 50 Filipinos a year could come into the United States. After complete independence, none can come as the Philippine Islands are in the barred zone and the Filipinos are ineligible for citizenship. The legislature unanimously accepted the independence Act April 30. Immediately thereafter the government issued an order restricting immigration from the Philippines to 50 each year.

(1935, p. 141) Congress enacted a law to transport at federal expense to the Philippine Islands all natives of that country who desired to return to their homeland. There are 45,208 Filipinos in the United States and of these it is expected 30,000 will return home. Most of them are on relief and the government considered that it would be to the advantage of the country if the Filipinos were returned to the islands.

Every non-citizen Filipino resident in this country or in the territories is entitled to make application for transportation at the expense of the United States Government.

Congress considered this legislation an emergency measure in order that many cities and localities could be speedily relieved of the burden imposed upon them by unemployed Filipinos who have been dependent on local charity or unemployed relief rolls. It considered that the expenditure of the money required would be an economical use of public funds and vastly more beneficial to this country than would be the withholding of this Congressional encouragement to them to seek passage. . . .

In the past few months an undercover campaign has been conducted to frighten the Filipinos into the idea that when they become independent Japan would take them over. During the discussion on the passage of the Independence Act representatives of the Filipinos emphatically denied that the Japanese had any such ambitions. They said that Japan was looking toward the continent of Asia and had no thought of taking over the Philippines.

These reports, however, have as their objective a campaign in the Philippines to repeal the Independence Act, to which the A. F. of L. should object.

(1938, pp. 169, 455) The First Deficiency Appropriation Act for the year 1937 appropriated \$150,000 for all authorized expenditures necessary to enable the Secretary of Labor to provide means by which certain Filipinos may emigrate from the United States.

This law was amended to extend the time to December 31, 1938. Under the provisions of the law about two thousand Filipinos have returned to their native country.

Trade, Extension Supported—(1954, p. 587) The A. F. of L. supported recently enacted legislation which has the effect of extending the period during which goods from the Philippine Islands can enter the United States

free of duty. This extension was necessary because under the previous legislation a five per cent duty would have been imposed beginning in July, 1954. Under the new law the duty-free period will continue until January, 1956, in order to allow time to work out a revised trade agreement between the United States and the Philippines.

Physical Examinations for Employment—(1940, p. 429) Several resolutions were introduced into the 1940 Convention protesting against the growing practice of requiring physical examinations as a condition of employment. Because of the importance of the subject, and the growing trend of requiring health certificates for employment in private and government work, the report of the convention committee, adopted unanimously by the convention, is given in full as follows:

The subject of physical examinations in relation to employment has never before received such widespread consideration as it is receiving now. Until a few years ago, the industries which were affected by the requirement for physical examinations were generally those in which workers were subjected to dust inhalation, contributing to diseases such as silicosis, tuberculosis, and the like. In recent times, however, the requirement for physical examinations has extended to occupations and industries such as the printing trades, building trades, and the like. The resolutions referred to call attention to the prevalence of physical examinations in these occupations. Likewise, the tendency toward physical examinations of workers is on the increase because of the adoption of laws by many states providing workmen's compensation as a result of occupational diseases.

Past history indicates the justice of the complaints made by the delegates of the Molders Union; of the Califor-

nia State Federation of Labor; of the Central Labor Union, Lake County, Indiana; and of the Building Trades Department. Many employers have used, and still use, the physical examinations as a means of unjust discrimination in the hiring of employees and in the retention of them in employment. It is also known that many employers in the country, and some of their insurance carriers, have utilized the physical examination as a subterfuge for dismissal of employees in a manner so as to deny them workmen's compensation benefits. This committee, therefore, agrees with the facts contained in the resolutions and on which the protests against physical examinations are made.

However, your committee is informed that the laws of certain states and the rules adopted by certain compensation commissions, provide for physical examinations of workers in one form or another. Likewise, certain legal questions present themselves in connection with requirements which seek to prohibit physical examinations as a condition precedent to employment. Likewise, certain voluntary plans of physical examinations are in operation by agreement between industry and Labor. These plans have for their base limited physical examinations surrounded with safeguards so as to assure fairness in the examination and to prevent denial of compensation benefits and otherwise to maintain a just method of procedure. Naturally, your committee has not had the opportunity of analyzing the laws of the various states pertaining to physical examination or the rules promulgated by the various compensation commissions of the country, nor has it had an opportunity to study the voluntary plans referred to.

The subject, however, is of such vast importance to organized labor that it is the opinion of your committee that a prompt, thorough and effi-

cient study be made of the laws, regulations and plans pertaining to physical examinations and that the entire subject be explored so that appropriate and uniform recommendations may be adopted consistent with the best welfare of workers in industry and in conformance with law. To that end your committee recommends that the president of the American Federation of Labor soon after the adjournment of the convention appoint a committee of five who shall undertake the study of this subject and report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, or to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for appropriate action. In the performance of its work the committee shall have the assistance of the services of the general counsel and of the Director of Research of the American Federation of Labor.

Picketing—(1927, p. 85) In *Daitch & Co., Inc., vs. Cohen et al.*, decided by the Supreme Court of New York County, sitting in special term, it was held that picketing a store by a labor union will be enjoined as without legal justification in the absence of a strike.

The Supreme Court of Indiana, in the case of *Scofes vs. Helmar*, ruled that an injunction might be issued restraining a union from picketing or in any way interfering with the employees and patrons of a restaurant. The restaurant owned by Scofes was picketed because of his refusal to sign a union wage scale. The picketing consisted of moving backward and forward on the sidewalk in front of the place of business.

The Clark Lunch Co. of Cleveland refused to enter into an agreement with the Cleveland Waiters' Union and the union thereupon employed persons to distribute printed cards informing the restaurant's patrons and prospective patrons of the attitude of the lunch company. The Court of Appeals of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in

upholding the decision of the lower court, held that a restaurant had no vested right to the patronage of persons who, knowing of the union's actions, refused to patronize it. It was also held that the union had a right in a lawful way to influence and control the patronage of its members and sympathizers in favor of themselves and those with whom it had contracts. The case appears under the title of *S. A. Clark Company vs. Cleveland Waiters' and Beverage Dispensers' Local*.

In the case of *Jefferson & Indiana Coal Company vs. Marks*, a Pennsylvania decision, it was held that marching and parading intended to intimidate workmen was as unlawful as violence, and that the spirit of the demonstrations is the thing to be looked for, not the mere marching on the highway. It was also held that in entering a decree awarding an injunction the court should not use the word "peaceful" in connection with the word "picketing."

In *Ferguson vs. Peake*, a District of Columbia case, the court held that the provisions of Section 20 of the Clayton Act did not apply where there was no evidence of a dispute between a union and a store in question, and no evidence that questions of wages and terms of employment were involved. Here, Ferguson was tried for a violation of the police regulations forbidding persons from remaining in front of a retail store for the purpose of inciting or interfering with prospective purchasers. It was contended that the Clayton Act was applicable in this case.

In *Manker vs. Bakers*, the Supreme Court of Westchester County, New York, sitting in special term, it was held that labor unions may strike and may carry on picketing in conjunction with and in furtherance of strike. It declared that picketing in front of a place of business by members carry-

ing placards declaring the firm to be unfair did not entitle the baker to a temporary injunction.

In *Exchange Bakery and Restaurant, Inc., vs. Rifkin*, another New York case, it was held that labor unions may call a strike and picket the premises of an employer for the purpose of inducing him to employ only union labor, and the resulting injury is incidental and must be endured. An agreement not to join a union was held to be without consideration and but a mere promise and not a contract. Peaceful picketing was held not to authorize an injunction.

Embassies — (1937, pp. 169, 319) S.J.Res. 191 prohibits the picketing of embassies or legations of foreign governments.

It has been the practice of various organizations when they feel offended at something done in foreign countries to march up and down before the embassies and legations carrying placards intended to harass the representatives of foreign governments.

Protests have been made by foreign governments to the State Department asking that the practice be prohibited. It is contended that unless we extend such reasonable protection to representatives of other governments, we cannot hope to receive protection for our representatives abroad.

At the request of the A. F. of L., Senator LaFollette introduced an amendment which provided that nothing contained in the resolution shall be construed to prohibit picketing as the result of a *bona fide* labor dispute regarding the alteration, repair or construction of either buildings or premises occupied for business purposes wholly or in part by representatives of foreign governments.

The amendment was adopted and the bill passed. It then went to the House, which failed to consider the resolution.

It is our purpose and intention to secure an amendment to the amendment offered by Senator LaFollette, providing for the inclusion of cooks, waiters and musicians catering in embassies.

(1938) The embassy picketing bill became a law.

Important Cases—(1940, p. 334) While the important *Thornhill* and *Carlson* cases were being argued before the U.S. Supreme Court, the Oregon anti-picketing bill was being tested in the state courts. The lower court of the state had declared the law unconstitutional whereupon it was appealed to the Supreme Court of Oregon. Since it was a very important case, the A. F. of L., the railroad brotherhoods, and other unions joined with the Oregon State Federation in its attack upon the law. The result was outlined by A. F. of L. General Counsel in his report to the 1940 Convention as follows:

"It is clear that the entire case was decided on the basis of the pronouncements of Justice Murphy in the *Thornhill* case. The Supreme Court of Oregon said:

The Supreme Court, has, in the cited cases, announced a broad construction of the guarantees of freedom of speech and the press, and, applying this conception to laws aimed at picketing, has held that publicizing the facts of a labor dispute in a peaceful way through appropriate means, whether by pamphlet, by word of mouth, or by banner, is within the liberty of communication which is secured to every person by the Fourteenth Amendment against abridgement by a state. It was held, further, that the exercise of this right may not be abridged by proscribing it at the scene of a labor dispute. It has declared the streets of a city appropriate places for the dissemination of views on matters of public mo-

ment and that labor controversies come within that category.

. . . .

In the statute there is no definition of the word "picket". It is a word of "vague contours", as the Supreme Court said in the *Thornhill* case, and doubtless may be used to indicate conduct of a noxious character with which the state has power to deal. But it also embraces activities which the Supreme Court holds the state may not lawfully suppress. It includes, we think, the conduct of one who walks or patrols in the vicinity of a place of business involved in a labor dispute, and by word of mouth, banner or placard, undertakes to give information to the public concerning such dispute. . . . But that the activities embraced by the word "picket" were intended to include such as are free from violence, intimidation and fraud,—what is ordinarily called "peaceable picketing"—we think there can be no doubt. It follows that the very type of conduct which the Supreme Court held in the *Thornhill* and *Carlson* cases to be protected by the Fourteenth Amendment, is denounced by the Oregon statute unless engaged in incident to a controversy relative to wages, hours or working conditions, between an employer and a majority of his employees. Otherwise stated, such conduct on the part of a minority of employees, who may have such a controversy with their employer, is prohibited.

. . . .

In considering constitutional questions the courts look through forms to the substance of things. It is not important, therefore, whether we call the statute one of prohibition or of regulation. That it prohibits to the minority the exercise of rights conceded to the majority there can be no question. If there are 500

employees in a plant whose employer is paying inadequate wages, either in fact or in the opinion of 249, the 249 who alone choose to make an issue of the matter may not, under this statute, exercise what the Supreme Court has held to be their constitutional right of freedom of speech, because the 251 prefer to avoid a dispute with their employer.

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. . . There is not inherently a difference in picketing, either with respect to the manner in which it is carried on, or the consequences to those who may be affected by it, based on the number of employees who may be disputing with their employer. On the contrary, whether engaged in on behalf of a few or many, picketing may be peaceful or otherwise for a lawful or unlawful purpose, by a single individual or *en masse*, and fraught with either negligible or serious consequences to the employer and the public. . . .

The fundamental constitutional right which the Supreme Court sustained in the cited cases was declared to be secured from the 'every person'. We see no escape from the conclusion that the denial of such a right to the members of a minority is no less an unconstitutional abridgement of the right simply because it is saved to the majority.

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It has now been determined by the highest court in the land, as we read its decisions, that a law of this kind, so broad and sweeping in its provisions, cannot stand as against the guaranty of freedom of speech in the Federal Constitution. . . .

Plankinton Hotel vs. Hotel and Restaurant Employees—(1942, p. 96) One of the most important labor cases decided by the Supreme Court during the year was the *Plankinton Hotel* case involving an affiliate of the Hotel

and Restaurant Employees International Alliance. The issue involved was the constitutionality of a Wisconsin law which prohibited peaceful picketing in the absence of a majority strike vote of the employees involved; or, put otherwise, which prohibited peaceful picketing by a minority group. The Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin had written two decisions in this case which left the meaning of the law in complete confusion. Under its first opinion the court held that a state may lawfully prohibit peaceful picketing by minority groups. In its second opinion, realizing that this ruling was in direct conflict with the doctrines pronounced by the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Senn* and *Thornhill* cases, the Wisconsin Supreme Court, without expressly admitting it, in effect overruled itself. However, the lower courts in the state continued to enjoin minority picketing and to punish those who would engage in such picketing for contempt of court. In order to clarify this situation an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. Although the decision of the United States Supreme Court did not rule on the constitutionality of the Wisconsin 'majority rule' provision, it did hold that peaceful picketing by any minority group was valid.

This was a decided victory for the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance which immediately re-established its picket line, and the picketing has continued down to the present time.

Political Activity (also see: Labor's Education and Political League; Labor's League for Political Education; Committee for Political Education)

Political Party, Labor—(1925, p. 325) Resolution 58 proposes that the A. F. of L. form a Labor Party. If the resolution confined itself wholly to that object it would be effectively

answered by referring to the established position of the A. F. of L. on that question and to the action taken by this convention on Labor's Non-Partisan Political activities. But, in addition, the resolution contains a revolutionary philosophy branded and repudiated. It demands that organized labor in its political activities associate itself with "all other political organizations of a working-class nature," undoubtedly intending thereby to advocate political cooperation with the Socialist and Communist parties; it goes out of its way unjustly to attack the LaFollette Progressive movement, a movement entirely independent of the A. F. of L.; it refers to the government as a thing apart from the American people and as having been hitherto entirely out of their control.

The motives, the reasoning and the aims of this resolution are diametrically opposed to the principles, ideals and methods of the A. F. of L.

(P. 332) Argument against Labor Party: The A. F. of L. has never declined to do what was humanly possible to mobilize the political power of the wage earners. It is a question of how that power and that influence may be best organized.

The A. F. of L. has found by experience that it is best mobilized, not by the formation of an independent political party, but rather by mobilizing that power and that influence on a non-partisan basis. The justification for that policy, for that method of organizing the political power of our people is not only demonstrated in our land but finds even validity in the activities and in the development in all other lands where we are said to have strong labor political parties, and even where these parties manage temporarily to secure control of the government.

Realize this fundamental thing, that once we divide our power economical-ly and politically into two distinctive,

separate bodies we are merely disuniting our forces and we are weakening the power that we possess.

We shall not speak of the plausibility of a Labor Party here, but let us go to England, where we are told they have a strong Labor political party, and what do we find as a result of having an economic body on the one hand and a political body on the other hand? Do we find these two bodies in unison and in accord, all striving toward the common end and applying agreed methods of procedure? Observation and analysis of the experience there indicates to the contrary, as has been stated by the president of this Federation at the time that the fraternal delegates from England were addressing this convention when he pointed out that so far as international relations are concerned, the British Trades Union Congress declared for one position, one attitude, while the Labor Party declared for quite a contrary point of view.

That is true not alone as to international relations. These same bodies are also diametrically opposed, even on the economic field, for in the economic field they are beginning to realize that to entrust their safety, their welfare, and their hope for better conditions to Parliament has brought no results whatever, and the last Congress most emphatically and enthusiastically endorsed the exercise of economic power by the transport workers and others in preventing a wage reduction, and the responsible officers of the labor political party division found fault with the activities thus exercised.

And so we have this conflict of judgment, this conflict of opinion, this conflict of attitude and decision between independent Labor political bodies and Labor economic bodies.

Look to France, and the same thing has occurred in that nation, with a Socialist administration in control of

the government and with its premier, and then when the wage earners go on strike immediately the political Labor party in power, in control of the government, is used to depress and repress the hopes of the wage earners as expressed by their economic power.

Who among us does not believe that if there had been a Labor government in power in England at the time the miners resisted the wage reductions that MacDonald and his government would have taken the step that a Conservative government was compelled to take? Look to the history of that Labor Party in power, and what has it achieved? What has it accomplished other than to try to repress the economic forces and power in England?

What is the situation in Russia, where a similar political power dominates that great land and where trade unionism is not permitted to exist or to express its hope or seek to right its condition by economic power?

You are bound to lead to that when you divide your economic power and your political power into two distinctive bodies, and whether we shall have it or not that will undoubtedly and always remain the case, and we believe that our concept of mobilizing our political power under the control, as we now have it, through our economic organizations, is the best destined to work out the salvation of the wage earners.

(1932, p. 376) The A. F. of L. rejected a resolution favoring an independent Labor Party, which would mean the abandonment of the traditional non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L.

(1933, p. 452) Resolution declaring in favor of an independent Labor Party was rejected.

(1934, p. 556) Resolutions favoring a political Labor Party were rejected, the convention declaring:

We reaffirm the declarations of previous conventions on the non-partisan political policy the A. F. of L. The convention reaffirms the declaration announcing the principle of no discrimination because of origin, race, color, religious or political affiliation. Inasmuch as the members of the Communist Party have endeavored to bore within the trade union movement and establish so-called cells within local unions for the purpose of destroying the trade union movement by making it a part of the Communist political party so that the purposes and the method of applying the objectives of the Communist Party could be put into operation in the industrial field.

(1935, p. 758) Thirteen resolutions favoring an independent Labor Party were considered. The convention declared:

The A. F. of L. has repeatedly declared that members of trade unions should go to the polls and vote for Labor's friends, those whom they know will support Labor and its policies. The convention supports the frequent declarations of conventions upon the long established non-partisan political policy.

(1936, p. 648) Ten resolutions favoring the formation of a political Labor Party were rejected. The result of recent elections again emphatically demonstrates the wisdom of the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L.

(1948, p. 244) Res. 39:

Resolved—That the Sixty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, November, 1948, go on record as supporting the development and promotion of a national independent Labor Party, because of the failure of the old formula of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, free from the control of Communists and Fascists and dedicated to democracy and freedom and the advancement of peace

and plenty, and committed to the principle of a planned and planning economy, which will nationalize the key and crucial industries in transportation, communications, mining, steel and banking, while preserving the free enterprise system and production and distribution through producers' and consumers' cooperatives in areas that a national commission of competent scientists in the fields of economics, history, sociology, physics, chemistry and cognate sciences determine to be sound and constructive.

(P. 324) The actual formation of a political party by and for Labor, based upon a program of Labor's needs and interests, was proposed by Resolution 112.

Non-Partisan Political Campaign— (1924, p. 169) Partisanship governing legislation enacted by Congress has been shattered largely through the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. Up to 1906 whatever remedial legislation was enacted was secured only after the most strenuous campaigns by Labor over long periods of time.

Although the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882, it was not until 1912 that Congress finally enacted a stringent law against Chinese coolies being admitted to the United States.

The campaign against unrestricted immigration, begun in 1891, did not become in any way successful until 1907. It was not until 1913 that the literacy test was incorporated in the immigration law. And it was not until 1921, when the three per cent law was enacted, that a real effort was made by Congress to limit immigration. In 1924 the two per cent law was passed, still further protecting American wage earners and American civilization.

Although a national eight-hour law was enacted in 1868, it never was enforced and the first convention of the A. F. of L. in 1881 demanded that it

be recognized by government officials. This agitation continued for years, but it was not until 1892 that Congress amended the law providing for a shorter workday for all mechanical labor on public work, whether employed by the government or by contractors. Immediately efforts were made to nullify the law, and it was not until 1906 that an executive order directed the enforcement of the law and prosecution of its violators.

The manner in which members of Congress, both in the Senate and in the House, received requests from labor for remedial legislation became so pronounced that the 1905 convention of the A. F. of L. urged all organizations to oppose the nomination and election of candidates for congressional and legislative honors who had shown themselves to be unfriendly to the interest and principles of organized labor, and to assist to the extent of their ability in the nomination and election of candidates known to be friendly to labor legislation.

Conditions had become so unbearable that President Gompers, by authority of the E.C., called a meeting of the presidents of all international unions to meet with the E.C. at Washington in 1905 to consult and devise ways and means by which the position of labor in regard to our rights and interests might be discussed and formulated. That conference was attended by 117 presidents or representatives of presidents of the international trade unions of our country, together with the Executive Council.

The conference adopted what came to be known as Labor's Bill of Grievances. All present at the conference presented the Bill of Grievances to the President, the President *pro tem* of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, on March 21, 1906. The Bill of Grievances outlined labor's grievances and contained an arraignment of those who refused

to legislate in favor of labor and the people or who confined their efforts to the wishes of the special interests. It concluded:

As labor's representatives we ask you to redress these grievances, for it is in your power so to do. Labor now appeals to you, and we trust that it may not be in vain. But if perchance you may not heed us, we shall appeal to the conscience and the support of our fellow citizens.

After that meeting a plan of campaign was formulated and the following procedure was adopted:

We will stand by our friends and administer a stinging rebuke to men or parties who are either indifferent, negligent or hostile.

Later, the policy was approved of having representatives of the A. F. of L. appear before the Platform Committees of the major political parties for the purpose of pressing upon them the necessity of including in their statement of political intentions declarations for legislation helpful to labor and essential to the best interests of all the people.

Following the defining of these policies, organized labor ventured into an aggressive campaign to elect such men to public office in the executive and legislative branches of government irrespective of political party and as by their records and attitudes manifested themselves to be favorably inclined to the demands made by labor in the interest of the workers and of all the people.

The congressional elections in 1910 resulted in a change of the political complexion of the House of Representatives, and organized labor was given a large measure of credit for that important change. It was realized that the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. was inherently sound, practical and potent for even greater influence and power in our political life.

As the years passed on, greater advantages were secured through our non-partisan political policy. Those in control of the major political parties began to realize that labor was not seeking mere political preferment, but was concerned solely with securing legislation helpful to the economic advancement of the wage earners and the social advancement of all our people.

This high ideal in the political endeavors of our people met with ever increasing favorable response in the election to Congress of members of the major political parties who more fully and truly represented the hopes and aspirations of the wage earners and of all our people.

By 1917 practically every demand set out in the petition to Congress in the Bill of Grievances submitted in 1906 had been enacted into law. The one exception was the proposed statute to enable states to protect themselves from the competition of the products of convict labor of other states.

Since the Bill of Grievances was submitted lack of progress in securing state legislation clearly demonstrated that national legislation was indispensable if the child life of our nation is to be made secure. Since 1881 we have sought the passage of laws in the several states forbidding the employment of children in industry. In 1914 we caused to be introduced into Congress a bill prohibiting interstate transportation of products in the production of which the labor of children under certain ages was employed. In 1916 this bill was enacted into law, only to be declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1918. We then caused to be introduced a bill putting an excise tax of ten per cent on products coming into interstate commerce into which entered the labor of children under a certain age. This measure became a law

and was also declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1922. Thereafter we caused to be introduced into Congress a constitutional enabling act authorizing Congress to prohibit the exploitation of child life. This enabling act was approved by Congress in June of this year and must now receive the approval of three-fourths of the State legislatures to become effective as part of the constitution.

In the past month the U.S. Supreme Court evidently was compelled to recognize the constitutional power and right of the legislative branch of government to modify, restrict, regulate or control the judiciary power of the government. Ever since the courts invaded the industrial life of our people by the issuance of prohibitory mandates directed against trade unions and their normal and rightful activities, we have protested against this violation of the constitutional guarantee of workers to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Beginning with 1898 we have endeavored to secure legislation restricting the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes. After years of struggle, we finally secured the Clayton Law in 1914, only to find the U.S. Supreme Court soon thereafter emasculating the effective remedies contained in that law. This recent decision of the Supreme Court goes far to restore to the Clayton Act effectiveness of which it had been robbed. The constitutional power of Congress to regulate judicial procedure was confirmed in the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court which sustained the constitutionality of that provision in the Clayton Law which secured to everyone charged with indirect contempt a trial by jury and which deprives the courts of power heretofore considered beyond the reach of the legislative branch of government. To that extent the Clayton law has been maintained.

While labor's attention was directed

primarily toward the winning of the great World War the reactionary financial and political parties concentrated every conceivable effort toward the election of a Congress that would be subservient to their interests and opposed to the people's interest after the war had ended. In this they were successful. From March 5, 1919, to March 4, 1923, two of the most reactionary Congresses of the U.S. came into power. All legislation proposed in these Congresses was so inimical to the best interests of labor and the people that in 1922 a radical change was effected in the personnel of both the House and Senate. Through our non-partisan political campaign there were defeated for the Senate eleven men to whom the word "labor" itself was abhorrent and there were elected 23 Senators who expressed themselves publicly as favoring legislation proposed by labor in the interest of the workers and of the whole people. There were likewise elected 170 members to the House of Representatives who had received the support and encouragement of labor's non-partisan political campaign and whose election was generally conceded to have been due to labor's opposition to their opponents in the campaign.

The 1922 Congressional elections produced one of the greatest triumphs of the non-partisan political policy of our Federation. In the first session of the present Congress not one measure inimical to the interests of the workers and the people was enacted into law. Approximately a dozen legislative proposals helpful to labor and the people were enacted into law. Some of these were enacted even over the veto of the President, demonstrating that members of Congress were responsive to the idealism of the non-partisan political policies of the A. F. of L.

When the 1924 national elections approached, the A. F. of L., by direction of previous conventions, followed

its traditional non-partisan political campaign procedure by sending representatives to the conventions of the major political parties, presenting to them in identical form such legislative and constitutional proposals as the E.C. of the A. F. of L. considered of immediate and paramount importance to the wage earners and to the people of the United States. The statements presented to the major parties are as follows:

To the Chairman and Members of the Platform and Resolutions Committees of the 1924 Republican and Democratic National Conventions:

Out of our experience as workers and citizens of this republic American labor has reached carefully considered conclusions upon proposals that should be embodied in our national policies. As your political party is to make an appeal to the minds and consciences of the voters for support of a national program to be formulated in your party platform, as representatives of America's workers we submit for your most earnest consideration proposals that labor deems essential to continue national progress and maintenance of a genuine patriotism that comes from confidence in guiding political ideals as well as wisdom and integrity of administration.

With fully justified reasons our voters will scrutinize most critically the declarations and decisions of party conventions held this year. There is imperative need for revival of a feeling of high responsibility for maintaining political activity on a plane compatible with those ideals for which we as a republic stand. The following proposals constitute the legislative program which labor urges as imperative and eminently constructive, and insists should be included in your platform:

To promote highest material progress which is the basis for national effectiveness as well as an agency for national service, we urge that industry and commerce be freed from legislative prohibitions that restrict development in conformity to economic requirements. To this end we propose the repeal of anti-trust legislation and the enactment of legislation that will provide regulation in public interest and legalize economic organization as well as the constructive activities of trade associations.

It is unescapable that an integral part of legislation establishing this economic policy is full recognition of the right of workers to assist themselves in unions for their protection and advancement both as workers and citizens and collectively to carry on the legitimate functions of trade unions. Perversion of the injunctive process to apply to personal relations in industrial disputes must be prohibited and equity procedure returned to its beneficent service in protection of property.

It is essential for the conservation of national virility that child life be protected. We therefore urge the ratification by the states of the joint resolution passed by the Congress, to amend the Constitution empowering Congress to enact such legislation as will safeguard the future child life of our Republic.

Because the labor clauses of the Transportation Act of 1920 have proved ineffective, we ask their repeal and the enactment of legislation that will afford opportunity for the voluntary organizations of management and employees to deal with problems of industrial relations.

We demand the enactment of legislation providing that products of convict labor shipped from one state into another shall be subject to the

laws of the latter state exactly as though they had been produced therein.

In order to mitigate unemployment attending business depressions, we urge the enactment of legislation authorizing the construction and repair of public works be initiated in periods of acute unemployment.

In appreciation we urge adequate provisions for the full rehabilitation of all injured in the service during the World War.

We urge proper recognition of the work of those in the civilian service of the government with adequate compensation based upon equitable classification.

We favor the enactment of more comprehensive compensation laws to provide for all workers not covered by state compensation acts. We demand more liberal provisions for those incapacitated by industrial accidents or occupational diseases.

We maintain that the Volstead Act is contrary to the desire of the majority of our citizens as well as the spirit of the 18th Amendment, and we demand that it be modified to permit the manufacture and sale of beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent alcohol.

We declare for the maintenance of freedom of speech, press, assemblage and association. We oppose any regulation to restrict these fundamental rights, believing that individuals and groups should be responsible for their acts and utterances.

We oppose conscription except as a military measure for defensive war and oppose all proposals to initiate compulsory labor under whatever guise.

In order to maintain representative government based upon the will of the people, we advocate a constitutional amendment enabling Con-

gress to re-enact by two-thirds vote any measure declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Labor favors graduated income and inheritance taxes and opposes the sales tax as well as all other attempts to place excessive burdens on those least able to pay.

We demand that our nation identify itself with international agencies and conferences to promote world peace. We urge membership in the League of Nations and participation in the world court.

These proposals were signed by all members of the E.C.

The Republican Platform Committee granted only five minutes each to two members who were continually interrupted. This committee reported to the 1924 A. F. of L. Convention as follows:

"The Republican convention gave to Labor no better treatment than was accorded by its Platform Committee, because in the platform adopted by that convention, the hopes, ideals and demands of the progressive-minded people of the nation in general, and of Labor in particular, were almost totally ignored.

The Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L. also appeared before the Platform Committee of the National Democratic Convention in New York City. The secretary submitted the measures which Labor deemed necessary to safeguard the interests and welfare of the workers, and the president of the A. F. of L., although suffering from a severe illness, made the argument for the ideals and demands of Labor. A courteous hearing was extended to him, and the committee was given all the time it desired for the presentation of the cause of Labor. While all the representatives of Labor were received by the Platform Committee, the Democratic National Convention, like the Republican National

Convention, ignored the hopes and ideals and demands of Labor.

During the closing session of the Democratic National Convention, there was assembled in Cleveland, a group of organizations interested in promoting a movement for the furtherance of progressive political action in our national affairs. This conference resulted in the selection of a presidential candidate and the adoption of declarations of political intentions formulated in a forward-looking platform. The Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L. did not appear at this conference meeting, or appear before any of its committees or participate in its deliberations. Subsequent to the close of this conference and the adjournment of the Democratic convention in New York City, and before the selection of a vice-presidential candidate by this progressive group, the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L. did present to the committee having in charge the selection of a vice-presidential candidate the same demands as were presented to the major political parties.

Subsequently our Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee reviewed the platforms of the major political parties and of the Cleveland progressive group. It likewise analyzed the records and attitudes of all presidential and vice-presidential candidates. A most careful analysis was made, and the findings were presented to the E.C. of the A. F. of L.

The E.C. at a meeting held in Atlantic City, August 2, considered this report of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, reviewed the entire political situation and in full accord with the expressed procedure of the national non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. as directed by previous conventions, adopted the following declaration as Labor's position in the 1924 national presidential campaign:

"The Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Campaign Committee presented Labor's proposals to the Republican convention.

The Republican convention gave Labor's representatives a brief and curt hearing. The Republican platform ignores entirely the injunction issue. It fails to deal with Labor's right to organize or the right of the workers even in self-defense collectively to cease work. That platform sustains the Railroad Labor Board, with all that it means in the direction of governmental coercion of wage earners. It fails to recommend the ratification by the states of the child labor constitutional amendment.

"The Republican convention nominated candidates unacceptable to Labor.

"The candidate for vice-president is one of the most outspoken enemies of Labor and is the founder of an organization dedicated to the task of writing into all political platform planks calling for the anti-union shop—an organization which also encouraged and supported the Daugherty injunction against the railroad shopmen.

"Labor's representatives submitted to the Democratic convention identical proposals to those submitted to the Republican convention. At this convention an extended hearing was granted. The Democratic platform pledges that party to legislation to regulate hours and conditions of all Labor, a proposal against which the A. F. of L. has struggled throughout its whole history. It is silent as to the injunction. It does not meet the Railroad Labor Board issue. On that point it is so equivocal that the enemies of Labor may well feel that their desires will be met. It, too, fails to recommend the ratification by the states of the child labor constitutional amendment.

"The Democratic convention nomi-

nated candidates unacceptable to Labor.

"As to the candidates and platforms, both the Republican and the Democratic national party conventions flaunted the desires of Labor, the Republican convention in an arrogant manner; the Democratic convention by that evasiveness which is the customary mark of insincerity.

"There remains the candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette and Burton K. Wheeler, the first an independent Republican; the second an Independent Democrat, running as such.

"These candidates have proffered a platform in which the economic issues of the day are met in a manner more nearly conforming to Labor's proposals than any other platform.

"This platform pledges a remedy for the injunction evil.

"It pledges the right to organize and collectively to cease work.

"It pledges protection of the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage.

"It pledges abolishment of the Railroad Labor Board.

"It pledges a measure to annul the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws permanently unconstitutional.

"It declares for direct election of President and Vice-President and election of federal judges.

"It recommends prompt ratification by the states of the child labor constitutional amendment.

"It pledges subsequent federal legislation to protect child life.

"On international issues this platform does not conform to Labor's proposals but it does more than any other political platform to meet Labor's views in relation to domestic economic issues.

"We cannot do other than point out this fact, together with the further and perhaps more important fact that

the candidates, Mr. LaFollette and Mr. Wheeler have, throughout their whole political careers, stood steadfast in defense of the rights and interests of the wage earners and the farmers.

"We cannot fail to observe that both Republican and Democratic parties, through manipulated control, are in a condition of moral bankruptcy which constitutes a menace and a peril to our country and its institutions. Machine-politicians have brought upon our country moral obliquity and unashamed betrayal. We are judging on the basis of the condition which exists and this judgment will be reversed only when the conditions upon which it is based are changed.

"Service to the people is a noble cause which demands consecration and the American Labor movement demands that there be that consecration in candidates to whom it gives support.

"Our course is clear. In pointing to the platform and records of the independent candidates, we do so with the confidence that no other course can be pursued if we are to remain true to our convictions and our traditions. Those who are hostile to Labor and to the people generally and who devoted their energies to the service of reaction and special interests, must be opposed.

"We call upon the wage earners and the great masses of the people everywhere who stand for freedom, justice, democracy, and human progress, to rally in this campaign, to the end that the representatives of reaction and special interests may be defeated and the faithful friends and servants of the masses elected.

"Cooperation hereby urged is not a pledge of identification with an independent party movement or a third party, nor can it be construed as support for such a party group or movement, except as such action accords with our non-partisan political policy.

We do not accept government as the solution of the problems of life. Major problems of life and Labor must be dealt with by voluntary groups and organizations of which trade unions are an essential and integral part. Neither can this cooperation imply our support, acceptance or endorsement of policies or principles advocated by any minority groups or organizations that may see fit to support the candidacies of Senator LaFollette and Senator Wheeler.

"In the campaign to elect men to Congress, regardless of their political group or party affiliation and deserving of Labor's support, there must be unity of purpose and method, therefore leadership must lie with the only organization having the right to speak for the entire labor movement. In this the A. F. of L. yields to none, but will maintain steadfast its leadership, guidance and direction.

"In the selection and election of men to public office within the several states, leadership must lie with our state federations of labor and in city or county elections this right must rest with central labor bodies.

"Organized labor owes allegiance to no political party or group. It is partisan to principles—the principles of freedom, of justice of democracy.

"It is the duty of trade unionists, their friends and sympathizers, and all lovers of freedom, justice and democratic ideals and institutions to unite in defeating those seeking public office who are indifferent or hostile to the people's rights and interests. It is the duty of all to support such candidates to public office who have been fair, just and outspoken in behalf of the welfare of the common people.

"We shall analyze the record and attitude of every aspirant to public office and shall give our findings the widest possible publicity. Labor's enemies and friends must be clearly known and be definitely indicated.

"In calling upon all affiliated and recognized national and international and brotherhood organizations, state federations of labor, central labor bodies, local unions, Labor's friends and sympathizers, to give united, unrestricted, loyal and active support to the non-partisan campaign now set in motion, we emphasize the imperative need of an intensive educational campaign to enable all to act with discrimination and wisdom in this election, and to stand faithfully by our friends and elect them and to oppose our enemies and to defeat them."

"This declaration was signed by the members of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.

It will be noted that by this action the A. F. of L. did not endorse what has been miscalled a third party movement. It expressed preferment for the election of Senators LaFollette and Wheeler, the independent candidates, and their platform, as more nearly representing the hopes and demands of Labor.

The E.C. also increased the membership of the Executive Committee of the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee. In the campaign that followed the A. F. of L. exerted every influence of which it was capable to promote the candidacy and further the election of Candidates LaFollette and Wheeler to the offices of President and Vice-President.

From the opening of the 1924 political campaign until its close a studied effort has been made to belittle and stigmatize the Sixty-eighth Congress, when as a matter of fact it has been the most progressive and responsive we have had in recent decades.

The Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee and the E.C. of the A. F. of L. took a leading position in the furtherance of the election of Congressional candidates who merited the support of organized labor by reason of their past favorable attitudes and

records in public office. It was deemed of equal, if not of greater importance that the legislative branch of our national government should be expressive of the will of the people rather than represent the interests of a few. This effort of the non-partisan political campaign was confined in the main to candidates within the major political parties. The importance of electing a forward looking Congress was called to the attention of Labor and for this purpose the following declaration was issued by our National Non-Political Campaign Committee:

America needs a Congress for the people.

There is in your district a candidate who deserves your active support irrespective of party affiliation. There is a candidate who is for the people and against the great reactionary interests.

Take off your coat for that candidate.

See that reaction is defeated.

In 1922 the people of the U.S. followed the lead of Labor and elected 170 such members of the House of Representatives. Because of that great achievement the present Congress has enacted no law hostile to the people's interests.

This Congress stopped the flood of immigration. It blocked the sales tax gouge. It blocked the Mellon burdensome tax plan. It exposed the Veterans' Bureau graft. It forced Daugherty out. It drove Fall into retirement. It gave the people the facts about the oil scandals.

That's what a forward-looking Congress means to Labor and the people generally.

In this election it is possible to elect enough such men so that the interests of the people will dominate the next Congress. The people can easily enough elect 250 faithful members of Congress who will stand true in defense of freedom and the

rights of the people. Such a majority would bring to America a real era of progress and achievement. Such an era would drive the political wolves out of public life. It would change the whole government into a machine for the service of the people.

The reactionary interests are doing everything they can to belittle Congress. They do not like Congress—and they say they do not like it—because Congress is directly elected by the people. And since the direct election of Senators and the direct primaries Congress has come more and more to be truly representative of the people. General Dawes and other reactionaries have openly attacked the progressive group in Congress which passed so many progressive measures in the last session.

The reactionaries like institutions over which the people have no control. They would like it if the Supreme Court could be given still more power and if the President's power also could be increased—both at the expense of the power of Congress. Reaction works wherever it can, through those farthest from popular control.

Congress is to be subservient to the Chief Executive. It is to be snatched out of the Constitution by political legerdemain so that there will be only two effective branches of government—the Executive and judicial.

Therefore the edict has gone forth from reactionary headquarters that all members of the Senate and House of the U.S. Congress elected in November by either of the big parties must be "dependable"—that is, they must pledge themselves to do the bidding of the Chief Executive, whoever he may be, no matter how offensive such a course would be to the electorate or injurious to our republic.

If the present Chief Executive had had a "dependable" Congress there would have been no Teapot Dome investigation.

There would have been no adjusted compensation for our boys who offered the supreme sacrifice in the great war if we had had a "dependable" Congress.

The American people should be awakened to the plot against the tried and true members of the present Congress. It is time the people of our great nation—the greatest on earth—should cast aside apathy and understand before election a "dependable" Congress is a Congress of rubber stamps.

The constitution provides for three branches of government—the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial. Should the political intriguers succeed in fooling the people so that they will vote for members of Congress who will blindly follow the dictates of the Chief Executive, then there will be only two effective branches of government—the Executive and Judicial.

We therefore urge upon all who believe that the Representatives and Senators in Congress should represent the will of the people, to vote for such candidates, irrespective of party affiliations.

Work for such candidates. Organize for them.

See that every possible vote is cast for them. No vote counts until it is cast and tabulated.

Thirty-three members of the U.S. Senate sought renomination this year.

Six of the most objectionable of the reactionaries were defeated in primaries or conventions or retired.

Every Senator supported by the workers in the primaries has been renominated. Those who had contests won by substantial majorities.

Labor is supporting progressive Democrats and progressive Republicans for the Senate in an absolutely non-partisan manner.

In nearly every state there is a progressive candidate for the Senate. Do your part and see that he is elected!

Before the last congressional election in November, 1922, there were not more than 50 pro-Labor and forward-looking Congressmen. Labor and progressive Republicans and Democrats threw themselves into the primary and election campaigns and elected 170 members of the nation's House of Representatives. These are distributed among the various parties as follows:

Democrats, 105; Republicans, 63; Farmer-Labor, 1; Independent, 1.

An increase of 120 pro-labor Congressmen in one election!

The re-election of those 120 and the election of 80 more Congressmen representing the people will bring the people a safe working majority of 250 out of a total of 435 members.

The election of 50 such Congressmen (less than half the increase of the last election) would give the people a bare majority.

Not one measure opposed by Labor was enacted into law by the present Congress.

Among the most reactionary of these defeated proposals were the schemes of Secretary Mellon and President Coolidge and the consolidated interests to untax the rich and tax the poor.

Among other vicious proposals were the sales tax, efforts to hush scandals in government departments that have been partially uncovered, the veto of the postal employees' wage bill and the veto of the soldiers' adjusted compensation.

Eleven measures that were ap-

proved by the A. F. of L. and in favor of which representatives of the A. F. of L. appeared, were passed by both houses and enacted into law.

Some measures favored by Labor secured such a large vote in the last Congress that they will be passed in the next Congress if the November election brings even a slight increase in the number of pro-Labor and forward-looking Congressmen.

The bill to abolish the Railway Labor Board and to reestablish joint negotiations and voluntary arbitration of railway labor disputes was deferred by a filibuster conducted by the leaders of the present administration who did not dare let it come to a vote. A test vote showed 188 favoring the bill and 160 against the bill.

The farmers' relief bill to establish a governmental corporation to aid in export of grain was similarly deferred.

Anti-injunction legislation will likewise receive attention and the right of wage earners to collective bargaining and collectively to cease work must also be set out clearly and in unmistakable terms.

All of these laws and other measures desired by the people can be passed with the election of 50 additional pro-Labor and progressive candidates.

Elect them!

Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them, oppose our enemies and defeat them whether they be candidates for President, for Vice President, for Congress or other offices; whether Executive, Legislative, or Judicial.

In the furtherance of this campaign to elect a forward-looking Congress along non-partisan political lines, American organized labor, including the railroad brotherhoods, worked as

a unit. At no time have the forces of organized labor been so completely united in a national congressional political campaign. The results obtained may be approximated as follows:

The number of Congressmen elected with Labor's endorsement totals 170, the same as the number of Congressmen elected with Labor's endorsement in 1922. Of these 125 are Democrats, 40 are Republicans, three are Farmer-Laborites and one is an Independent. The results in the Senate have not been definitely ascertained at this moment because of the uncertainty as to the results in some states and pending replacements in other states.

It is evident, however, that Labor's non-partisan political campaign, insofar as congressional elections are concerned, in spite of exceptional difficulties of presidential year, thoroughly justify the assertion that Labor achieved a signal success in the furtherance of the interests of the wage earners and of the people of the country generally. The non-partisan political influence thus maintained in the popular branches of government of the United States assures the people that whatever reactionary proposals may at any time emanate from the executive branch of government shall not find a ready response and confirmation in the legislative branch of government. Thereby the interests of the people in general and of Labor in particular are largely safeguarded, and the opportunity is provided for the realization of many of the hopes and aspirations for progressive legislation for the masses of the people.

Reviewing and summarizing the experiences had in the recent presidential and congressional campaign and the non-partisan procedure followed, there have come to our attention weaknesses that must be eliminated and difficulties that must be overcome, if we are to make our government more responsive to the will and the

needs of the great masses of our people and not submissive to the interests of property alone.

This campaign has demonstrated that under the laws in our several states, the standing of political groups or political parties is so narrowly circumscribed as to make impossible a free expression of the political intentions of those not in complete accord with the existing major political parties. This is a difficulty that must be overcome and legislation is needed so that independent political movements may function effectively whenever the need for same may arise.

Another object that must be achieved if we are to have a free expression of the political intentions and desires of the people is the elimination of the cumbersome and archaic ballot definitely designed to prevent intelligent choice of candidates by the electorate and to make independent voting difficult. Legislation to remove this difficulty is imperative.

While the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. has resulted in remarkable achievements in protecting and promoting the interests of the wage earners and of our citizenry, there is room for improvement and extension of our efforts. The effort of organized labor manifested in a non-partisan manner should find expression in the primaries of all political parties or movements more effectively than has heretofore been the case.

It is also essential that the non-partisan political machinery of the A. F. of L. must be constantly active in the support of men to public offices who are truly responsive to the interests of our people and to Labor in particular as well as to be constantly on guard that those having received Labor's support will be true to the promises made. The attainment of this object demands that the non-partisan political campaign committees created during the recent national

presidential and congressional campaign be maintained on a permanent basis, instructed to carry on their work continuously. It is, therefore, directed that our National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee be charged with the duty of carrying out this suggested procedure.

With the extension of the right of suffrage to the women of the U.S. a new factor has entered our political life which cannot and should not be ignored, but which should be included in our non-partisan political campaign procedure. We need but mention the right of suffrage now granted to the wives and women members of the families of trade unionists to indicate the importance of the extension of our non-partisan campaign activities among women in general.

Then, too, there are other progressive minded groups composed of persons who cannot by reason of their occupation or station in life be affiliated directly to the trade union movement, but who are sympathetic and responsive to the needs of the American wage earners and to our non-partisan political campaign policy. To embrace these helpful influences in Labor's political struggle, it is directed that our Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, with the co-operation and approval of the E.C., devise a plan and procedure that will accomplish that end.

This extension of our non-partisan political procedure will not only attract to ourselves the sympathetic support of all progressively minded groups and influences, but will enable the wage earners of our land to direct the political tendencies and activities of our nation, our states and municipalities, without the necessity of concerning ourselves with the coming or going or realignment of any political party or group.

In the pursuit of an honorable course to protect and promote the

rights and interests of the great masses of our people, wage earners included, we have been and are less concerned with partisanship than the achievements of practical results. We are partisan to principles—not to a political party. The American labor movement, if it is to be true to its mission to defend, advocate, promote and protect the rights, interests and welfare of America's wage earners and American people, must be as free from political party domination now as at any time in the history of our movement.

(P. 205) The broadcasting of Labor's political program has increased the prestige of our leadership and demonstrated the integrity of the spokesmen of the A. F. of L., with the result that increased respect is held for the political power of the organized workers.

This wholesome result was made possible by the courageous and outspoken utterances of the A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, in answering the propaganda of our adroit political foes.

The A. F. of L. in Forty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, commends the officers, editors and the staff engaged in the vital work of disseminating information about our movement, for their brilliant and devoted service at a most critical period, urges all unions to give this important function of the E.C. the fullest financial and moral support, and pledge ourselves to expand these activities, with the knowledge that the trade union movement will be richly rewarded, as the result of the better understanding of Labor's aspirations that will result from this essentially educational and public service.

(P. 270) In its supplemental report to this convention, the E.C. briefly recites the causes that have impelled and compelled the A. F. of L. to venture

into the political sphere of our national, state and municipal governments. It sets forth clearly the origin and development of Labor's non-partisan political policy and impressively points out the progress made and achievements realized.

In words of dispassion, without bias or prejudice, free from fault finding or criticism, the E.C. has presented the attitude and activities of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations in recent presidential and congressional political campaigns.

It likewise presents clearly and supported by incontrovertible evidence that Labor's non-partisan political campaign was of tremendous effect upon our body politic and that through its procedure forces have been set in motion that will bring into being consequences of momentous importance to the better and fuller life of all our people.

The convention gives full approval and endorsement of the attitude and activities manifested and engaged in on the recent presidential and congressional political campaigns. We rejoice in the results achieved in the congressional elections and are inspired by the future opportunities presented to America's wage earners.

Labor having succeeded in elections where Congress and Congress alone was the issue, the effort was made in this recent election to reconquer Congress under the guise of a presidential election declared to be of paramount issue. Our non-partisan political policy withstood the test and issued forth triumphant and with its forces intact. The opponents having played their strongest card and having failed, the future belongs to Labor and progress.

Upon the several recommendations set forth in the E.C.'s report having for their purpose the enlargement of

Labor's non-partisan political policy and procedure, the convention finds occasion only for words of commendation and approval, for embraced in these recommendations there is contained a full understanding and intelligent vision of Labor's needs and requirements.

The world-wide change taking place is not merely political. It does not merely promise to establish governments of, for and by the people. It is also economic and social. In our land it promises to give Labor, the farmers and the other economic groups composing the masses, more influence in our political system and an improved position in our social structure. The object of the non-partisan policy is to make our government more responsive to the will and the needs of the great masses of our people and not submissive to the interests of property alone.

Our non-partisan political policy does not imply that we shall ignore the existence or attitudes of political parties. It does intend that Labor proposes to use political parties and be used by none. Appreciative of present tendencies and future developments the E.C. accurately visions the future in practical terms when it says we need not concern ourselves so much with the coming or going of political parties, their realignment or the development of new and independent political parties or groups. No one will deny the inevitable change of political parties or groupings made imperative by the ever progressive enlightenment of the masses and changes in the social, economic and industrial order of a people. There is noticeable at present throughout the world the manifestations of a change of political groupings representing on the one hand the desire to conserve the domination of material forces and wealth, property and property rights—and on the other, the hope and ambition to substitute the human aspira-

tions and personal well-being of all our people as the controlling influence in our governmental affairs.

No one factor has been more helpful in the development of this tendency than the trade union movement. No procedure has done more to increase the wage earners' power and influence in this changing order than Labor's non-partisan political policy. No other method of political expression has developed such a clear and definite moral leadership or has focussed such helpful consideration of and attention to the principles of human welfare.

Our non-partisan political policy and procedure have brought into being indisputable evidences of effectiveness and have afforded Labor a real and full opportunity of molding national, state and municipal decisions.

(P. 269) Two resolutions favoring a Labor Party were rejected.

(1925, p. 60) When the E.C. made its supplementary report to the El Paso Convention it was in a position to give statistics as to the number of candidates for the United States Senate who had been supported and the number elected in 1924. Twenty-one candidates (7 Republicans and 14 Democrats) were supported and 15 of them were elected (7 Republicans and 8 Democrats).

State federations of labor, city central bodies, local unions and general and volunteer organizers should make every preparation for the election in November, 1926, of a new Congress. Thirty-three members of the Senate and 435 members of the House of Representatives are to be elected. The non-partisan political campaigns in the congressional elections in the last four years have been so effective that it is hoped as much if not more vigor will be injected into the coming congressional election.

The most effective work in choosing friends of Labor and the people and defeating foes of Labor and the peo-

ple is in the primaries. Thirty-three states will hold primaries for the nomination of Senators and 48 states will nominate members of the House of Representatives in their respective districts.

From information received as early as in May of this year political fences already were being erected by aspirants for Senators and Representatives. The E.C. has kept in touch with the various labor officials of the several states and in other ways to learn whom were being favored and by what interests.

Immediately after this convention the E.C. intends to enter into the various campaigns for the purpose of supporting those who can be depended upon to be true to the people, for if they are true to the people they will be true to Labor. The records of all members of Congress will be sent to the various central bodies and local unions and such information given as will aid the wage earners in knowing for whom to vote.

As no president is to be elected, the election in 1926 is considered by many as an "off year." But Labor must not fail or lose interest in the nomination and election of candidates friendly to Labor. Nothing ever has been gained by putting off until tomorrow what can be done today. Therefore, it is hoped that the central bodies, local unions and the great rank and file will rally to the support of the campaign that will be outlined by this convention and by the E.C. for next year's political contest.

During the presidential campaign of 1924 Labor deviated somewhat from its former procedure in that it favored the exercise of every possible means for the purpose of making it easier for independent candidates to be placed on tickets in the various states.

The practice of the A. F. of L. has been to investigate the labor records of all candidates in the primaries and

support irrespective of party those most favorable to Labor and the people. After nominations are made the same procedure is followed in the elections.

Another suggestion growing out of that campaign was that the E.C. should devise a plan to bring about the cooperation with the A. F. of L. of other progressively-minded groups composed of persons who were not by reason of their occupations or stations in life eligible to membership in the trade union movement.

In summing up the non-partisan political history of the year the El Paso Convention declared that for the A. F. of L. to be true to its mission, it must be as free from political party domination now as at any time in its history. This means that the A. F. of L. non-partisan political policy in the future will be along the usual definitely-outlined paths.

Legislative committees of the various central bodies and local unions will during the campaigns automatically become non-partisan political campaign committees.

In conducting all non-partisan political campaigns the A. F. of L. will maintain control within itself of the decisions to be made and the procedure to be followed. The E.C., however, believes that it should accept the support that is freely given of any group that has for its purpose the carrying out of the policy of the A. F. of L.

The recommendation of the El Paso Convention that the non-partisan political campaign activities should be extended to the women voters in general is most practical. This should be accomplished through the rank and file of the local unions and the working women in industry. Members of trade unions and their sympathizers should urge the women members of their families to vote both in the primaries and in the elections. They also should be urged to extend their solicitation to the women who sym-

pathize with the efforts of Labor to elect candidates who will be true to the people.

It has been apparent for several years, and attention was called to it at the El Paso Convention, that it is found difficult in some states to carry out the non-partisan policy in voting. Some ballots have many names upon them and under different party designations. A believer in the non-partisan principle may desire to vote for candidates on several tickets. The desire is often defeated by the rules covering the marking of ballots, which in the various states are not uniform.

It is recommended that all state federations of labor and city central bodies make a study of the laws in their respective states covering the primaries and elections in order, if necessary, to secure legislation that will make them more responsive to the will of the people.

They are also urged to devise ways and means of educating the people as to the proper way of marking the sometime extensive ballots. After such investigation the officials of state federations of labor and central bodies are requested to communicate with the president of the A. F. of L. in order that he may if necessary give such advice as will be helpful in changing the laws to make it less difficult to mark ballots intelligently.

That the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. has borne fruit is evidenced by the remarkable number of remedial laws that have been secured from Congress and the many laws inimical to Labor that have been defeated. Since 1906, 208 laws urged by Labor have been enacted and several hundred detrimental to Labor and the people have been defeated. During the last three Congresses 54 bills that would have been detrimental to the interest of the people including Labor were defeated.

It has been noticeable in the last few years that influential men in the

dominant political parties are conducting a campaign to abolish primary elections. The object is to return to the old nominating system by which candidates were selected in conventions composed of delegates chosen by political bosses. These efforts have been defeated in several states, but the agitation will not be discontinued on that account. There is no doubt that the campaign for this purpose will be kept up for years, and it will demand the most careful watchfulness of voters to prevent such a revolutionary backward step.

State federations of labor and city central bodies are urged to enter most vigorous protest where any attempt is being made to abolish the primary elections. The primaries were established for the purpose of giving the people the right to say who shall be nominees for public office. The convention system, on the other hand, takes out of the hands of the people the selection of candidates and gives it to a few persons.

It is apropos at this time to remind the delegates to this convention and the officers and members of all national, international and local unions that the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. has passed through the crucible of experience and has proved to be the best plan yet adopted for Labor to voice itself politically.

During the years since the non-partisan political policy has been followed by the A. F. of L. it has seen many independent or third party movements come and go. Generally, they existed only for one election. In a few cases, but very few, the leaders would endeavor to inject new life into their political organizations at the following election, but with little success.

The people generally are beginning to realize that hide-bound partyism does not benefit them. All too frequently they have learned that pledges in party platforms are not always respected, but have been used simply

as a stepping stone to office. They have therefore reached the conclusion that the only method they can follow that will bring about the election of men who will be true to the people is through a non-partisan political policy. It is noticeable that in every election the votes for candidates who have been true to the people show increases over the previous years. In many congressional districts the farmers have joined with Labor in its non-partisan policy. We believe that as a result of its non-partisan political policy the launching of third party movements has been proved wasted effort and injurious to the desire to elect candidates with favorable records. The 1922 and 1924 political campaigns definitely determined this fact. Experience therefore has taught Labor that to be successful, politically it must continue in the future as in the past to follow its non-partisan political policy.

We are confident that if every member of organized labor interests himself or herself in carrying out that policy, a Congress will be elected next fall that will favor legislation so much needed by the people and desired by Labor.

Getting out the votes and having them cast for friendly candidates will be the duty of the rank and file and officials of all labor organizations and their sympathizers.

(P. 277) Immediately after this convention the A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee will begin preparations for next year's Congressional election. It cannot begin too soon.

The assault on our democratic institutions has not only continued unabated since last year's Presidential election but is has been intensified and extended. The E.C. refers to the nation-wide plot to weaken or abolish the primaries. All of the great reactionary newspapers and commercial

organizations are enthusiastically and persistently at work in this campaign. It would carry the nation back a full quarter century to the narrow, corrupt and inefficient partisan politics that governed the country.

But the assault on the primaries is accompanied by another campaign, even more sinister and reactionary—the nation-wide and concerted effort to undermine and destroy the authority of Congress.

The sneering libels on the last Congress because of its progressivism have been replaced within the last year or two in a large part of the daily press by attacks against Congress generally, and against congressional government.

The demand that Congress adjourn, the so-called humorous jibes at Congress, are always in evidence when Congress is considering a measure for the masses rather than the classes.

This newest reactionary campaign, unparalleled in its truculence and impudence, means nothing less than an effort insidiously to overthrow the American form of government and to replace it by a supreme executive. It is an attempt to set up in this country a system differing only in degree from the government of Mussolini, for which our stand-patters cannot suppress their sympathy and admiration. With Congress subordinated there could be no democratic or representative government, only an autocracy, an oligarchy, a bureaucracy, or an unholy combination of these outworn forms of misgovernment.

Every decade and nearly every election has shown a more progressive Congress—a Congress more truly representative of the people and of labor. The Congress elected last year to meet this December was no exception.

In spite of the overshadowing importance of the Presidential campaign nearly half of the present Senate and

House were elected with the support of labor and of Republican, Democratic and Independent Progressives, while scarcely a fourth were elected against the opposition of the popular forces.

In the election of 1924, the A. F. of L. followed its traditional non-partisan political campaign procedure. This policy is persistently and often intentionally misstated. While it endorses no parties, it uses all. It endorses neither the two major parties nor any third party. It does endorse candidates of the two major parties and occasionally of third parties, or candidates running independently. In the last election it endorsed 303 candidates of the House of Representatives, electing 186. Of those endorsed 280 were Republicans and Democrats and 23 were Independents or representatives of minor parties. And labor emphasized the Congressional rather than the Presidential election. These figures give an accurate picture of labor's non-partisan policy and there is no excuse for further misrepresentation.

The next step cannot be open to question. Further progress toward strengthening the popular forces in Congress and securing a firm and reliable majority favorable to labor and the people must come through a more energetic and effective national organization of the primary and election campaigns—re-enforcing the local campaigns and without any infringement of local autonomy. It will not be necessary to make any special effort in many congressional districts. The returns show that a large majority of those districts that have sent to Washington men friendly to the labor and popular cause in the last two campaigns, are safe for democracy. Other rock-ribbed conservative districts show no signs of getting early political wisdom. There remain less than a hundred close districts to be held or captured—not more than a few

in any one state—a task entirely within the range of practicable possibility for the national and local organizations of labor and its progressive allies.

A thoroughly and permanently progressive Congress is almost within our grasp. The last Congress was increasingly friendly to labor with the aid of certain fluctuating middle elements. The Congress meeting in December promises to show a similar line-up. In the next fall election an increase of 15 per cent among Congressmen friendly to labor would for the first time give a responsive majority without the doubtful aid of neutral elements.

The brilliant results already achieved in the brief period of fifteen years since the non-partisan policy was made nation-wide prove that the prospects of early success are excellent. More energetic and effective organization, with special concentration on districts now definitely proven to be promising, must infallibly bring further victories.

This natural and inevitable development of the non-partisan campaign policy not only opens up a vista of hope and promise to American Labor and American democracy; it is imperative as a measure of defense against the deadly menace of the present assault on representative government.

For if the reactionary interests succeed in the assault now being made, not only will political democracy be reduced to impotence, but the economic position and the organization rights of labor and even the individual liberty and legal status of the wage earner and the citizen will be placed in jeopardy.

(1926, p. 71) Immediately after the close of the Atlantic City convention the E.C. began a survey of the political situation in the U.S. so far as it affected members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. Let-

ters were written to various states requesting information as to the political situation and the activities that could be expected to encourage the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. The replies were most encouraging.

As a result of this circular inquiries were received from every state in the union as to the attitude of members of Congress on measures of interest to Labor. These inquiries numbered several hundreds. They came from not only officials of trade unions but from individual members of trade unions. Many members of Congress also requested copies of their labor records. As the primaries approached in the several states the legislative records were sent to the central bodies and local unions of members of Congress in the various districts. Where members of Congress had been unduly antagonistic to legislation favorable to Labor and the people the organized labor movements in the respective districts were notified. The most encouraging reports have come from many states. In those states where primaries have been held members of the United States Senate who have been antagonistic to Labor and the people were defeated through the influence of the labor movement. Candidates for the House of Representatives who have been friendly to Labor were in all cases successful.

The great issue now before the organized labor movement, as well as the unorganized and all those just-minded people who believe in justice is to get out the vote on election day. More than fifty per cent of those eligible to vote fail to register or cast a ballot on election days. A far less number vote in the primaries. The E.C. has urged every organization of labor, their officers and every member of the rank and file to make it their duty on election day not only to go to the polls and vote but urge and encourage others to vote. Not only

should they vote themselves but they should encourage the female members of their families to vote. The A. F. of L. has repeatedly declared that if there is anything wrong in our government it can be changed by the ballot. This is true, but in order for such changes to be brought about it is necessary that those candidates who would be just in carrying out the duties of their offices shall be elected and those candidates who would cater to the interests that oppose Labor and the people shall be defeated.

Another important issue is the insidious campaign to destroy the direct primaries. It is charged that because in certain states millions of dollars were expended to corrupt the electorate a return should be made to the old "boss-controlled" convention system. This is the most monstrous fiction that can be imagined. Conventions are made up of delegates elected by the people. If the people are competent to elect delegates to a convention to nominate candidates for public office they certainly should be competent to elect those candidates direct. Of course it is admitted that the cost of controlling a few political "bosses" in a convention is much less than corrupting the entire electorate. Therefore, the people have to decide whether they will be controlled by political "bosses" or by themselves, even if they do make mistakes. This question should be discussed in every national and international convention of labor, in every state federation and city central body and in every local union. The people should be made acquainted with the despicable idea behind the destruction of the direct primaries. They must be made to understand that carrying this policy out to its logical conclusion would gradually bring about a return to the dictatorship of a few men in all political affairs. If it were necessary to abolish the old "boss-ruled" conventions and establish the direct primaries it

is certainly just as necessary now to maintain the direct primaries. It must be remembered that what are known as political "bosses" never sleep, they are continually conniving to bring about a desired end. The people for one reason or another forget their political duties between elections and while they are asleep the political "bosses" through their propaganda agents manufacture sentiment in favor of objectionable candidates or principles that are a detriment to the people. The American labor movement will be untrue to itself unless it makes it one of its most important duties to keep alive the political spirit of the people. They must not be permitted to forget or forgive any unjust act of public men. If ballot boxes are "stuffed" or stolen, if election clerks miscount the ballots to the detriment of any candidate the laws provide a remedy. If there are not sufficient laws to prevent this corruption of the ballot new laws should be enacted. But under no circumstances should we return to the old system which permitted a few men to dictate who should be candidates for public office.

Before this convention adjourns the legislative records of members of Congress will have been sent to the labor organizations in their respective districts. This includes the candidates for Senators in those states where elections for the Senate are being held.

(P. 327) Labor opposes reactionary Democrats and reactionary Republicans without distinction and rightly so. It shows no favoritism in its loyal and effective support of progressive forward-looking candidates for public office. In every state and in almost every Congressional district labor has decided upon its candidates for the ensuing election. Partisan political considerations have had nothing to do with that decision.

The E.C. calls attention to the fact

that "The people, for one reason or another, forget their political duties between elections and while they are asleep the political 'bosses,' through their propaganda agents, manufacture sentiment in favor of objectionable candidates or principles that are a detriment to the people. The American labor movement will be untrue to itself unless it makes it one of its most important duties to keep alive the political spirit of the people."

Five years ago the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee was made permanent for this very purpose. It has lived up to its instructions so far as is allowed by the resources at its disposal and the time its members were able to give to these political activities.

The people must not be permitted to forget or forgive any unjust act of public men. In this respect labor has been able to do its full duty. But the selection of good and reliable men in the place of those thrown on the scrap heap is a more difficult task requiring more time, effort and means—especially for the cooperation with other popular groups, such as the organized farmers, and the popularization of constructive measures and policies supported in common by progressive elements.

The necessity of such cooperation is fully recognized in the statement of the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, and especially in relation to the farmers. The E.C. points out that labor urged Congress to pass the farmers' program and is willing at any and all times to aid the farmers seeking legislation that will advance their economic interest. It refers to the efforts of the industrial and financial interests to prejudice the farmers against labor and warns them that they must defeat the attempt to enroll them on that side.

Labor's campaign, is to defeat candidates controlled by reactionary industrial and financial interests and to

elect forward-looking candidates. In this there must be no shirking or slacking.

Organization and adherence to the principles and policies of American organized labor's non-partisan political campaign is essential if American labor's organized economic, industrial and social ideals and program are to be fully realized. Active participation of all wage earners in this non-partisan undertaking in the political side of our nation and its several states is imperative if our industrial relations are to be freed from state domination and from autocratic industrial and financial control. In this field of endeavor the workers must rally as in all other fields of activity.

(1927, pp. 89, 261) In November, 1928, a President and Vice-President of the United States, one-third of the members of the United States Senate and 435 members of the House of Representatives will be elected. Besides, many governors and other public officials will be elected in the several states. The wage earners, as well as all other forward-looking citizens, have a duty to perform the result of which will determine whether our country is to continue still further toward reaction or advance along progressive lines.

While the A. F. of L. may regard one or more candidates for the presidency as acceptable it does not advocate the nomination of any particular person. Its first concern is in the adoption of platforms that will pledge the parties to enact legislation that will be of benefit to Labor and the people. It is then the duty of the wage earners and their friends to support the candidate on the most acceptable platform.

The experiences of 1924 should be a warning to both parties. Neither platform that year appealed to Labor. Representatives of the A. F. of L. appeared before the Resolutions Committees of both conventions and urged

that certain declarations be made in their platforms. Both parties ignored the plea of labor. The platform of neither party was acceptable to those who were looking forward as was evidenced by the fact that nearly 5,000,000 protest votes were cast for a third candidate.

As in the past the E.C. will prepare a list of principles which will be submitted to both political party conventions and an earnest appeal made that they be approved. We repeat what we have said many times heretofore, that Labor never asks for any special privileges but advances economic principles that will be of benefit to all the people except those who favor reaction.

It is believed that the people of the nation are alarmed at the growing influence of reactionaries and will aggressively support the political party which adopts a platform that honestly reflects the progressive ideas of the great majority.

Not only should every effort be made to have the national political parties adopt progressive platforms but in every state the labor movements should make the same appeal to the state political party conventions.

Early in 1928 every local union, city central body and state federation of labor should arrange that their respective legislative committees become non-partisan political campaign committees which will prepare for a most intensive agitation for the election of outstanding candidates who, by their records, have shown they will be true to the people. The non-partisan committees of local unions should work in conjunction with the non-partisan campaign committees of the central bodies for the election of congressmen and other officials in their respective districts and with the state federations of labor for the election of state officers and U.S. Senators. All of these organizations and their committees

should join with the A. F. of L. in urging the national political parties to adopt progressive platforms and then aid in supporting the party whose declarations are the most progressive. They should impress upon delegates elected to the city, county, state and national political conventions that in order to secure the support of working men and women they must demand that the platforms adopted shall contain planks which will be approved by Labor. These delegates must be informed that Labor was never more determined to elect its friends than it will be in the 1928 elections.

Forty-four legislatures held sessions beginning in January this year and in more than thirty of them bills were introduced to repeal or weaken the primary laws. This was attempted in the face of the fact that in many states in 1926 the primary vote was larger than in the presidential election in 1924.

Forty-four states have direct primary laws. Connecticut, Rhode Island, Utah and New Mexico have not enacted such legislation. From reports received up to date no state repealed its primary law, although the Maine legislature left the question to a vote of the people. In some of them primary laws were strengthened.

The opponents of the primary laws contend that it imposes greater costs upon the candidates and their friends than the old "boss"-controlled convention system. Friends of the primary law admit that purchasing the political "bosses" who control conventions would not be as costly as would securing voters in a direct primary. But they contend that the primary laws could be strengthened by each state enacting a Corrupt Practices Act which would limit the purposes for which money could be spent.

As we have said before, if the people are competent to elect candidates to office they surely are competent to

nominate them in a direct primary. No greater scheme to place the nomination of candidates in the hands of a few men can be imagined than in the convention system. Labor must continue active in opposing every move in any state to repeal the direct primary laws.

A most important feature of the primaries and elections is getting out the vote. There is not a wrong that cannot be righted if all those entitled to vote cast their ballots. Less than fifty per cent of the voters in the United States went to the polls in the November, 1924, election. Undoubtedly, millions of those who did not vote have sadly repented.

It is therefore the duty of every national and international union to urge members of their local unions to agitate for a full vote of the membership. State federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions should join in carrying out this necessary policy. We believe that the great majority of those who failed to vote are wage earners. Agitation for getting out the vote should not be confined to organized wage earners but should be extended to the unorganized and also those in sympathy with the aims and objects of the labor movement. The campaign should not be for a week or a month; it should begin early in the year 1928 and continue until the primaries and elections are held.

The official and weekly labor press could be helpful by printing in a prominent place in their publications shortly before the primaries and elections some attractive slogan that will appeal to the voters and impress upon them the obligations they owe not only to themselves but to their fellow citizens.

The Executive Council will begin an early campaign and national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions are requested to give careful attention to all information furnished

them in order that the elections of 1928 can be made most effective. The successes of the non-partisan political campaign of the A. F. of L. have been gradually becoming greater. A larger number of wage earners every year sees the benefit of non-partisan action and this, it is believed, will make them a greater factor in the coming election than they ever have been heretofore.

Successes can not be gained without hard work. Active trade unionists should be appointed on all non-partisan committees and they should understand that much depends upon their activities. If the plans of the E.C. are carried out in an aggressive manner we have reason to hope and believe that the greatest successes of Labor will be the outcome of Labor's activities in 1928.

(1928, pp. 75, 248) As soon as the 1927 convention had adjourned arrangements were made to take an active interest in the campaign for the election of progressive congressmen.

A circular was mailed February 11 to all national in international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and 35,000 local unions urging them to prepare for an active campaign. This circular contained the report of the Executive Council to the Los Angeles convention and urged the appointment of non-partisan political committees by all state federations, city central bodies and local unions to work together for the reelection of progressive members of Congress.

During the primary campaigns the records of many candidates for Congress were sent to the local unions in the respective districts. We urged all members of organized labor to "STAND FAITHFULLY BY OUR FRIENDS AND ELECT THEM, OPPOSE OUR ENEMIES AND DEFEAT THEM." It soon became noticeable that great interest was being taken in the campaign throughout the United States.

Members of the A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee attended both political party conventions. The committee appeared before the Resolutions Committees of the Republican and Democratic parties and submitted suggestions for planks to be incorporated in their platforms.

When the E.C. met July 31 to August 7 a report was submitted by the National Non-Partisan Committee of the planks adopted by the two political parties and also such other information as was necessary to give an insight into the work done for the election of progressive members of Congress.

The E.C. gave profound consideration to the political situation. After much discussion it was decided to follow our well established non-partisan political policy in the 1928 campaign. In conformity with that decision the Council adopted the following declaration:

The A. F. of L. has found from experience that the best interests of its entire membership have been protected and conserved through a strict adherence to a non-partisan political policy. This procedure requires that the platforms of the political parties must be compared and the records of candidates for office must be carefully studied and scrutinized. When all such political information is made available the individual members of organized labor invariably support candidates for office who are known to be friendly and sympathetic toward the aims and purposes of the American Federation of Labor and who enjoy the confidence and esteem of the members and representatives of organized labor.

The wisdom of such action is clearly apparent when it is considered that the A. F. of L. is composed of men and women who entertain

different political opinions. They are not required to become identified with or to support any political party when they become members of the A. F. of L.

After giving consideration to all these facts the A. F. of L. is of the opinion that the membership of the A. F. of L. should continue to adhere to its non-partisan political policy during the ensuing political campaign.

All information regarding platforms, candidates and their records will be compiled by the Non-Partisan Political Committee and submitted to the officers and members of the A. F. of L. so that they may exercise their political judgment in a way which will be to the individual and collective interests of all working men and women.

In connection with this very important decision we are taking into consideration the fact that the candidates of the two great political parties for the Presidency of the United States will deliver their speeches of acceptance in the month of August. We firmly expect that each of them, in these addresses, will make declarations of great significance to Labor. We anticipate that they will express their opinions regarding injunction relief legislation and will amplify the declarations of the platforms of the political parties relating to Labor and labor questions. We will await, with very great interest, the expression of each of the candidates reserving to ourselves a final decision regarding our future policy during the remainder of the campaign.

In conformity with this declaration and decision the Non-Partisan Political Committee of the A. F. of L. is instructed to communicate with national and international unions, state federations of labor, city cen-

tral bodies and directly chartered local unions transmitting to them copies of the platforms of the two political parties and the records of the candidates for the Presidency of the United States together with a copy of this declaration.

Furthermore, the records of candidates for the United States Senate in the different states and candidates for the House of Representatives shall be supplied for general distribution throughout the different states and congressional districts.

This declaration upheld the traditional non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. We have endeavored to respect and protect the rights of the working men to vote in accordance with the dictates of their consciences and to identify themselves with political parties without interference on the part of the American Federation of Labor. During the entire campaign we carefully followed this non-partisan political policy. August 31 another circular was sent to all state federations of labor and city central bodies urging greatest activity in having members of organized labor and their friends register.

Fifty thousand copies of a pamphlet containing the planks in the platforms of the two political parties, the statements made regarding Labor in the acceptance speeches of the candidates for President and Vice-President and the legislative records on measures of interest to labor of the candidates were printed. From 200 to 500 copies of this pamphlet were sent to the larger central bodies and ten copies each to every other central body affiliated with the A. F. of L. Copies also were sent to the 35,000 local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor.

—We began sending out after the middle of September the legislative records on measures of interest to labor of all members of Congress or former members of Congress who had been

nominated. There was great difficulty in obtaining the names of the nominees which delayed matters somewhat, but by October 3 all the legislative records had been sent. The New York State convention of the two parties met October 1 and 3. That was the last state sent out.

The records were sent to every union in the respective congressional districts. Accompanying the records was a circular requesting that the records be read at each meeting of the local unions and containing the following slogans: "No loyal citizen of the United States should vote for a candidate who will not support legislation prohibiting the abuse of the use of injunctions in Labor disputes. No child-loving citizen will vote for a candidate for a state legislature who is not in favor of protecting the nation's children from industrial exploitation. No wage earner should vote for a candidate who has opposed remedial legislation urged by Labor. No loyal citizen of our country will vote for other than those candidates who have proved that the interests of all the people are above the selfish demands of the few."

Hundreds of individual letters were answered and there appears to be a most intense interest in the campaign.

A number of letters pointing out the favorable attitude of progressive members of Congress were sent to the local unions affected. This began in March before the primaries when letters were sent in the interest of progressive representatives in Wisconsin, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Ohio, Arkansas, Tennessee, Montana and other states.

We specialized in our effort to defeat those who had been shown to be our enemies and elect those who were known to be friends in the Senate and House of Representatives.

October 8, a circular letter was sent to the officers of all state federations

of labor and city central bodies requesting information as to the political situation in their respective states and districts. Quite a number of answers were received which showed that great interest was being taken in the election of progressive members of Congress.

While the results of the election were not known at the time this report was prepared, we had reason to believe that many candidates for United States Senate, and many candidates for members of the House of Representatives who received the support of organized labor, would be triumphantly elected.

We are very hopeful that the majority of the members of Congress will be friendly to the legislative program of the A. F. of L.

(1929, p. 90) The campaign for members of Congress will begin as soon as the convention adjourns. Practical steps will be taken to stir the members to action on the candidates in their respective districts. All members of the House must be reelected and one-third of the members of the Senate.

As the years go by we find greater interest among the officers and rank and file in the elections for members of Congress. This promises much for the future. All city central bodies should have legislative committees to aid their respective state federations of labor in carrying out their legislative programs. All local unions should also have legislative committees to work in harmony with city central bodies. They can become non-partisan campaign committees during election campaigns.

The political campaign of 1930 will be in an "off year" as there will be no election for president. In the past the votes cast in an "off year" are hardly more than fifty per cent of those cast in presidential years. The E.C. desires to urge every member of

every trade union and its officers to take a deep interest in who should be elected to Congress next year. To that end we urge that the Executive Council be kept informed of all candidates. The records of those who have been in Congress are kept at headquarters of the American Federation of Labor and will be furnished to any member on request. But candidates enter the field who never have been in Congress and we, therefore, request that the officers and members of unions in the respective congressional districts send all information they possess of the labor records of new candidates to the president of the A. F. of L.

If Labor expects to eliminate labor injunctions from the federal courts it must have sufficient number of friends in Congress to bring about that result. We feel, also, that aggressive campaigns should be made against those leaders of Congress who have by their acts placed themselves in an unfavorable position. We intend to make an active campaign against them and urge the most earnest help on the part of our members to bring about their defeat.

(P. 288) The E.C. states that a majority of the members in both houses of Congress are favorable to labor, but points out that some of the leaders of the House of Representatives are unfavorable and that they are powerful enough to prevent remedial measures from being brought up for a vote.

An aggressive campaign should be made against those leaders of Congress who have been responsible for the suppression of measures designed to promote the well-being of the masses of the people. All trade unionists should prepare to participate in the next Congressional election, which takes place in 1930, when all members of the House and one-third of the Senate are to be elected. The candidates who are friendly to labor should

be supported and the enemies of labor should be opposed, without regard to political party affiliations. Local unions and central bodies which have not already appointed legislative committees should do so at once and, in accord with the recommendations of the Council, these committees can serve as non-partisan campaign committees during election campaigns. The E.C. stated that "if Labor expects to eliminate labor injunctions from the federal courts, it must have a sufficient number of friends in Congress to bring about that result." It is plain that the injunction problem cannot be solved except through legislation, and that the necessary legislation will not be enacted by unfriendly senators and congressmen. This consideration should, itself, be sufficient to call forth the most energetic activity by trade unionists throughout the United States in the non-partisan political campaign of the A. F. of L. during the next year. The A. F. of L. approves of the recommendations.

(1930, pp. 112, 372) The A. F. of L. has aggressively entered the campaign for the election of members of Congress feeling assured that it will meet with a large measure of success. It is particularly noticeable and gratifying that the officers and members of the rank and file of the trade union movement are earnestly aiding in the election of friends of the people.

The E.C. has been exceedingly active in placing before the members of organized labor and their sympathetic friends the records of those Senators who voted for the confirmation of Judge John J. Parker as a Justice of the Supreme Court. The dangers of the "yellow dog" contract are known to every worker in our land and thus the issue has been raised with every candidate for the United States Senate. Copies of the Minority Substitute bill submitted to the U.S. Senate by a minority of the Judiciary Committee have been sent to all of

the officers of the respective State Federations of Labor with a request that they submit the questionnaire to all candidates for Congress in their respective states. The legislative record on measures of interest to labor of every member of Congress has been sent into the various states and congressional districts to all organizations of labor.

After the last convention the E.C. immediately began an investigation of the prospects of electing forward-looking candidates for Congress. April 2d our President and Secretary sent a circular letter by direction of the E.C. to all organized labor in the United States urging them to be active in the campaign. The circular contained the action of the 1929 convention and set forth labor's wishes as to the anti-injunction bill and other issues. The circular with the exception of the action of the 1929 convention is as follows:

The Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L. requests that all national and international unions, state and city central bodies and local unions immediately prepare themselves for activities in the coming elections in November of members of Congress.

Every state and city central body and local union should appoint a non-partisan political campaign committee or direct its legislative committee to perform the necessary duties during the campaign.

There is one important issue which for many years the A. F. of L. and its affiliated organizations have strived to have enacted into law. That is, a law to prohibit the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes.

To that end we have decided that every candidate for Congress shall be asked his attitude on such a measure and whether, if elected, he will vote for an anti-injunction bill approved by the A. F. of L.

The following question should be submitted to every candidate for Congress no matter what his political faith:

"Will you vote for a bill to amend the judicial code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, which will provide as follows: 'That no Court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute.'"

Every candidate in every district should be asked the above question. State federations of labor and city central bodies should submit the question to candidates for the United States Senate.

We urge all members of trade unions and all sympathizers with labor's hopes and aspirations to enter the non-partisan political campaign with the determination to elect friends of labor and the people and defeat those whose records show that they are disregardful of the rights of the people.

Support by your vote only those candidates who have proved the genuineness of their service, or their desire for service, to the people and labor. There must be no apathy.

In past elections labor has received the support of many farmers and farm organizations. Labor's attitude toward economic and political relief for the farmers is well known.

Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them. Oppose our enemies and defeat them; whether they be candidates for President, for Congress or other offices; whether executive, legislative, or judicial.

Let your slogan be: "We will not vote for a candidate for Congress who is opposed to a law prohibiting the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes."

Let every member of every trade union delegate himself a committee of one in addition to the local non-partisan political campaign committee to carry out the non-partisan policy of the A. F. of L.

After the primaries and elections of 1930 have been held let it not be said that trade unionists have been disloyal not only to themselves but to their fellow wage earners and their fellow citizens.

Special circular letters have been sent into all states giving the records of candidates for Congress and especially of members of the Senate who voted to confirm Judge John J. Parker as a Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. From communications we have received we find that the organized labor movements in the various states have taken a most sincere interest in selecting the proper candidates in the primaries and will urge their election in November.

The success of our anti-injunction bill depends upon the election of candidates who will support our measure. It is the greatest issue to be faced by organized labor and upon its members and their friends depend whether we will secure the relief so necessary for the success of future activities of labor.

All national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions should make it their duty to carry out the non-partisan political campaign of the A. F. of L.

(1931, pp. 122, 417) The importance of the forthcoming presidential election should cause every labor organization in the United States to prepare for that great battle. Besides the President and Vice-President at least 32 members of the U.S. Senate and all members of the House of Representatives must be elected.

The E.C. will submit proposed labor planks to the national political con-

ventions and urge their inclusion in the platforms of the two parties. It has been the practice of the non-partisan political committee of the A. F. of L. to support platforms and principles rather than candidates for President and Vice-President.

After the conventions have been held a pamphlet will be printed containing the labor planks which the E.C. requested to be part of the platforms and the labor planks that were adopted. These will be sent to all national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and 35,000 local unions.

The great obstacle to the election of the right candidates is the apathy of the voters. It is rare that more than 50 per cent of the voters go to the polls in a presidential election. We believe, however, that the great rank and file of the workers have had time to think during the terrible conditions they have been passing through during the past few years, and that this experience will influence them to go to the polls and vote in 1932.

The E.C. will use every effort to induce working people and their friends to vote, not only in the primaries but at the election. It is important that the primaries should not be overlooked as in many cases the candidates who were nominated for office were always opposed to all labor legislation and could have been defeated in the primary election if the workers had turned out in full force.

Labor fared very well in the 1930 election. Several of the most persistent enemies of Labor went down to defeat because of the strenuous antagonism of Labor.

The next session of Congress will consider an anti-injunction bill and other legislation of benefit to Labor as well as to all the people. Both the Senate and House are nearly evenly divided politically and we have every hope that we will secure the remedial

legislation for which we have fought so many years. But to secure this legislation we must have the earnest support of every labor organization. Committees should be appointed by central bodies or local unions in every congressional district to interview the candidates for Congress. The state federations of labor should select committees to wait upon United States Senators and question them as to their attitude toward remedial legislation.

This convention should therefore adopt a strong declaration calling upon all our members and their friends to follow the non-partisan policy of the A. F. of L., which is:

Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them. Oppose our enemies and defeat them; whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other offices, whether executive, legislative, or judicial.

We also wish to reaffirm the pledge all members of organized labor should freely give, and that is:

We will not vote for a candidate for Congress who is opposed to a law prohibiting the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes.

It is the desire of the E.C. that every national and international union, state federation, city central body and local union shall keep in touch with the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L. during the presidential campaign. This is absolutely necessary if we are to be successful.

Besides questioning candidates for Congress vigorous efforts must be made to get out the vote. If every voter will cast a ballot in the election, undoubtedly only those will be elected who will be favorable to remedial legislation. Therefore, from the beginning of the primary campaign to election day the slogan should be:

"GET OUT THE VOTE!"

(1932, pp. 159, 374) The A. F. of L. at the Vancouver convention last year

urged that every labor organization and every member in the country participate in the national elections in 1932. It pointed out that as a rule approximately fifty per cent of the voters visited the polls in a presidential election and suggested that the slogan be: "GET OUT THE VOTE."

A strong declaration was made calling upon all members and their friends to follow the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L.

As a result of these recommendations the officers and members of trade unions of every city and town in the country took a very active part in the election of President and members of Congress. Thousands of letters were received requesting copies of the legislative records on measures of interest to labor of both members of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee submitted planks to be placed in both political parties' platforms. Of the twenty-six subjects suggested eight were ignored entirely by both parties.

We were quite successful in the primaries.

The legislative records of all members of Congress were sent into their respective states and districts except in some cases in the South where nomination was equivalent to election. The records were sent in before the primaries. A statement of the A. F. of L. non-partisan political policy accompanied these records. In addition to the sending of the records we actively supported candidates for the United States Senate by the assignment of speakers and workers, through the distribution of literature and through the exercise of every other legitimate means at our command.

Letters were also sent out for certain members of the House of Representatives who were encountering difficulties.

Of those candidates for the U.S. Senate whom we supported, all were elected except three.

An analysis of the election returns shows that practically every member of the U.S. Senate who was up for re-election and who voted for the confirmation of Judge John J. Parker to be a member of the United States Supreme Court, has been defeated. As a whole, labor fared exceptionally well in the election.

Our success in the senatorial campaigns was equaled in the defeat of the enemies of labor in the lower House.

Fourteen trade unionists will become members of the next Congress.

It is believed that all the results stated above were obtained as a result of the recommendations adopted by the 1931 Convention, and we again direct that the non-partisan political policy adopted and reaffirmed by the Convention be continued.

(1933, pp. 112, 452) The A. F. of L. desires to impress upon the entire membership of the A. F. of L. that they have a duty to perform in the elections of 1934 that must not be neglected. Thirty-five U.S. Senators are to be chosen and 435 members of the House of Representatives. The records of all the present members of Congress who will seek reelection and those candidates who have been members will be sent to the labor organizations in the respective states and congressional districts.

In order to be effective in the primaries and elections, every organization should prepare to acquaint the members with the records of the various candidates in order that they may vote for those who are fair and impartial.

Quite a number of members during the short session of the 72d Congress and the special session of the 73d Congress proved that they were unworthy of the support of the wage earners. On the other hand, there

were quite a number of members who in every instance defended and protected the rights of the workers.

The legislative committees of the various state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions should become non-partisan political campaign committees. They should not only inform their membership of the candidates for Congress who are acceptable, but should take an active interest in pointing out which candidates of the various state legislatures are entitled to the support of Labor.

It must be remembered that 1934 is an "off year" and that many voters will stay away from the polls. This should encourage all Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committees to impress repeatedly upon the rank and file that they owe a duty to themselves and to the country by going to the polls on primary and election days. In many states the success of a candidate in a primary is tantamount to an election. This is particularly true in some of the southern states. Therefore, it is necessary to make the big fight in the primary.

Every incentive should be given to wage earners and their friends to register and vote. The most important part of an election campaign is to register. Failure to do so by a sufficient number of workers would sometimes result in the election of an unfavorable candidate. The duty, then, of these Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committees is to see that the wage earners register and vote at the primaries and at the elections in November.

To the A. F. of L. is delegated the duty of securing remedial legislation from Congress and defeating malevolent legislation. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that the policies of the A. F. of L. be upheld by the election of fair and impartial candidates for Congress.

It should not be said after the elec-

tion that the organized wage earners have not regarded it as their duty to elect fair candidates and defeat unfair candidates.

(1934, pp. 88, 553) The political campaign for the election of members of Congress is now on in every congressional district and state of the United States. It is imperative that candidates who are favorable to remedial legislation shall be elected. According to inquiries made of the A. F. of L. great interest is being taken in the election. Central labor unions have instructed their legislative committees to be active in carrying out the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. The officers of the various state federations of labor are also active in requesting the legislative records on measures of interest to Labor of the various candidates in their states.

There are 435 members of the House and 35 U.S. Senators who are to be elected. The records of the candidates were sent to the various state and congressional districts and an appeal made to carry out the declaration of the A. F. of L.

This being an "off year" the E.C. cannot too strongly urge that the greatest interest be taken in appealing to all members and friends of Labor to go to the polls on election day. In the past great friends of Labor have been defeated because of the lack of interest during an "off year" election.

One of the important questions that should be asked candidates is whether they will restore the wages and working conditions taken away from government employees under the Economy Act. While there has been a partial restoration, there are a number of conditions that should be remedied. A five percent reduction in wages is still in effect and this should be repealed in case the President does not restore the loss to the government employees.

The duty of the A. F. of L. is to secure legislation of benefit to Labor and the people. In order that it can be successful, it is necessary for fair and impartial members of Congress to be elected. Every candidate should be questioned as to his attitude toward Labor by the officials in his congressional district. Candidates for the U.S. Senate should also be questioned as to what their attitude will be on remedial legislation.

One most important feature in a political campaign must not be overlooked, and that is to register. Failure to take part in the election sometimes results in the election of a candidate unfavorable to Labor. Every state federation of labor, central labor union and local union has urged upon the wage earners and their friends to register.

There are many Congressmen who, despite all attempts to influence them against Labor, are entitled to the support of organized wage earners. We hope they will never be able to say that Labor did not do its duty in the elections.

(1935, pp. 145, 758) In 1936 a political campaign will be inaugurated and carried forward for the election of President, Vice-President, 32 members of the United States Senate, and 435 members of the House of Representatives. In addition, there will be elections in the various states and municipalities for state and city officials.

Labor must, therefore, with all its friends, support candidates for office who are friendly and sympathetic toward its legislative aims and purposes and defeat those who are against it.

Participation in the primaries is highly important, especially in the south, where candidates who are nominated are sure of election. There will be presidential primaries in a number of states. We urge our member-

ship and their friends to go to the polls and vote for candidates who they know will support Labor and its policies.

The following declaration of the American Federation of Labor should also be remembered when voters go to the polls on primary and election days:

The American labor movement is not partisan to a political party; it is partisan to a principle, the principle of equal rights and freedom.

The officials of every national and international union, state federation of labor, city central body and local union shall keep in close touch with the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L. during the entire campaign. If Labor is to be successful this policy must be followed. Not only should members of organized labor vote at the primaries on election day but they should urge their immediate families, relatives, neighbors and sympathizers to go to the polls and cast their ballots for approved candidates.

We also request that the officers of state federations of labor and city central labor bodies interview candidates for state and municipal offices as to the stand they will take on remedial legislation. The Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee will question candidates for Congress.

The records of candidates for President and Vice-President will be printed in circular form as well as the provisions in the platforms of the political parties favorable or unfavorable to Labor and the people. The records of members of Congress who are candidates will be furnished to all the different labor organizations.

(1946, p. 502) The convention unanimously adopted Res. 106 which reaffirmed the well-established non-partisan political policy of the Federation as follows:

Whereas—The Executive Council of

the American Federation of Labor at its Chicago session characterized the record of the 79th Congress as a dismal one and condemned Congress for "its subservience to lobbyists for special interests, its legislative assaults against the American workers which constitutes a "danger signal to the American people," and

Whereas—The Executive Council called upon all affiliates to assert their full political power in elections this fall, and effect "a sweeping congressional house cleaning," and

Whereas—In order to carry on effective political activity as described by the Executive Council it will be necessary to set up political campaign committees in all phases of the labor movement, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor Convention endorse the recommendation of the Executive Council for all-out political action in the coming elections.

Agreement on Candidates Proposed—(1949, p. 40):

Whereas—At every election of national and state offices of any political organization, there is a duplication of advertising speakers and radio addresses for, or against, the same candidates by the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and independent unions, and

Whereas—Greater results could be obtained by closer cooperation, therefore, be it

Resolved—That a meeting be called of the presidents of the American Federation of Labor, the C.I.O., Railroad Brotherhoods, farm organizations and other independent unions for joint political action in agreeing upon the candidates for political office which they will jointly support or oppose.

(P. 482) The recommendation of the convention committee for a substitute for Res. 15 was unanimously approved and the following adopted:

Political activity to encourage 8,000,000 A. F. of L. members, their wives, and other members of their families, to elect their friends and defeat their enemies in the 1950 or any current elections, is the declared position of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee is in full accord with the declared intention of the Executive Council and commends the Council for its plan of action in the 1950 political campaign.

Labor's Educational and Political League (Labor's League for Political Education: Committee for Political Education)—(1947, p. 407) The Executive Council, through a special supplemental report to the convention, recommended the formation of Labor's Educational and Political League. The special report follows:

The tragic failure of the Eightieth Congress to serve the people, its abject servility in advancing the interests of the most reactionary anti-Labor lobbies and combinations, and the wave of legislation against Labor in the various state legislatures make imperative the need for sound political education and effective political action by organized labor.

In order to serve most effectively the interests of the workers of the nation and to meet adequately the challenge presented by predatory and vested interests, we recommend that the 66th Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize and direct the Executive Council to arrange for the immediate establishment of "Labor's Educational and Political League" to further the economic and political policies of the American Federation of Labor.

1. It shall be the duty of "Labor's Educational and Political League" to prepare and disseminate information by such media of communication as the League may decide for the purpose of acquainting the workers of the na-

tion with the economic and political policies of the American Federation of Labor.

2. The League shall prepare and disseminate information concerning the attitude of candidates for nomination and/or election to federal offices, with particular reference to their attitude toward the political and economic policies of the American Federation of Labor.

3. The League shall take such other actions as it may deem advisable in furtherance of its objectives.

4. The League shall provide for the raising of necessary funds, for the conduct of its business, in such manner as it may determine.

5. The League shall be authorized to employ staff members necessary to conduct its business and fix their compensation and expenses.

In order to carry out these proposals it is further recommended that the officers and Executive Council shall call a conference of the presidents of all of the affiliated national and international unions at the earliest possible opportunity for the purpose of completing the structure outlining methods of procedure and in giving early and effective realization to the political activities hereinbefore indicated.

(P. 597) The convention committee reported on the supplemental report of the E.C., and 10 resolutions, all dealing with the need for political action, as follows:

The presidential and congressional campaigns of 1948 will parallel a world crisis in which those countries assuring their citizens individual rights and representatives of their own choosing are forced to oppose aggression and domination by countries which deny their citizens personal freedom and hold them under control by secret police and central authority. It is regrettable at the same time that the wage earners of the United States must fight to re-

capture the right of self-government within their unions in order to regain relief against arbitrary government through the injunction and freedom of contract to determine terms and conditions under which they work. The legislative gains of several decades were wiped out by the Taft-Hartley Act.

There has been enacted a law that distinguishes free from unfree labor, and which injects political regulations into the operation of voluntary organizations and so restricts collective bargaining that duly selected representatives of the parties to a contract are not able freely and expeditiously to come to mutually satisfactory agreements. Such denial of freedom of contract takes from workers equal participation in free enterprise and equal right to promote their welfare and happiness. Restrictions on workers involves managements and the whole business enterprise in annoying and arbitrary procedures that are contrary to the operation and spirit of free enterprise.

The American Federation of Labor, which has assumed responsibility for rescuing free trade unions at the international level, is handicapped by this reactionary and vindictive legislation. It is imperative that the Taft-Hartley Act be repealed without delay. We cannot work shoulder to shoulder with government in behalf of world democracy if our unions are hampered in performing their fundamental duties and services to their members and their industries which constitute the foundations of American society.

Freedom of organization and collective bargaining are the very heart of freedom in the lives of wage earners, hence our first duty and responsibility is to regain the self-government of which the Taft-Hartley Act robbed us. To this end we recommend concentration on political action in such proportions as to regain our freedom

and the opportunity to do our full part against the world menace to democracy.

Our plans must be adequate so that all voters and political organizations may be fully informed and aware of the dangers threatening our national institutions and the welfare of those who work for wages. We must explain the issues to all citizens. We must make the facts clear to the minds and consciences of party leaders, as well as inform voting workers effectively on party programs and records of their nominees for Executive Offices and for Congress.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report, but in so doing it is done with the understanding that those unions prohibited by law from participating in political activities are exempted from any of the above requirements.

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, your committee considered Resolutions Nos. 3, 15, 17, 20, 24, 116, 124, 127, 159, 160, all of which deal with political action.

In lieu of these resolutions your committee submits its report on the Executive Council's supplementary report on plans for political campaigns.

(P. 661) Res. 125 unanimously adopted by the convention, endorsed "an immediate extensive educational campaign for political education and action among our people nationally, so that the masses of the workers shall be alerted in order that complete recognition be given to their political and economic struggles."

(1948, p. 423) The convention committee considered Resolutions Nos. 39, 44, 112, and 127 jointly and made the following report which was unanimously approved:

All of these resolutions deal in one way or another with political action—some of them calling outright for the

formation of a political party—others calling for conferences with national labor, farmer and liberal groups and still others designed to perpetuate Labor's League for Political Education.

By reason of the fact that the officers of the affiliated national and international unions associated in the National Committee of Labor's League for Political Education, have by unanimous vote decided to make the League a permanent organization and for the further reason of the convention having approved the recommendations of this committee on this subject, your committee is of the opinion that further action on these resolutions is unnecessary and so recommends.

(P. 246) Res. 44 endorsed the work of the League and recommended that the League be continued with a view to further solidifying and unifying the forces of Labor on the political field; and further that all international unions organize a Political Education Committee for the same purpose, and that they "take such measures as may be necessary to make the conduct of political affairs and education an integral part of their routine and daily activities."

(1952, p. 287) In accordance with the action taken at the time of the last convention, Labor's League for Political Education has been established as a formal part of the American Federation of Labor.

The educational activities of the League are now financed out of the American Federation of Labor per capita tax funds. Prior to last year these activities were financed by a special assessment paid by the cooperating national and international unions.

The activities of the League which are strictly political in nature must be financed out of voluntary contributions. The Taft-Hartley Act specifically states that union funds may not be used in behalf of candidates run-

ning for national office. Therefore, the League launched a campaign in January of this year to encourage American Federation of Labor members to voluntarily contribute one dollar each to LLPE. Membership cards were given to all contributors. A promotion program including detailed instructions, leaflets, bulletin board placards, and all types of labor newspaper promotion material was launched in January and has been continued through each succeeding month.

The cooperation of the national and international unions in this fund-raising drive has been most encouraging. Of the 92 national affiliates which could legally join in this drive and which are not affiliated with the Railway Laborers' Political League, a total of 85 are at present soliciting contributions. These 85 unions represent 22,208 local unions throughout the country.

Unfortunately, the voluntary contribution campaign has not been as successful as expected. Similar campaigns carried on in 1948 and in 1950 brought in approximately a half million dollars each.

The League has continued to carry out its political education program. However, as an integral part of the American Federation of Labor, it was decided to eliminate the LLPE semi-monthly newspaper, the *League Reporter*, and publish a weekly eight-page AFL newspaper, the *AFL News-Reporter* which commenced publication in December of last year. The former editor of the *League Reporter* now prepares political education material for publication in the *AFL News-Reporter*. The *League Reporter* cartoonist was also retained by the new paper.

The Radio Department of the League has continued to render technical and financial service to candidates running for office and to produce political education programs the year round.

Research services and individual analyses of the records of incumbent Congressmen have been provided by the League.

Women's literature designed to attract the support of the housewives and mothers in American Federation of Labor trade union homes has been disseminated.

The director and his staff have traveled into every corner of the country speaking before meetings, organizing local LLPE units and giving advice and counsel where needed.

At the Miami Administrative Committee meeting in January the question of whether the League would endorse a candidate for President was resolved in this manner: It was decided that this was a question which should be left until after the party nominating conventions and until the American Federation of Labor Convention could consider the matter in September on the highest possible level.

Primary elections have produced both disappointments and gratifying successes. There is no way to forecast with accuracy the outcome of the November elections. However, since the formation of the League five years ago, there has been a complete reversal of the previous wave of anti-Labor laws passed at the state and national level. There still remain on the statute books many laws which should be repealed or modified.

In order to repeal harmful laws and prevent the passage of further harmful laws, it is necessary to maintain constant vigilance in the political arena. In the shifting tides of politics, Labor's friends will not always win every election. However, as the American Federation of Labor, through LLPE, carries out its trade union responsibility to educate its members and to encourage them to vote for proven friends of Labor year after year, eventually professional politi-

cians will acquire respect for working people and will eventually enact basic laws designed to protect their rights.

(P. 72) During the past, we have had to meet and overcome many, many obstacles thrown in the way of our movement in its forward advance by those who believe in the privileges of the few as opposed to the rights of the many. In the past, our efforts to organize have been met with every type of reactionary resistance. We have had to meet attempts that have been made to starve out the workers and kill off any desire they may have for the maintenance of a free trade union. We have had to meet the anti-Labor injunction, the American Plan, the company thug, the company-controlled sheriff, the company-controlled judge. American Labor, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, has met and overcome these obstacles.

Today, the major obstacle in our way is the repressive anti-Labor legislation which our enemies have placed on the statute books of the states and of the nation itself. To meet this present-day obstacle to the maintenance of our achievements of the past and to further progress in the future, there is only one answer. Labor must be politically alive. We must meet the reactionary forces opposed to us on this battleground with the same determination and force with which we have met them on other battlegrounds of the past. Labor must see to it that the men and women who sit in the halls of Congress and in our various state legislatures must be those who realize the importance of Labor's contribution to the welfare of our nation. We must see to it that Labor exercises its supreme right of franchise by taking part in every election at every level. We must see to it that those who would push Labor back to the days when the employer alone decided the conditions upon which men and women would work in this nation

should be eliminated from public office. Our objective of a better and ever better day for the great mass of workers in America cannot and must not be allowed to fail because of political inaction on our part.

Therefore, when the Seventy-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor turns its face to the future, it must do so with the full realization that the ballot box is the most important weapon which the workers have in their fight for the continued forward march of our American nation.

(P. 401) This year when the American people are preparing to choose a new President and a new Congress, Labor has a special responsibility to drive for the full exercise of their rights as citizens in a democracy by all who work. This, the Seventy-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor, concurs wholeheartedly in the Executive Council's call for the full exercise of their franchise by the working men and women of America. We ask every affiliate and every member of our Federation to do their part on the coming election day to further Labor's cause.

Political action is a means to an end. That end is the realization of man's freedom, of opportunity to produce and create in accordance with his choice and the fulfillment of his rights. The foremost of these is the right to join others in the achievement of greater welfare and better living for all.

It is our duty to make secure and inviolate the right of workers to act together for mutual aid, protection and advancement. The exercise of this right is the first, undeferrable and overriding task of organized labor. We are dedicated to the purpose of carrying out the task through self-reliance, independence and joint effort.

To us as trade unionists, the first concern is with human advancement

through the voluntary process of collective bargaining. To us as citizens the foremost duty is to make full use of our institutions so that they may better serve freedom, justice and the rights of man.

State—(1952, p. 48):

Whereas—It is recommended to the American Federation of Labor that at the annual convention in New York City, in September, it amend the A. F. of L. Constitution so as to prohibit any state federation of labor or central labor body, existing by virtue of a charter issued by the A. F. of L., from undertaking or participating in any political education activity with relation to the election or nomination of candidates for federal or state office, including the President of the United States, United States Senate, or House of Representatives, or for governor of any state, or for member of any state legislature, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor is fostering political action and political education through its Labor's League for Political Education and it has suggested to all state federations of labor and central labor bodies that their political action be carried on through LLPE and not through their respective federations or central labor unions, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor at its annual convention in New York City in September, 1952, take steps to amend its constitution prohibiting the federations or central labor unions, which are chartered by the A. F. of L., from direct participation in political activity except through their respective state LLPE's and local or county subdivisions.

(P. 395) Your committee, while in accord with the intent of the foregoing Resolution No. 74, is nevertheless of the opinion that the purpose sought should be attained through educational means and voluntary approach rather

than by the enactment of a law which would be mandatory and may prove difficult of enforcement where questioned or disregarded.

The committee accordingly recommends non-concurrence in the proposition as submitted and moves that its action be sustained.

(1954, pp. 383, 580) Res. 30:

Whereas—Since 1947 the A. F. of L. has engaged actively in the political arena in a determined effort to elect men and women to the Congress who are not antagonistic to Labor's interests and who believe that sound social legislation benefits the entire nation, and

Whereas—Political action in order to be effective must have the active support of our local LLPE groups who are organized and controlled by our central labor unions and state federations of Labor. Unless that support is given, pronouncements and policies laid down by the conventions of the A. F. of L. or its Executive Council are doomed to failure, and

Whereas—Too often the unlimited freedom of action enjoyed by CLU and SFL officials is utilized to oppose A. F. of L. aims and policies and too often some of these unlimited freedoms are turned against the best interests of Labor, now therefore, be it

Resolved—That the Executive Council be directed to cause a study to be made of the relationships that exist between CLU's, SFL's and A. F. of L. to the end that the aforementioned conditions be corrected.

Referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

Political Coalition (Liberal-Farmer-Labor)—(1948, p. 332) Res. 127 proposed the creation of a Coalition Committee of Fifteen as follows:

Resolved—That these times and measures call for the creation of a new liberal-farm-labor political coalition on the national scene, based upon,

but not confined to organized labor, which will be capable of combating the reactionary coalition from Congress and the Presidency down to the precinct level, in defense of the ancient liberties of our people and the common resources of the nation, and be it further

Resolved—That to this end, the Sixty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor favors the creation of a National Liberal-Farmer-Labor Coalition Committee of Fifteen, which shall be charged with organizing and coordinating the Labor and liberal forces in the forthcoming 81st Congress and in the country, and should the National Democratic Party be unwilling or unable to discipline or remove the anti-Labor and anti-liberal fifth-columnists in its midst, to summon into existence a third political force capable of becoming a new major party, and be it finally

Resolved—That the president of the American Federation of Labor proceed to appoint five members of such a committee, of experienced A. F. of L. officers, to negotiate with other national labor, farmer and liberal bodies for an additional ten members of similar experience and high reputation, to proceed with this work with the full support of the majority of all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor, who are prepared and free, under their laws, to participate.

Political Platform Recommendations—(1952, p. 508) There can be no doubt in the minds of thinking men and women that the economic welfare and future well-being of America's workers will be determined more than ever before in history, by legislation.

This changing order, this break with past tradition, is none of our doing. It was forced upon us by the reactionaries. While publicly decrying the invasion of private liberty by government, the reactionaries have

aggressively mobilized to undermine and destroy the freedom of Labor by restrictive legislation at the federal and state levels.

Since the founding of the American Federation of Labor, our trade unions, functioning as free institutions, have successfully overcome every challenge by hostile employers. Year by year, our trade unions have steadily lifted standards of living and conditions of employment. Wages have been increased; hours of work have been reduced; industrial hazards have declined; educational and recreational opportunities have been enlarged. A fuller and better life has been secured for all American workers.

But now the forces of reaction want to call a halt to this tide of progress. They are determined, if they can, to reverse the trend. To this end they have regrouped to fight Labor on a new battle line. They hope to win back in the legislative and political field what they lost on the economic front.

The Taft-Hartley Act symbolizes the legislative club big business holds over the heads of Labor. It has been supplemented by many state laws, even more severe, and by such restrictive federal legislation as the Hobbs and Lea Acts. At the behest of business interests, Congress has enacted tax favoritism to the wealthy; it has ignored the interests of the consumers by weakening price controls; it has stopped all social improvement legislation in its tracks.

Unless such restrictive laws are repealed, unless the interests of all the American people are once more protected by Congress from rapacious raids by special interests, the American standard of living and our very way of life are bound to suffer irreparable damage.

Labor's indictment of the Taft-Hartley Act is clear and unanswerable.

It has revived the indefensible doctrine of conspiracy which plagued trade unions in the 19th century.

It has emasculated the just provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which prevented the federal courts from being misused as an instrument to help employers fight unions.

By its enactment, the genuine union shop—the outcome of a century of struggle—has been swept aside.

Free speech has been made a mockery and employers are now given license to force workers into captive audiences.

The right to strike has been reduced to a shadow of its former self. Employers today know the law permits them to sever the "employee status" of strikers at will.

Officers of free trade unions, who have led the fight against Communism, are forced by this law to submit loyalty oaths while employers are exempted.

As workers, as trade unionists, as sovereign citizens of our free land, we must meet the new reactionary challenge that faces us.

The time for action is at hand.

Let us meet our enemies on the new battlefield they have chosen. Let us use the weapon which every citizen of our free land possesses. Let us all vote—and vote intelligently—in the coming election.

We are convinced that our responsibility to our membership demands that we state frankly and sincerely where we stand in this election. Political neutrality would be an evasion of that responsibility. Our enemies do not practice political neutrality. If we hope to cope with them successfully, we must survey the facts and the issues and take our stand. In no other way can we effectively support our friends and defeat our enemies.

The issues and the facts are clear. We present herewith the platform rec-

ommendations submitted by the American Federation of Labor to both major political conventions in Chicago, together with the actions of both conventions on our recommendations:

The Taft-Hartley Law

The first proposal of the American Federation of Labor was to replace the Taft-Hartley law with a new law fair to management and labor alike, and in the public interest.

The Democratic platform approved our proposal. It strongly recommended the repeal of this unfair and obnoxious law. It called for a new approach to the entire labor-management problems on a basis of fairness and equality to all concerned.

The Republican platform praised and favored the retention of the Taft-Hartley Act. Its sole concession was the promise of amendments in general terms and at some distant future date—if and when future experience showed the need for them.

Prevention of Inflation

The American Federation of Labor requested a genuine stabilization program with effective price controls to end profiteering at the cost of American consumers.

The Republican platform completely ignored this vital issue.

The Democratic platform pledged continuance of workable price controls during the emergency and action to correct the wrong inflicted on the American people by the weakening amendments to the Defense Production Act passed by Congress.

Rent Control

We proposed that rent controls be continued wherever housing shortages existed.

The Democratic platform approved that course.

The Republican Party urged the abolition of rent controls except in defense areas.

Housing

We urged programs for private housing development, for public low rent housing, for slum clearance, for urban redevelopment and for farm housing.

The Democratic platform practically matched the recommendations of the American Federation of Labor on housing.

The Republican platform overlooked the problem of housing completely save for a statement that the party would cooperate with local governments in slum clearance.

Social Security

The American Federation of Labor proposed a system of federal insurance which would give genuine protection to people against the hazards of old age, disability and major illness. We urged this as a matter of true thrift not a "hand-out" state. Concretely, we called for liberalization of old age and survivors insurance benefits so that the payments matched the increased cost of living. We further recommended a workable system of disability insurance.

The Democratic platform called for higher benefit payments, extension of coverage to those not now protected and the elimination of restrictions on the amount which retired workers could earn while drawing the benefits for which they paid taxes.

The Republican platform did favor the extension of coverage. It did not advocate the payment of higher benefits to meet the rise in the cost of living. Instead, it promised to stop the inflationary price rise by cutting Federal spending. In the face of the War in Korea and the terrifically expensive defense program this hoped-for solution was clearly unrealistic.

Health Insurance

Our recommendation was that there be established a genuine health insur-

ance program to meet honestly the nation's health needs.

The Democratic platform goes only so far as to hope for an acceptable solution from the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. It did favor federal aid to hospital construction and aid for medical education.

The Republican platform not only opposed health insurance but condemned openly the whole idea.

Aid to Education

We asked federal aid to education so that full educational opportunity would be assured regardless of economic status or race.

The Democratic platform endorsed this broad program of federal aid to education.

The Republican platform stated that financing education was a local problem of the communities and of the State. This ignored the fact that there are a number of States which just don't have the money to provide their people with a decent education.

Taxation

We favored an intensive effort to bring federal defense and non-defense expenditures into balance with tax revenue—providing necessary defense needs were not neglected, international obligations and commitments were not ignored, and services necessary to the health and welfare of the American people were not curtailed. We also urged that tax loopholes be closed, that excise taxes be eventually eliminated, and when tax reductions become possible they should go first to persons in the low income tax brackets.

The Democratic plank contained no reckless or illusory promises to reduce taxes immediately. They did oppose a federal sales tax; they promised to close tax loopholes designed to

favor special groups at the expense of the rest of the taxpayers. They agreed that low income persons should receive the first tax reductions when they became available.

The Republican platform eagerly promised immediate reductions in taxes by the elimination of waste and extravagance. Once again the Korean War and the cost of the defense program appeared to be conveniently overlooked.

Civil Rights

We are deeply concerned with the security and advancement of civil rights. The position taken by the American Federation of Labor was that Congress should enact a Federal F.E.P.C. law since America could not uphold the virtues of democracy in the family of nations while equal opportunity to work and to earn a living was denied to its own citizens because of race, creed or color.

The Democratic platform did not mention the F.E.P.C. by name. It did however commit the party in favor of federal legislation to secure the right of an equal opportunity for employment and other basic civil rights. The platform put the party on record against the filibuster.

The Republican platform makes no promises but indicates opposition to a federal law on anti-discrimination by declaring that state legislation should not be duplicated and no huge bureaucracy should be created.

Foreign Policy

We insisted that America must strengthen its defenses and those of the free world. We asserted that America must refuse to yield to Soviet pressure in any quarter of the globe. Finally we urged the continuance of the Mutual Security Program.

Both parties have pledged resistance against Communist aggression and cooperation with the other free nations to maintain world peace. One

fact is clear, Moscow can find no consolation in the foreign policy planks of either American political party.

This analysis clearly outlines the wide gulf that separates the two major parties on most domestic issues of vital concern to America's workers.

The Democratic Party's platform is responsive to the needs and desires of the workers and liberal-minded people of our country.

The Republican Party's platform is responsive to the demands of the ultra-conservative, anti-union elements in the nation.

There can be no hesitation on our part in declaring the obvious truth—that the Democratic platform is far more preferable to labor than the Republican platform.

In evaluating the qualifications of the candidates, we wish to emphasize that we are not moved by partisan considerations, but by facts.

We hold both candidates for the Presidency in high esteem.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower is a loyal and patriotic citizen. He has won the respect and admiration of all his fellow Americans and of millions of other free people throughout the world for his military achievements. Moreover, he is a man of great personal charm.

While we affirm the highest regard for General Eisenhower's military genius, it is as civilian that he is seeking the highest civilian office in the land.

There is little evidence available on record that General Eisenhower possesses any intimate knowledge of, or experience with, the great domestic problems facing our nation.

On international issues, he has dealt mainly with what he regards as mistakes made by the Democratic Administrations, while at the same time expressing views quite in keeping with the foreign policy of the Democratic Party.

In the domestic area, he has dealt in the campaign largely with fault-finding instead of clearly defining his specific views on the big issues.

He does not favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and its replacement by a new law. His expressed views to this convention coincide largely, if not entirely, with those expressed by Senator Taft after his conference with the General. His professed opposition to "compulsion" offers labor little comfort in the face of his general approval of this law which is permeated with compulsion of labor.

He says "America wants no law to license union busting" and he concedes that the Taft-Hartley Act "might be used to break unions." Yet he wants to keep the law, with only such changes as Senator Taft agrees to. Such a stand offers labor no solid assurance.

To the working people of this country, the public embrace of the Republican Presidential candidate and Senator Taft, the symbol of reaction, came as a shock. Gen. Eisenhower, who was built up as the champion of liberalism in the Republican Party, has also clasped to his bosom such notable reactionaries as Senators Kem, of Missouri; Cain, of Washington; Bricker, of Ohio; Jenner, of Indiana, and McCarthy of Wisconsin. This is indeed a sorry aggregation. Their professed views are contrary to Gen. Eisenhower's own expressed views and detrimental to the best interests of the American people. His support of such candidates destroys any possible notion that he could steer the Republican Party back to the path of liberalism.

Now let us give equally careful consideration to the Democratic Presidential candidate, Adlai E. Stevenson.

Gov. Stevenson has acquired knowledge, training and experience in the problems of government as the Chief Executive of a great State. He has

shown himself throughout the campaign to be a man of courage, humility and integrity, as well as of great personal charm.

He told us forthrightly in his address to this convention that he is for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and its replacement with a new law that will deal fairly and justly with labor-management problems and protect the public interest.

His campaign has been marked by intelligent, specific discussion of campaign issues. He has not evaded. He has not equivocated.

The positive program outlined by Governor Stevenson before our convention and in previous campaign addresses offers hope to the American people because it is based upon the principle that the interests of the people are paramount.

In brief, he inspires our full confidence.

These are the facts as we see them. It now remains for us to act upon these facts in the interests of the 8 million members we represent, as well as in the interests of all the American people.

We must act here in full recognition of the fact that we are a voluntary organization, committed to the principles of democracy and individual freedom.

We emphasize that the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor and each and every one of their members are free to make their own individual political decisions without any compulsion on our part.

It is not our intention or desire to endorse any political party or to enter into partisan politics.

We must face the facts. We have an obligation to inform our members of the facts. Not only immediate considerations, but the entire future course of our country, require us to express our carefully considered choice as be-

tween the two Presidential candidates.

Fully conscious of our responsibility as trade union leaders and as Americans, we advise and urge each and every member of the American Federation of Labor to vote for Adlai E. Stevenson for President of the United States on Nov. 4.

Political Rights of Government Employees (See: Hatch Act)

Point Four Program (also see: Africa)

(*Development of Under-Developed Areas of World*) (1949, p. 450) In acting upon E. C. Report on Program for Technical Assistance to Under-Developed Countries, the convention unanimously approved the report of its committee:

Your Committee notes that the Executive Council deals with this problem. We support the Council's endorsement of President Truman's program "to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens," and thereby promote peace and "the freedom and dignity and fullness of life."

Hunger, social injustice, poverty, and despair are the strongest allies of dictatorship and war. The surest way of safeguarding democracy, security, and peace is to raise the standards of living of the peoples of the earth. As the leading democratic country and the nation with the highest industrial development, we have the greatest moral and material responsibility for helping the peoples of the world to harness modern technology in the service of human well-being, peaceful social progress, and international harmony.

The struggle between the forces of human freedom and the battalions of totalitarian despotism for the souls and minds of men is fast approaching

the hour of decision. The American people are in a privileged position to help expand and improve the economic foundation for the democratic aspirations and cultural progress of the aroused peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Furthermore, American assistance to the economic and social development of these nations will not only fortify the cause of human liberty, but also enhance our own democratic vitality and prosperity. Hence, help in developing the under-developed areas is a decisive feature of our country's foreign policy and a powerful aid to the transformation of the UN into an effective instrument of world peace.

To improve the productive resources and the conditions of life and labor for more than half of the world's population is a task which involves far more than economic problems. Effective assistance must envisage not only technical aid and the provision of capital. "Point Four" carries with it social, cultural and international overtones of major import. Not only capital investment and technical "know how" are required. Human training and re-training are absolutely essential. Not only material but human resources will have to be planfully invested.

In this light, your Committee proposes that our government give favorable consideration to the following proposals as guiding lines for implementing and applying the great ideals and creative policy underlying President Truman's historic "Point Four":

1. Demonstrate to the peoples of the underdeveloped regions by our words and deeds that our interest in their well-being is free from any desire to exploit or oppress them or to seek any special privileges—extra-territorial rights or otherwise.

2. Have recipient as well as assisting nations cooperate in formulating plans and in contributing toward the

development of suitable projects. This spirit of joint effort should be founded on the basis of the possibilities of providing for those commodities and those services most needed abroad and which neither displace nor disturb the resources of the other nation.

3. There should be no interference in each other's domestic affairs or political life and no infringement or violation of their respective sovereignty. Organizations or activities hostile to both nations are not to be encouraged or supported directly or indirectly.

4. Wherever possible and practical more than one country should be drawn into undertaking these developments. This can be done largely through the United Nations and its special agencies, but under no circumstances must the exercise of the veto power be permitted to paralyze or thwart operations.

5. The technical aid should be accompanied by measures for advancing the health, sanitary conditions, education, technical knowledge so as to employ a gradually rising proportion of skilled natives, vocational training and guidance, soil conservation, housing and the advancement of social standards and human rights. The native working population should be helped to learn the art of developing free and democratic trade unions, farmers' and consumers' organizations, as well as be trained in industrial and distributive efficiency.

6. A healthy social foundation and structure should be advanced. Not only must the assurance of democratic rights accompany industrial development, but the population must also share increasingly in the benefits of rising productivity and efficiency. The workers in each country must be guaranteed the right to organize into *bona fide* trade unions, a full opportunity for genuine collective bargaining, and minimum wages and decent working

conditions in line with the standards established by the ILO. No racial discrimination or forced labor is to be tolerated.

7. Increasingly the dominant control and principal ownership of important projects should be placed in the hands of the country aided and in accord with the economic forms its own people democratically determine, so as to avoid the evils of absentee-ownership.

8. Our government should join with other governments in working out an international code to which the recipient nations shall subscribe so as to reduce, through international channels like the UN, to a minimum the present risks and difficulties of foreign investment—nationalization, exchange, and convertibility into the national currency of the investor. Reasonable guarantees must be provided for private investments, if this vast and vital reservoir of capital is to serve a healthy and a non-imperialist development of the countries still industrially under-developed.

9. In order to help insure the attainment of these goals and in order to insure maximum cooperation and support by the working people concerned in each instance, the respective free trade unions are to be adequately represented on all important planning and project commissions.

The natural resources of the earth must serve the good of the many and not be exploited for the gains of the privileged few or for the benefit of any despotic power hiding its quest for world domination behind a facade of high-sounding phrases and pseudo-racial promises.

(T. C. A.) (1954, page 379, 464) Res. 19:

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, herewith, go on record in re-

affirmation of its already expressed position of supporting the Point Four program, the policies of which are now being administered by the Technical Cooperation Administration as a method of enabling the natives of Asia and Africa to develop self-help to assist them in eliminating poverty, illiteracy, disease and the plague of landlordism; be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention express its accord with the British government in extending recognition of self-determination to its former colonies, such as Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Burma and the Sudan; and its present policy of recognizing the right of West Africa, under the government of Nkrumah, and the right of Nigeria, under Azikiwi, to become self-governing political entities; and also applaud the United States in its humane, democratic and sound international policy toward the Philippines, as well as recognize the wisdom of the Dutch government in not attempting to block the nationalism of Indonesia for self-government; but urge the French government to recognize the inevitable growth and march of nationalism in Tunisia and Morocco, Algeria and Indo-China as self-governing, independent countries as a policy of humanity and justice, and in the interest of winning these peoples over as allies of the free world and against the march of the Soviet Union toward world conquest.

Poll Tax (*Prerequisite for Voting*) (1940, p. 81) In 1939 the A. F. of L. convention unanimously "declared its approval of the principle that all citizens, regardless of color or race, should be equally entitled to the full rights of adult suffrage". In conformity with this declaration the A. F. of L. worked for enactment of legislation to effectuate this principle. The E. C. in its report to the 1940 convention stated in part that "while it is generally assumed that payment of

the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in eight southern states is designed primarily to disfranchise the negroes, it has become evident that by the levy and manipulation of this tax white citizens in the low-income bracket, are being disfranchised in increasing numbers." At the time of the convention in 1940 no action had been taken on the proposed bill. Convention authorized continued efforts to secure enactment of the legislation.

(P. 512) Convention unanimously adopted the following resolution condemning the poll tax.

Whereas—Eight states in the Nation still have the archaic and undemocratic system of the poll tax which disfranchises both Negroes and poor Whites, thereby nullifying the political power of the workers in these southern states, and making a mockery of American democracy. Therefore be it

Resolved—That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, go on record as condemning the poll tax and support the Geyer Poll Tax Bill and instruct President Green to send copies of this resolution to the members of the House and Senate, for the enactment of the anti-poll tax bill.

(1941, pp. 98, 601) The convention instructed the Executive Council to use its best endeavors to secure legislation to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in public elections.

(1942, p. 159) H.R. 970 and 1024, H.J. Res. 112 and S. 1280, all designed to remedy the poll tax evil, are still pending in Congress. Further hearings were held March 12-14, 1942, by a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee on Senator Pepper's bill, S. 1280. It is estimated that about 7,000,000 people in eight southern states are barred from voting by the poll tax. At the 1940 Congressional elections an average of only 22,175

votes were cast in the 78 districts of the eight poll-tax states. In 347 districts of the non-poll tax states, an average of 128,901 votes were cast. A summary of the testimony so far submitted to Congress proves beyond a doubt that the poll tax in the eight southern states is retained not primarily as a revenue-raising device but rather for the purpose of disfranchising large numbers of voters, particularly the Negroes. Labor spokesmen and others who participated in the Senate hearings contend that the right of Congress to act to preserve the integrity of the ballot in federal elections by outlawing the tax requirement is established under Section IV of Article I of the Constitution of the United States. Moreover, since the poll tax requirements result in the abridgement of a federal right or privilege and involve class discrimination, Congress is justified by the Fourteenth Amendment in acting.

(P. 426) In acting upon Res. 114 calling on the A. F. of L. to record its opposition to the principle involved in the requirement of poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, the convention adopted the following:

The Executive Council again calls attention to the wide disparity in the percentage of votes in poll-tax states and in states where there is no poll tax. It also refers to the unquestionable constitutionality of federal legislation to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite to participation in elections for federal offices.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure abolition of the poll tax as a requirement for eligibility to participate in all elections for public office.

(P. 595) The convention adopted Res. 107 calling for the abolition of the poll tax, and reaffirmed all previous actions of conventions of the A. F. of L. aimed to abolish poll tax.

(1943, pp. 86, 341) Under the caption "Poll Tax," the Executive Council reports the passage by the House of Representatives of a bill to make unlawful the imposition of a poll tax as a prerequisite to the right of suffrage. The bill is awaiting action by the Senate Committee.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its support of this legislation and also commends the state federations of labor and city central bodies that have rendered yeoman service in crystalizing public sentiment in its behalf. We recommend that efforts be continued to secure its enactment.

(1944, pp. 70, 189, 414) Under the caption, "Poll Tax," the Executive Council reports that a bill to abolish the imposition of a poll tax as a prerequisite to the right of suffrage was passed by the House of Representatives and subsequently reported favorably to the Senate by the Judiciary Committee. Because of a determined filibuster and the failure of a motion for a cloture rule (requiring two-thirds vote) the bill was laid aside and no further action taken. None is likely in this session of Congress.

(Res. 98) :

Whereas—The previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record condemning the poll tax as un-democratic, un-American and unjust, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, La., November, 1944, go on record as reaffirming its opposition to the poll tax and supporting federal legislation for its abolition.

In connection with the report of the Executive Council, your committee considered Resolution No. 98, which provides for reaffirmation by this convention of the action taken in numerous previous conventions in sup-

port of legislation to abolish the poll tax.

Racial Discrimination — (1940, pp. 489, 550) Two resolutions (Nos. 4 and 153) (both calling for the abolition of the poll tax, were unanimously adopted by the convention.

(P. 469) The recommendation of the Executive Council was for continued efforts to have the poll tax abolished. Unanimously approved by the convention.

(1947, p. 630) Three related resolutions, Nos. 12, 41 and 49, were considered by the convention which unanimously adopted No. 49 as representing the objective of all three. The resolution follows:

Whereas—The Sixty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Chicago, Illinois, 1946, went on record as supporting a federal anti-poll tax law, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor go on record in the Sixty-sixth Convention at San Francisco as favoring the enactment of an anti-poll tax law to remove the unjust, unfair, and un-American discrimination against Negro and white workers in denying them the exercise of their right of suffrage.

(1948, pp. 235, 455) Res. 8 reaffirmed A. F. of L. position in opposition to poll tax and called on Congress to enact legislation abolishing said tax as an "evil in American life."

(1950, pp. 324, 485) Res. 98 reaffirmed the established position of the A. F. of L. in opposition to the poll tax and called upon the E.C. to use its influence on behalf of anti-poll tax legislation.

Portal-to-Portal Law (also see: Fair Labor Standards)—(1947, p. 220) This Act was passed ostensibly to relieve employers of liability arising from the claims brought under the Fair Labor Standards Act by employees in many manufacturing plants

for back pay due them as overtime compensation for time spent traveling between the entrance to the employer's property and the actual place of work. These claims were filed as a result of the Supreme Court decision of June 1946, in the Mt. Clemens Pottery case, holding that such travel time and other time spent in such activities as washing and changing clothes constituted "work" and was therefore subject to regulations regarding overtime, unless the time involved was trifling.

The A. F. of L. strongly opposed the institution of such suits for back pay by its affiliated unions. In a letter to all national and international unions on January 14, 1947, President Green stated:

It is the long-established policy of the American Federation of Labor to rely upon collective bargaining through direct negotiations between unions and employers to settle differences between them regarding wages, hours and working conditions of the workers concerned. What constitutes time worked for the purpose of figuring straight-time and overtime compensation can best be determined by Labor and management over the bargaining table.

Because of the flood of these suits brought by C.I.O. affiliates, employers turned to Congress to gain immunity from any liability they may have incurred. However, the legislation finally adopted by Congress goes far beyond the questions of portal-to-portal pay. The statute in fact constitutes an attack upon the country's basic wage and hour standards and strips the worker receiving substandard wages of much of the protection he previously had enjoyed.

The provisions of the law to which the A. F. of L. most strenuously objected included the following: a "good faith" provision whereby employer^s

may avoid compliance if they can show that they have relied on a previous ruling or statement by government officials; the setting of a federal statute of limitations for all wage and hour claims at two years; permitting court judgments for back pay to be compromised and thus opening the way for employer pressure on employees to effect a compromise settlement; and the vagueness of the provisions regarding "portal-to-portal" pay which make it possible to deny to employees payment for many legitimate activities for which they have regularly received compensation.

The enforcement and interpretation of this statute is bound to require at least several years of administrative determination and court action. Under this Act, special importance is given to the rulings, interpretations and decisions of the Wage and Hour Administrator under both the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Public Contracts Act, and of the Secretary of Labor under the Bacon-Davis Act. Consequently, it is exceedingly important that these officials review all existing rulings and interpretations in order that no loophole may be left under which an employer could avoid the law by claiming that he acted in "good faith" by relying on an administrative action. Several steps in this direction have already been taken by the Wage and Hour Administrator. Administrative rulings made thus far regarding coverage of the Act are commendable. We urge that the Administrator carry forward this review of existing regulations in order that the rights of workers under the Acts be fully protected.

In addition, the nature of the new law places special responsibility upon unions. In considering whether such activity as travel time, washup time, rest periods, and the like is subject to the Act, and therefore to the overtime regulations, great emphasis is placed on the custom or practice pre-

vailing in the plant, and particularly whether this custom or practice has been incorporated into collective agreements. We urge all affiliated unions to make certain that effective provisions relating to plant practices regarding travel time, rest and lunch periods, etc., are fully incorporated into the union agreement.

It is important that organized labor understand that there is nothing in the new law which prohibits a union from seeking improvements in the wage and hour standards through negotiations with the employers concerned. Moreover, since the enforcement of the minimum wage laws has been constantly weakened by this new Act, unions must be prepared to rely more heavily on collective bargaining for enforcement of wage, hour and overtime standards instead of relying upon law.

It is important for unions to press in negotiations for clearly-worded contract provisions to cover all conditions of work under which any wage payment or overtime compensation is required. This calls for explicit clauses covering Saturday, Sunday and holiday work; work on the sixth or seventh consecutive day; payment for time spent traveling to and from the plant gate; payment for rest, lunch or other non-productive periods; payment for time while machine operations are suspended for any reason; and "call-in" pay which is guaranteed any employee if he reports to work but no work is available.

By these actions, unions can break the destructive impact of the new law upon wage and hour standards. However, the portal-to-portal law remains essentially pernicious and must be repealed at the earliest possible moment.

Post Office Employees (also see: Government Employees, Longevity Pay)

Temporary and/or Substitute—(1939, p. 424) Res. 59 reaffirmed po-

sition of the A. F. of L. on legislation for postal substitute employees as follows:

Whereas—Substitute postal employees must qualify to perform the same duties as regular postal employees, but must be available for duty at any time, day or night, 365 days a year, having no regular schedules and being paid only for the actual hours worked; and

Whereas—The period of substitution, in many instances, extends over many years; and

Whereas—Substitute postal employees receive no higher rate of hourly pay, regardless of length of service; therefore be it

Resolved—That this 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor record its endorsement of legislation to grant these employees a graduated scale of hourly pay commensurate with the hourly rates of pay of regular employees based upon length of actual service; and be it further

Resolved—That the Executive Council be instructed to support the efforts of the affiliated postal employees to secure appropriate legislation to correct the condition brought about by restrictive rulings of the comptroller General on the law granting annual and sick leave to substitutes.

(P. 424) Res. 57, concurred in by the convention, as follows:

Whereas—The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the postal service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions; and

Whereas—The Post Office Department has cooperated in an effort to reduce the employment of temporary, non-certified employees; therefore be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in this its 59th An-

nual Convention, assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service except during *bona fide* emergencies; and be it further

Resolved—That the Post Office Department be commended for its efforts to eliminate the use of temporary employees in the postal service; and be it further

Resolved—That the Executive Council be instructed to cooperate with the affiliated organizations of postal employees in securing from the Congress of the United States appropriations sufficient to make possible regular appointments in adequate numbers to meet the service needs.

(1940, p. 513) Convention adopted a resolution condemning practice of Post Office Department in employment of non-certified workers except in emergencies.

Philippine Employees, Citizenship for—(1941, pp. 254, 549) The convention referred the following resolution to the Executive Council:

Whereas—The Chicago Post Office Clerks Union, Local 1, has many members of Filipino nationality, and

Whereas—These Filipino members of Local No. 1 have helped and supported unions in government industry throughout the years, and

Whereas—The Filipino post office employees have many years of service and their livelihood and existence is dependent upon their continued employment as Civil Service employees, and

Whereas—They have contributed their labor and loyalty to the government, and

Whereas—Filipinos are denied the privilege of American citizenship and their future status as government employees is endangered, notwithstanding the fact that many of them have been in the government service for 25 years, and

Whereas—Many legislators have introduced and supported legislation in the halls of Congress extending citizenship to these faithful public servants; therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as favoring legislation that will grant citizenship to Filipino employees of the government.

(1941, pp. 266, 271, 278, 607) Resolutions were submitted to the convention similar in intent and having as their objective prohibition of the employment of uncertified temporary employees in the postal service except during real emergencies.

The convention concurred in these resolutions.

Longevity Pay—(1942, pp. 155, 605)

Acting upon a brief legislative report on the subject of the veto of a proposed bill providing for increases in pay of postal employees "as recognition of long and efficient service, the convention adopted the following:

. . . The bill, as passed, was far short of the desires of postal employees but would have established the principle of longevity pay for that group of government employees, a principle that has been a practice in numerous other government employments as well as in a great many private employments.

It is recommended that this objective of the postal employees be again endorsed and the Executive Council instructed to lend its support to like legislation when again introduced.

Substitute Clerks—(p. 612) Resolutions were considered by the convention dealing with the problem of filling vacancies in the postal service by qualified substitute employees. The objectives of the two resolutions (Nos. 115 and 124) called for legislation. The convention concurred in Res. 115 as follows:

Whereas—Lines of communication

are all important in the defense of the country and in the conduct of the war, and

Whereas—The Post Office Department has traditionally and consistently maintained lines of communication under all conditions, and

Whereas—An exceptionally heavy burden falls on the San Francisco post office because of its strategic position in the first line of defense and also as the port of embarkation in the present crisis, and

Whereas—Many trained men in the San Francisco post office have volunteered or have been called into the armed forces of the country and many more will be called, and

Whereas—Increased retirement deductions reduce the hourly rate of pay for qualified and trained substitutes with years of service to 62 cents per hour, and

Whereas—Conditions of employment in private industry are very much more attractive than in the postal service and many trained men are leaving the postal service to take up employment in private industry, and

Whereas—The loss of the services of those trained men who have left the postal service has not been replaced except by untrained temporary help, and the result that overtime is excessive, and

Whereas—The Post Office Department has adopted a policy of withholding the filling of vacancies in the service by normal causes, such as death and retirements, and

Whereas—It is most unfair to the qualified substitutes in the postal service to withhold their deserved promotion to regular positions left vacant by normal causes, and

Whereas—The Honorable Thomas E. Scanlon, Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, has introduced a bill, H.R. 7404, which provides that all regular vacancies in the postal

service shall be promptly filled by promotion of eligible substitutes, and which further provides that vacancies occurring as a result of employees entering the armed forces shall be filled by eligible substitutes on a provisional basis for the duration of the war, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor recognize the advisability of maintaining a highly efficient postal system in these times of great stress, and does hereby petition the Postmaster General of the United States to take immediate steps to fill all legitimate existing vacancies in the regular clerical force in all post offices with qualified substitute employees, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor endorse the aforementioned H.R. 7404, and does petition the House Post Office and Post Roads Committee immediately render a favorable report on this bill.

Promotions—(1942, p. 623) The convention unanimously adopted Resolution No. 123 favoring the establishment of civil service examinations for all promotions within the postal service.

Retirement—(1942, p. 623) The convention unanimously adopted Res. 122 which called for an amendment to the retirement plan for postal employees which would provide for optional retirement after 30 years service, regardless of age or roster title.

Non-Civil Service—(1944, p. 423) Res. 63:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in this, its Sixty-fourth Annual Convention, assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service except during *bona fide* emergencies, and be it further

Resolved—That prompt steps be taken to replace all temporary or non-

certified employees with regular certified civil service employees not later than six months following the end of the present war.

This resolution requests that this convention assert its disapproval of the employment in the postal service of temporary non-certified employees except in times of actual emergency and then only for limited periods; and further, that the employment of temporary non-certified employees be discontinued not later than six months after termination of the present war.

(1947, p. 540) Convention unanimously adopted Res. 168, reaffirming position of A. F. of L. disapproving employment of temporary non-certified employees in the postal service except during *bona fide* emergencies, and asking that prompt steps be taken to replace all such employees in the postal service as soon as practical.

Seniority Rights—(1947, p. 548) Res. 86 was unanimously adopted as follows:

Whereas—Under the administration of U.S. Public Law 134, senior postal employees are not given full credit for years of long and faithful service, and

Whereas—These employees who have given a greater part of their lives to the postal service and many of them will not remain in the service long enough to secure all the benefits of the present law, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse legislation to amend the present salary laws to give full credit to senior postal employees for years of service rendered, and that they be placed in the salary bracket to which they would be entitled for their full years of service, and be it further

Resolved—That the 66th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse efforts to have suitable legis-

lation enacted in regard to this problem.

This resolution calls for the support of the American Federation of Labor in securing the enactment of legislation amending present law to give full credit to senior postal employees for years of service rendered, and that they be placed in the salary bracket to which they would be entitled for their full years of service.

(Civil Service Status, Post War)—(1947, p. 549) The convention unanimously adopted Res. 98 favoring return to a strict civil service status in the employment of post office personnel as soon as possible inasmuch as the war emergency had passed.

Substitute Status for Rural Letter Carriers—(1947, p. 538) The convention unanimously endorsed Res. 165, as follows:

Whereas—Substitutes in the rural delivery service in the Post Office Department do not have the protection of civil service, and

Whereas—This denies them privileges that they should be entitled to and defeats the effectiveness of the merit system, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses legislation giving rural carrier substitutes a civil service status and grants annual leave and sick leave as contained in bills S. 202 and H.R. 1187 now pending before the Congress.

This resolution endorses legislation giving rural letter carrier substitutes a civil service status and granting them annual and sick leave.

Training Period—(1951, pp. 301, 511) Res. 64 called attention to the lengthy apprenticeship training period of postal employees and requested the A. F. of L. to go on record for an adjustment of this situation.

Union Recognition—(1952, pp. 68, 534) Res. 125:

Whereas—The Post Office and Civil Service Committee of the House of Representatives has recognized the need for union recognition for postal employees, and

Whereas—The antiquated Labor-management relations employed by the Post Office Department continues to result in poor morale, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention favors legislation which will provide for union recognition for postal employees, and a board of arbitration which will be authorized to investigate, consider and make final decision on complaints by employees relative to working conditions and administrative acts of their official superiors, and to interpret laws governing employee welfare or working conditions, and direct administrative procedure to be followed when a dispute exists between the management and the employees relative to the administration of said laws, and be it further

Resolved—That this National Board of Arbitration shall consist of three members, an employee representative, a management representative and a neutral representative.

Union Recognition and Arbitration Machinery—(1953, pp. 447, 609) Res. 133:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention at St. Louis, Missouri, favors legislation which will provide for union recognition for postal employees and a board of arbitration which will be authorized to investigate, consider and make final decision on complaints by employees relative to working conditions and administrative acts of their official superiors, and to interpret laws governing employee welfare and working conditions, and direct administrative procedure to be followed when a dispute exists between the management and the em-

ployees relative to the administration of said laws and be it further

Resolved—That this National Board of Arbitration shall consist of three members, an employee representative, a management representative and a neutral representative.

(1954, pp. 407, 593) Res. 92:

Whereas—The Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912 repealed the vicious "Gag Orders" previously issued by President Theodore Roosevelt, which prohibited postal employees from contacting their Congressmen for improved working conditions, and

Whereas—Over forty years have intervened during which no additional or specific recognition has ever been accorded postal unions, despite the tremendous development of organized labor in private industry, and

Whereas—Postal employees and their unions are still dependent upon the good graces of Post Office Department officials for certain privileges considered basic to other unions, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention, assembled in the City of Los Angeles, instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to support legislation which would: (1) grant union recognition for postal employees, (2) compel the Post Office Department to consult postal unions on all matters affecting working conditions, (3) provide for punitive action against supervisors who disregard the law, (4) establish an impartial board for the arbitration of disputes, and (5) secure all basic trade union rights other than the right to strike.

Seniority Rights—(pp. 407, 593) Res. 94 called attention to laxity in seniority procedures in post office service and authorized A. F. of L. to seek legislation accomplishing seniority rights by law for postal employees.

Post Office Officials (Fair Labor Policy)—(1940, p. 416) The conven-

tion concurred in a resolution introduced into the 1940 convention commending the Post Office Department officials for their fair and progressive attitude on personnel relationships and urge that they impress upon administrative officials in the field service the duty and responsibility of practical observance of the principles of collective bargaining.

The resolution also expresses the hope that similar personnel relationships may be established in all government establishments where they do not now exist.

Orders of Postmaster General Condemned—(1950, p. 334) Res. 123:

Whereas—On October 27, 1949, and again on April 17, 1950, the Postmaster General of the United States issued orders which, (1) expanded the duties of unskilled employees to include duties previously performed only by skilled employees paid at a higher rate, and (2) eliminated and curtailed postal services to the detriment of the American public and to the grievous injury of all postal employees, respectively, therefore be it

Resolved—That the 69th Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn both of these orders of the Postmaster General on the grounds that they are not in the interest of the American public and are destructive of the working conditions and standards of all postal employees as well, and call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take such steps as may be necessary to cause the early rescinding of these obnoxious orders by either administrative or legislative action.

(P. 488) In recommending the adoption of this resolution your committee urges the President and the Congress to take immediate steps to restore previous postal service in the United States. It is imperative that we have a strong, efficient, dependable postal service in time of war as well

as in time of peace. We are all thrilled by the striking recent successes of the American troops in Korea. Success was attained by the simple manner of cutting the vital life line of communication of the North Korean troops. We cannot afford to permit our lines of communication to be severed either from within or from without. It is absolutely necessary that the President and Congress take immediate steps to rescind the April 17th order of the Postmaster General if our artery of communication is to remain strong.

Postal Legislation Needed—(1927, p. 251) The A. F. of L., reaffirming its pronouncements that the postal service should be operated for service and not for profit, hereby records itself in favor of legislation to have the Congress declare a definite postal policy to such effect; and the E.C. is hereby instructed to cooperate with the affiliated postal organizations in aid of the enactment of this proposed legislation. The explanation for the legislation was given as follows:

The Post Office Department is now called upon to perform many services that are not particularly postal in their character, and for which the service gets no credit from a fiscal standpoint. For instance, the postal service performs work for the Department of Agriculture, it performs work for the Civil Service Commission, it distributes throughout the length and breadth of the land franked matter and penalty matter for all the departments of the government amounting in the aggregate to some \$15,000,000 a year. All of these various charges react against the postal employees in this respect: That the department, or rather the administration, has laid down the dictum that the service must be financially self-sustaining.

Consequently, when the employees seek wage increases or other improve-

ments in working conditions, they are told by the administration that if these things will create a postal deficit they are inadvisable and they should not be enacted into law. In short, they are expected to advocate an increase in postal rates.

Service Cutback—(1950, p. 157) During the year, the Postmaster General summarily reduced the number of mail deliveries to other than strictly business district areas, thus imposing hardships on residential zones and on commercial patrons whose activities are removed from the center of the business districts.

The immediate consequence was the saddling of heavier duties on postal employees and the discharging of a large number of postal employees whose services and reliability were without the slightest question.

Although hearings were limited to one Congressional Committee, we wholeheartedly backed every move taken by the postal unions, in Executive Council action, in contact work with both houses of the Congress, in issuing releases and in other ways.

We recognized this reduction in postal service as a direct threat of our American institutions, the primary one of which is communications. As a matter of fact, we favor expansion of postal service, rather than the short-sighted policy of taking away from the people of these United States those government facilities for which they pay and pay well.

(1952, p. 245) In its report to the convention, the Executive Council reported continued efforts to secure restoration of mail delivery service. This was in conformity with action of the previous convention of the A. F. of L. held in San Francisco.

(1954, pp. 390, 391, 593) Res. 54 and 57 were identical:

Whereas—Postal service continues to be substandard because of appar-

ently lowered residential delivery objectives of the Post Office Department and because of the Postmaster General's curtailment order of April 17, 1950, therefore, be it

Resolved—The 73rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor advocates that there be instituted an adequate number of residential postal deliveries and particularly that earliest possible mail transmittal be accomplished through the full use of existing or available facilities for in-transit distribution.

Postal Rates—(1926, p. 234) The A. F. of L. protests against any further increase in the postal rates on printed matter. It also reiterates its former declaration that the postal service should primarily be a social and service agency rather than a revenue producing institution.

Postal Savings—(1954, p. 530) The Executive Council reported diligent efforts to prevent the enactment of legislation designed to abolish the postal savings system. The convention unanimously adopted the following committee report and recommendations:

We commend the officers of the Federation of Labor for taking the lead in killing legislation designed to abolish the postal savings system. We are convinced that the postal savings system plays an important role in providing a depository for tens of thousands of our citizens who prefer to have their money held by the government. The system also provides banking facilities in some areas where no other bank is available. We regret that the administration has seen fit to curtail the number of depository facilities and recommend that proper presentation be made to the Post Office Department to restore facilities which have been closed.

We want also to point out that the amount of savings in the banks has been reduced by well over \$1 billion

and to correct this reduction, it is suggested that the limitation of individual deposit of \$2,500.00 be increased.

(1955, p. 147) The E.C. reported on the introduction of a number of legislative bills designed to either abolish the Postal Savings System or to set up restrictions against the small thrift depositors. This section of the report concluded: "So long as the public wants this facility, it is our belief it should continue to have it without restrictions despite protests from the Hoover Commission or the bankers."

Postmasters, Inclusion Under Civil Service (see: Civil Service)

Post-War Planning (see: War (Post))

Pottery Importation (also see: Tariff)—1954, pp. 449, 491) Res. 135:

Whereas—The imports of pottery have deprived many of our members of jobs or placed them on shortened work-weeks, and

Whereas—Imports come from countries where wages are far below our own, ranging from a quarter to a tenth of the wages received by our members, and

Whereas—These lower wages result in lower rates and thus confer a great competitive advantage upon imports, and

Whereas—Wage costs represent from 60 to 70% of the cost of production because of the large amount of hand-work involved in pottery manufacturing, and

Whereas—Our membership faces economic disaster if the inroads of imported pottery upon the domestic market is not halted, and

Whereas—Competition varies greatly, depending upon the source of the imports, and

Whereas—The United States Tariff Commission found such a difference in

cost of production between domestic and Japanese pottery that a duty of 249% would be required to equalize costs, and

Whereas—Such a rate of duty would have an appearance of exorbitance and would in fact be higher than necessary with respect to imports from other countries, thus rendering the tariff an improper instrumentality of regulating pottery imports, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor lend its support to the efforts of the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters to obtain through official federal channels the imposition or reasonable import quotas on the imports of pottery, and be it further

Resolved—That such import quotas be based upon imports of recent years and the quantities reduced to a percentage of total domestic consumption, this percentage to represent the share of the market that may be supplied by imports in future years and thus insuring against the destruction of our market and the progressive deprivation of jobs to our membership.

Poultry Inspection, Compulsory—(1954, pp. 381, 460) Res. 25:

Whereas—Recent disclosures to the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen reveal the shocking existence of filth, unwholesomeness and the utter lack of sanitation in certain areas of the poultry industry, and

Whereas—At the present time there exists no compulsory federal regulations governing the slaughtering, inspection, grading, labeling, processing, or handling of poultry, as is true in the case of beef, pork, veal and other meats and meat products, and

Whereas—Only very few states have any poultry regulations or inspection program whatever, and

Whereas—Less than 20% of the commercial poultry supply of the nation comes under federal inspection and then only on a voluntary basis, which in many respects is absolutely meaningless, and

Whereas—The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and its affiliated local unions have pledged themselves to the task of arousing the American people to the great hazard to health and welfare of the consuming public that exists in this poultry situation, and

Whereas—The support and cooperation of Congress, the state legislatures, municipal officers, and every group of consumers in the nation, especially organized labor, is earnestly solicited in this cleanup drive and campaign for effective compulsory poultry regulation and inspection not only on the federal, but on the state and local levels as well, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor go on record endorsing the poultry cleanup campaign launched by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, and be it further

Resolved—That this Federation and its affiliated international unions, at the earliest opportunity, take such other legitimate steps within its power, as may be necessary to aid in the success of this worthy project in the interest of the health and welfare of the entire nation.

(1955, p. 81) Our Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America has worked constantly on an educational campaign to bring about poultry inspection to minimize health standards in the industry and to consumers. Many of our state federations of Labor and other affiliated bodies have recorded their support of this campaign.

The American Federation of Labor is actively assisting legislatively.

Poultry is the third most valuable agricultural product. Last year, 1,050,000,000 broilers were raised commercially and 61 million turkeys marketed.

Red meat inspection has been carried on rigidly for many years with federal inspectors stationed along the line to guard the national health. Poultry inspection today is only a voluntary undertaking with the processors conducting their own inspections wherever done.

Steps have been taken to get serious and genuine poultry inspections inaugurated and carried on without diminution constantly. If in order to bring this about, a congressional examination into conditions is the only recourse, it may well be that this will happen.

Power, Reclamation, Irrigation, Flood Control—(1948, p. 133) All projects for these purposes are naturally inter-related because of water. The control of floods provides water for irrigation and for generating large quantities of power and prevents erosion of soil from fertile farm lands. Misused grazing lands, mountains stripped of timber, and eroding farms contribute largely to floods. As stated before, all of these things are inter-related and numerous projects similar to TVA should be inaugurated to preserve the natural resources of the country.

During 1947, on many occasions, the U.S. House of Representatives went on record in favor of heavy cuts in the appropriations for reclamation but the Senate invariably restored them in full or at least in part, and as a rule a compromise was agreed upon above that originally approved by the House without a roll call vote. In 1947, the House voted a 50 percent reduction in appropriations for western reclamation projects and as a result, members from western states, in both parties, were so enraged that the

Senate restored most of the cuts and the increases voted by the Senate were accepted by the House without a record vote.

In a deficiency bill later passed, the House added additional funds and actually brought the total appropriations for reclamation above the original budget figures, also without a record vote.

The power interests, of course, are opposed to such power developments under Federal control as TVA, and when an amendment was offered to the appropriations for TVA (H.R. 6481) for \$4,000,000 to provide an auxiliary steam plant to New Johnsonville, Tenn, it was rejected on May 11, 1948.

On June 19, an amendment was offered to agree to a Senate amendment increasing TVA appropriations approximately \$3,500,000 and also to agree to the Senate amendment providing the \$4,000,000 for the steam plant at New Johnsonville.

This vote, particularly on the \$4,000,000 for the New Johnsonville steam plant, was recognized as a test of strength on power policy and groups from far outside the Tennessee Valley sought to win Congress over to their viewpoint against the plant and did so, as Congress finally rejected the appropriations for the plant by a very close vote.

Private power interests are opposed to Government projects furnishing power as it serves as a yardstick and keeps the cost of electrical power within the bounds of reason.

An additional reason for the erection of dams is for the conservation of water as in some of the far western states the water table is 60 feet below the level of 25 years ago, as water has been pumped off faster than it is replaced.

The Bonneville Dam and the Grand Coulee Dam are examples of the value

of low-cost electricity as without them new industries would not have been located in the northwestern states.

It is recommended that labor be alert in regard to the activities of the Power Lobby to hamper such projects and that our support be continued for such projects.

(P. 396) The general good of our citizens everywhere will be furthered when effectuation of these public welfare objectives are attained. We respectfully request the Executive Council to follow through in these purposes.

President and Vice President (U. S.), Salaries and Quarters for V. P.—(1948, pp. 333, 476) The A. F. of L. adopted Res. 129, urging Congress to pass legislation increasing the salary of the Vice President by \$30,000, making his salary \$50,000, favoring a salary increase in the salary of the President to \$100,000; and consideration of suitable living quarters for the Vice President as soon as possible.

Press, Labor (also see: Public Relations)—(1944, p. 215) Another important medium for the expression of Labor's news and views which the Executive Council is determined to expand and strengthen in the near future is the Labor Press. The services of the Labor Press in promulgating and promoting Labor's varied war activities and the national war effort constitute a major contribution to the welfare of America and its workers.

The Executive Council wishes to go beyond its annual expressions of gratitude to the *bona fide* Labor Press which upholds the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. It wishes to supplement its good will toward the Labor Press with concrete action which will strengthen the position and broaden the influence of these loyal publications.

However, the exigencies of wartime conditions appear to prevent putting

any really effective plans into action immediately. The special committee to investigate ways and means whereby the American Federation of Labor can render more substantial assistance to the Labor Press is expected to recommend certain measures which can be acted upon now and to prepare a broader and more comprehensive plan to be put into operation when peace comes. The Executive Council pledges its full cooperation in the furtherance of every practical step to provide new opportunities for the growth and development of the *bona fide* Labor Press.

(P. 591) The convention unanimously approved committee report on the general subject of public relations via publicity, radio and the labor press, including the following:

It is the opinion of your committee that the immediate period following peace will require further reaching and more widespread public relations than heretofore. Unquestionably public relations has become one of the outstanding requirements of our trade union movement.

Your committee recommends that the E.C. review the entire question of publicity and public relations in all of its aspects, so that a program may be approved and set into action which will give the most effective publicity relations possible.

Press Service for Armed Forces—
(1943, pp. 209, 412)

Resolved—That this Sixty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to plan and prepare a Labor Press Service to be sent as a regular mailing to union members and their relatives in the Armed Forces presenting the true picture of the contribution of American Labor to the War effort.

Your committee is favorably im-

pressed by the purpose of the resolution, and believes that every practical step should be taken to carry its intent into operation. With this comment your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation, and such action as will materially assist in placing the purpose of the resolution into effect.

(1944, p. 555) Res. 148, referred to previous convention action as follows:

Whereas—The 63rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in session in Boston, Massachusetts, unanimously adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of an A. F. of L. Labor Press Service for the men and women in the armed forces in order to combat the vicious anti-labor propaganda to which our troops are being subjected, and

Whereas—The Resolutions Committee of the 63rd convention stated that "Your committee is favorably impressed by the purpose of this resolution, and believes that every step should be taken to carry its intent into operation . . . With this comment your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council," and

Whereas—During the past year not enough has been done to carry out this mandate of the Boston convention while villification of labor's contribution to the war effort has reached a new high, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the Executive Council at its next session form and empower a special committee to cooperate with all national and international unions, state and central bodies of the American Federation of Labor to deal with this serious problem.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

Price Control and Rationing (also

see: Wages; Cost of Living; Rent Control)

Subsidies—(1942, pp. 210, 413) Res. 113:

Resolved—That this convention of the American Federation of Labor pledge to our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, its full cooperation and support of his administration by aiding in the establishment of adequate subsidies and the effort of the O.P.A. is making to roll back prices, to the end that our efforts will be crowned with Victory, and the war will end with the complete destruction of the anti-democratic forces which are seeking to enslave the free peoples of the world, and be it further

Resolved—That a copy of this resolution be sent to President Roosevelt.

(1942, p. 210) In its annual report, the E.C. reported on the development of price control and rationing as a war measure. The report stated in part: "By the summer of 1941 prices were getting out of hand. The threat of a runaway inflation became real, yet no effective controls to check price rises in the major industries were applied under the President's emergency powers. . . ." A chronological report of the development of a national price control and rationing system was presented to the convention. The Federation "strongly urged an aggressive rationing policy which would assure equal and just distribution of consumer goods in which scarcities developed or threatened."

(P. 225) . . . Although it must be noted that the function of the civilian defense councils in connection with the war price and rationing boards is simply to make recommendations, it must also be noted that fair Labor representation on all war price and rationing boards is of special interest to Labor. The local defense councils throughout the country have been asked to make recommendations on board membership to the Office of

Price Administration. In its communication covering the qualifications and duties of board members, the Office of Price Administration has stated "membership of the individual boards should include members from Labor and, where appropriate, members from agriculture. In the selection of labor and farmer members the nominating body should consult the recognized state and local organizations of labor and farmers".

Office of Price Administration (O. P. A.—Labor Policy)—(1942, p. 214) "From its inception until June, 1942, the Office of Price Administration dealt with vital questions of economic policy without any Labor consultation, Labor participation, or Labor representation. In the summer of 1941 a Special Assistant to the Administrator attempted to achieve a measure of consultation with representatives of organized labor in the formation of broad policies of what was then the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply. His efforts, however, did not meet with the top administrative approval, and he was transferred to another agency. Thus, in the two years beginning with the Office of the Commissioner in Charge of Price Stabilization in the National Defense Advisory Commission in May, 1940, Labor was not afforded any means whatever for representation or participation in the administration of price and consumer policies.

As the result of a concerted drive for Labor representation made by the American Federation of Labor in May, 1942, a Labor Policy Committee was formed within the OPA and began its work on June 22, 1942. The Committee consisted of three representatives each of the American Federation of Labor, railroad unions and the CIO.

Shortly before the Labor Policy Committee was formed a Labor Office was established on the staff of the OPA. Characteristic of the OPA at-

titude was the fact that the posts of the Director, Assistant Director and principal staff members of the Labor Office were filled by the Administrator without consultation with organized labor.

Although it was clear from the outset that it was not the intention of the OPA Administrator to invest the Labor Policy Committee with policy-making, or consultative responsibility of any importance, the Committee insisted that it must be given the right of prior consultation on all major questions of policy as a condition of its continuance. The Committee established its right to designate its own officers and secured from the Administrator directive to his staff that major policy decisions and regulations be cleared with the Committee. Three liaison officers were appointed on the staff of the Labor Office on designation of the respective labor organizations to keep in touch with administrative developments under the supervision of the Labor Policy Committee.

One of the major concerns of the Committee was the provision of adequate Labor representation on war price and rationing boards and in state and regional OPA offices. Administrative Letter No. 3, dealing with the organization of the local war price and rationing boards, was sent out by the Administrator requesting that provision be made for local Labor representation. This letter did not prove to be effective, and the Labor Policy Committee finally secured a commitment from the Administrator providing for a full measure of Labor representation as a matter of OPA policy. It was agreed that a definite schedule would be followed in making sure that Labor representation was provided in one group of states after another. Since nominations to local war price and rationing boards are normally made by the local defense councils, the Labor Policy Committee conferred with the Director of the Office of Civ-

ilian Defense and secured from him a promise of full assistance, provided a clear-cut statement of policy to this effect would be forthcoming from the OPA Administrator. It was only after these arrangements had been completed that the program of local Labor representation was put under way. An agreement was also reached with the Administrator that two Labor representatives will be appointed in each of the eight regional offices and at least one Labor representative in each state OPA office.

The Labor Policy Committee appointed subcommittees on labor representation and rationing boards; tire, gasoline and automobile rationing; rent control; and consumer problems. Several subcommittees were also created for particular industries in which problems of direct interest to Labor had developed.

Of primary concern to the Labor Policy Committee was the relation of the price control policy to wages. In a stormy session with the Administrator, the Committee challenged the OPA procedures through which price regulations proved in effect wage-freezing devices. The Committee asked the Administrator to place on record a straight and unequivocal statement of policy with regard to the relation of price control to wage fixing. Having promised such a statement to the Committee, the Administrator evaded this request on the pretext that policy would depend on the Presidential determination of this issue. As the President's policy was already clearly set forth on April 27 and reiterated on September 7, the result was that the OPA policy toward wages was maintained and in practice continuously carried out without a policy statement to the Committee or clearance with it. This issue of basic policy which the OPA Administrator failed to meet with his own Labor Policy Committee greatly impaired the effectiveness of Labor

participation and cooperation with the entire OPA program. This development was all the more unfortunate because of the sincere and patriotic desire on the part of labor organizations throughout the nation to utilize to the maximum their organizational channels to achieve the most effective stabilization of the nation's wartime economy through democratic means.

(P. 519) The Executive Council report gives a detailed account of the development of price and rent control agencies and with changes in the basic policies of the Price Control Administrator. We commend this record to all unions for careful reading to inform them of the background, the basic issues, and the administrative approach of this agency. Control over civilian prices which include all costs up to the point of sale, present a temptation to a controller to reach into the causes of price control and to attempt to regulate more than prices. However, that is not the intent of the Price Control Act and issues of jurisdiction have been at least temporarily clarified and the field limited to prices of civilian goods.

Your committee wishes to point out the essential differences between price control and rationing. One deals only with commodities while the other extends to human living and regulates daily habits. One is a technical field and the other is concerned with human values. The decision to ration a commodity may be made to support price stabilization, but the rationing of the commodities requires entirely different rationing techniques.

To be effective rationing must be carried out through a cooperative partnership between the Government and the citizens who shall have proportional representation in the administration of rationing. Up to the present time there are only approximately 1,600 labor representatives on

the approximately 5,000 boards on which Labor should have at least one representative each. For the above reasons your committee recommends that the administration of all rationing should be placed under the Director of Economic Stabilization and that representative local boards be set up for this purpose.

We note the excellent service given by the Federation's representatives on the Labor Policy Committee of the O.P.A. This record is evidence that Labor makes constructive use of opportunities for representation. We emphasize also that prices are but one element in the problem of stabilization and that price control with fiscal and financial policies calculated to control inflationary trends, would be powerless.

We dread inflation and are committed to do our utmost to protect our nation from uncontrolled spiraling of prices as well as fiscal and monetary policies that needlessly inflate our credit facilities.

Packing Industry—(1942, p. 561) The problems of the packing industry brought about by the imposition of price ceilings on meat commodities, was brought before the convention through a resolution designed to bring about an adjustment by either puncturing the ceilings for the entire meat packing industry or fixing the price of livestock at a rate which would "insure a reasonable profit to the livestock raiser as well as to permit the meat packing industry to operate at a reasonable profit." The convention committee reported that inasmuch as the situation had been altered by decisions then recently handed down, the resolution should be, and was so voted, referred to the Executive Council.

(1943, p. 554) The E.C. Report covered activities of labor representatives in connection with price control in order to prevent fur-

ther increases in the cost of living. The convention committee considering this subject submitted the following report which was unanimously adopted:

Rationing and price control are two important tools of the over-all program to prevent and control inflation.

The Executive Council report describes what labor representatives have done to prevent further increases in the costs of living—an objective essential to protect wage earners against serious hardships. Although price control has been steadily extended, it served to stabilize at higher levels. Such cut-backs as have occurred have not been important in reducing the higher costs of living.

The cost of living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics has been the basis for the administration of stabilization without consideration of the fact that this index does not reflect how wage earners spend their incomes, the substitutions they make as necessary economies, or the increasing proportion of wages going into taxes and war bonds. We urge studies of spendings in order to make sure that war sacrifices do not endanger the life and health of the nation's wage earners.

We urge greater attention to nutrition and to plans to have adequate eating facilities either in plants or in neighboring localities. Unions should look into the possibilities of co-operative restaurants or cafeterias so that workers could be assured adequate nourishment at work with facilities for providing food to be taken home in cases where mothers are also employed.

We urge the War Food Administration to include in its program the encouragement of the production of less expensive nourishing foods.

We urge the O.P.A. to insist upon the continuance of less expensive lines of supplies with no deterioration in quality.

We urge all unions to actively in-

sist upon labor representation on all rationing boards and to hold these representatives responsible for service to wage earners. Where satisfaction is not forthcoming refer problems promptly to Federation headquarters.

We urge that women's auxiliaries be mobilized to work with union representatives on price control and rationing.

(P. 159) Of foremost importance to Labor in the administration of both price control and rationing is the development of a strong local organization of Labor in every community, equipped to deal with consumer problems. Direct participation by representatives of our unions and by members of women's auxiliaries on war price and rationing panels and on local boards is imperative. Unions should also be in position to furnish volunteers equipped to participate in price enforcement. Labor organizations are faced today with strongly organized pressure groups determined to profit from price rises at the expense of the wage earners. Without strong and continuing organization equipped to deal with the cost of living and other consumer problems in every community, Labor will be unable to counteract this organized pressure. To this end we recommend that the American Federation of Labor call upon all central labor unions, state federations of labor, and national and international unions, to form consumer committees equipped to serve our membership in dealing directly and effectively with price, cost of living, and rationing problems as these arise under war conditions.

(P. 464) Res. 27:

Whereas—It is of general knowledge that the so-called ceiling prices established by the O.P.A. are constantly violated, and

Whereas—It is also generally known that in violation of the O.P.A., black markets are flourishing in various communities, and

Whereas—These violations are due to the lack of personnel of the O.P.A. caused by the cut in appropriation by Congress for the O.P.A., and

Whereas—Because of this lack of personnel, the consumers in general and the workers in particular are at a great disadvantage, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled demands that the Government and the Appropriation Committee of Congress appropriate the necessary sum for the O.P.A. to enable it to have a sufficiently large personnel for the purpose of enforcing its ceiling prices, abolishing the black market and in general policing in every community and bring about the immediate punishment for all violators of the O.P.A. price ceilings and those running the black markets.

Your committee is convinced that this resolution should be referred to the Executive Council for thoroughgoing investigation, and such action as then seems advisable, and so recommends.

Post War—(1944, p. 249) . . . large and important areas of cost-of-living control have been left wide open to inflationary attack. This attack has already begun and will succeed unless Labor acts promptly in every community to protect the wage earner's dollar. The full force of inflationary pressure will come not during, but after, the war. After the last World War the most critical period of inflation proved to be the eighteen months following the Armistice. The crucial test of our ability to prevent a runaway inflation will come within two years after hostilities end.

In our opinion, there is a grave threat of curtailment of the real income of workers through price increases. We recommend that, to meet this threat and to assure wage earners and their families maximum protection as the nation's largest buyers

and consumers, all central labor unions form consumer committees to maintain informational services and otherwise aid our affiliated unions, their members and families in dealing with their cost-of-living problems, and that all possible advice and guidance be extended to such consumer committees by the American Federation of Labor.

(P. 576) Effective price control is of vital importance to wage earners; every price increase, open or hidden, in goods and services essential to living is a wage cut. To protect the wages, the incomes and the buying power of all workers or consumers, the American Federation of Labor insists on the continuation of price control so long as upward pressure of prices remains and until the danger of inflation is past. As the Executive Council points out, the most severe test of the nation's ability to prevent a runaway inflation is likely to come within two years after hostilities end. Authority to enforce ceiling prices should therefore continue beyond the actual war emergency. Unless we maintain price stability and protect the workers' buying power in the difficult period of post-war transition, there will be no escape from eventual collapse and mass unemployment. Only by retaining price ceilings and rationing as long as scarcities of essential goods exist can we assure complete and permanent removal of controls when full peace-time production and a free market are achieved.

Of strategic importance is pricing of reconverted civilian articles coming back on the market. So long as these articles, essential household appliances and automobiles, remain scarce, pressure for a speculative rise in their prices will be great. It would be disastrous to future employment if industry were allowed to price these goods out of a mass market and thus price workers out of jobs. We urge that prices on reconverted items be

kept at 1942 levels and that upward adjustments be permitted only on showing of hardship as in the case of some small businesses. We also ask that the War Production Board and other agencies concerned take positive measures to assure continued production of low-priced items and to require minimum quality specifications on essential commodities, especially low-cost textiles and apparel.

Organized labor constitutes the largest and most effective instrument of consumer representation. Representatives of the A. F. of L. on the OPA, its district labor advisory committees and local price and rationing boards have rendered an outstanding service not only to our membership but to all consumers of the nation. We urge that our unions everywhere make available the services of qualified labor representatives so that the share of labor participation in price control and rationing may be increased. In the days ahead, it will be of growing importance to make sure that labor representatives do not become mere silent partners in price administration and that labor retains initiative in shaping an independent and unified policy of consumer protection, a policy which is labor's own. We concur with the recommendation of the E.C. that to this end our central labor unions be asked to form A. F. of L. consumer committees in every community and that aid and guidance be extended to union consumer committees by A. F. of L. We recommend that for this purpose the president of the A. F. of L. appoint a consumer committee of the A. F. of L. to coordinate the policy and further the activities of our unions in all matters relating to the cost of living and consumer protection.

(1946, p. 11) In keynote speech to the convention the President of A. F. of L. said:

... on the question of price control

we have been passing through a situation that has subjected us to very trying experiences. Fairly decent governmental control was exercised by the Government up to June 30, when the first governmental control act was passed and was in operation. Then the Congress of the United States refused to continue the Act in its former character. I am not sure that it was then suited for the changed conditions that had come about, but at least an examination of the Act itself and the record leads us to the conclusion that it at least was better than the Act they finally passed. Instead of this Act now in operation, passed by the Congress of the United States, being a price control law, I would classify it as a profit promoting measure. Labor has suffered as a result of it already. We are suffering now. We believe that some new way must be found, and with the exception of perhaps continued control of rent and some other items comparable to that, we believe the time has come when price control, along with wage control, should be lifted by the Government of the United States.

... We are students of economics enough to know that there is but one remedy for inflation—a great evil—and that is full production. And what is needed is not so much price control as the centering upon full production by the workers of the nation and by cooperation of management making it possible for us to apply the law of economics and bring about production so it will balance with the law of supply and demand. Everyone knows that. Any article that is short will call for more prices and create black markets, but full production means a solution of the problem of inflation.

The record shows that our workers are centering their efforts in that direction, and I predict that if management will cooperate with labor, if the Government will stop breaking down the morale of workers by threatening

to enact slave legislation and impose that upon the workers of the nation, within a period of two years and we will reach full production in this country and we will apply the remedy for inflation.

(Pp. 216, 486) This section recounts the legislative steps that resulted in the present law under which prices have been raised and provides for decontrol. We move approval of this section and recommend that this convention record insistence on immediate decontrol of all prices except rents with a return to the controls of a free economy.

(1947, p. 677) Two resolutions, Nos. 185 and 121, both dealing with price control, were considered by the convention and referred to the Executive Council. The "resolves" of the respective proposals follow:

(Res. 185)

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of government price controls and price fixing downward through standardization and regulation, whereby the trend toward dangerous inflation can be stopped and positive relief brought to the consuming public generally and public employees and others in relatively fixed income groups in particular.

Res. 121:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in San Francisco, California, go on record as favoring the adoption of a program as part of our national policy of price reduction which would put an end to the extravagant and unfair price rises that have taken place in consumer goods and in all other commodities since June 1946, and be it further

Resolved—That we favor the creation of a Federal Price Adjustment Board by Executive Order, to implement this policy of a national scale.

Primary Elections—(1926, p. 237)

There is being conducted a nationwide fight on the direct primary, with the evident purpose of returning to the old system of nominating by convention, thus subordinating political parties to machine control.

We deem this activity an attack on democratic government an assault on established free institutions and as a further effort to wrest control of the government from the people; therefore, be it

Resolved—By the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, that we reaffirm our belief in and advocacy of the direct primary, pledge anew our continued united efforts to defend the direct primary against its enemies, and further that we urge all affiliated national and international unions and state federations of labor to exert every effort to awaken the people to the danger threatening popular government.

White—(1944, p. 507) Res. 25:

Whereas—The United States Supreme Court in a recent decision, has outlawed white primaries as being unconstitutional, based upon a case in the State of Texas, and citizens, without regard to race or color, are now voting in the primaries of the state of Texas, but since several other southern states continue to defy the decision of the United States Supreme Court, by refusing Negroes the right to vote in the primaries, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, La., November, 1944, go on record as commending, upholding and supporting the decision of the United States Supreme Court, outlawing white primaries, and call upon the United States Department of Justice to enforce it in the interest of the preservation of constitutional government, democracy and justice.

Your committee is in full approval with the action of the United States Supreme Court in outlawing white primaries. Your committee, however, is without any evidence that the United States Department of Justice has failed to decline to enforce this decision of the Supreme Court. For this reason we recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council so that an investigation may be made and the facts ascertained.

Presidential Preferential—(1953, p. 402) Res. 30:

Whereas—The present method of nominations for the great offices of President and Vice President of these United States is not indicative of the wishes of the electorate, and

Whereas—The political parties have not carried out the wishes of the electorate through the preferential primaries held in some states, and

Whereas—Some great and learned men, along with the common wage-earners, have expressed themselves in this matter, and

Whereas—One great statesman, Woodrow Wilson, in a letter dated February 5, 1913, wrote: "There ought never to be another presidential nominating convention, and there need never be another. The nominations should be made directly by the people at the polls. Conventions should determine nothing but party platforms, and should be made up of men who would be expected if elected to carry those platforms into effect. It is not necessary to attend to the people's business by constitutional amendment, if you will only actually put the business into the people's own hands," and

Whereas—The administration of our country rightfully belongs to the people, who are overwhelmingly wage earners, and should have the right to nominate the best men of all political parties, for the right to contest for

honor to serve as the heads of this great country, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 72nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of St. Louis, go on record to recommend and urge that legislation be enacted by the Congress of the United States to provide for a presidential preferential primary election, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor request all affiliated unions to lend their full support to such a measure, and be it further

Resolved—That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and to the proper committees of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, with the request that legislation to provide for a presidential preferential primary election be enacted promptly.

(P. 648) Convention expressed sympathy with the contents of the resolution and referred subject to the officers of the A. F. of L. for study and formulation of policy.

Printing (Government) — (1947, p. 668) The problems facing government printers through the practice of contracting work out to private business, was presented to the convention through Res. 151. The resolution was unanimously adopted as follows:

Whereas—Men and women accept employment in peacetime in the bond of good faith and full intention to make the Federal Government civilian service a career, and

Whereas—Much of the turnover in the government service is superinduced through the uncertainties of limitation on appropriations, expiration of appropriations, cessation of projects and programs, whether emergency, defense, wartime or peacetime, and

Whereas—Instability in government employment is so noticeably high as to discourage entrance of many qualified persons, and

Whereas—Wave after wave of dismissals continually beset the government service without planning beyond determination to curtail numbers employed, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor joins wholeheartedly in endorsing the position of its unions in the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in their purpose of seeing established an orderly system to eliminate the official hysteria which leads to reduction in force and to prevent the damage to employe morale, lowered efficiency and resultant decline in return upon the citizens' tax-dollar investment.

Subcontracting—(1949, pp. 53, 389) Res. 53 opposed the practice of contracting printing to outside firms which deprives employees in the Bureau of Engraving and the Government Printing Office of work opportunities which would eventually reduce the personnel.

Printing Trades—Lithographers (Juris)—(1940, pp. 64, 602) On the long-standing jurisdictional dispute between the two named international unions, the Executive Council reported to the convention that the lithographers had refused to abide by the decision rendered. Hearings were held during the convention and the following report was made and adopted:

This controversy dates back many years and as the result of an understanding reached at the 1915 Convention of the A. F. of L. when a committee of three was agreed to for the purpose of inquiring into technical phases involved and in order to determine the jurisdictional claims of each. All parties agreed to abide by the findings and recommendations of this committee. The 1916 Convention of the A. F. of L. affirmed the report and findings of this committee which defined the jurisdictional rights of each of these three international un-

ions and recommended, as well, a method by which these jurisdictional rights might be fully observed and protected. All efforts to bring about an observance of these agreements and decisions have failed throughout these years and solely because of the refusal of the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association to observe its agreement and decisions herein noted.

In the hearing held by your committee, it developed that the situation has become more and more aggravated each succeeding year and that at the present a well determined course is essential if the confusion in the printing trades and if the jurisdictional rights as well as agreements entered into and referred to herein are to be made effective.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association be directed to carry out its original agreement, abide by previous decisions reached by the A. F. of L. and observe the jurisdictional rights, as determined by the method to which it had agreed. That, failing to give substantial evidence of its intention to do so and failing to take active steps to that end within a period of ninety (90) days after adjournment of this convention, that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to withdraw or suspend its affiliation to the American Federation of Labor and hold it in suspension until it evidences observance of agreements entered into and the decisions reached. It is further recommended that in the interim the International Photo Engravers Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union and the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association be directed to appoint a committee of three (3) of each of the respective unions to meet in conference between themselves and with the view of composing existing differences and con-

summing some plan designed to observe the respective jurisdiction rights and adjust their relationship upon a friendly and cooperative basis; that these conferences proceed at the earliest possible moment and continue throughout the 90-day period previously indicated or so long as there may exist a reasonable opportunity for an amicable adjustment. It is further recommended that these organizations be directed to present a joint, or individual, report of the results of their conferences to the president of the American Federation of Labor at the expiration, or previous to the 90-day period. If upon the rendering of such report or reports, the Executive Council shall find that further efforts to compose the differences will prove futile, then the Executive Council shall give enforcement to the suspension order as herein before recommended.

(1942, p. 63) Tentative proposals for the adjustment of the long-standing dispute between the named organizations, were reported to the convention by the Executive Council.

(P. 452) The Committee on Adjustment at the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Seattle, October, 1941, gave consideration to action of the previous convention together with conferences subsequently held by representatives of the organizations directly involved.

The committee was informed by the representatives of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union, the Photo-Engravers Union and the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Ass'n. that they felt satisfied that this controversy could be definitely adjusted within a reasonable time. President Berry on behalf of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union, advised that his organization would accept and abide by whatever agreement might be

reached or understanding entered into between the Lithographers and the Photo Engravers, with the reservation that whatever plan of amalgamation or merger might be ultimately agreed to, that he would have the right to review that plan. The photo engravers on the other hand approved the proposal of the lithographers in principle and further meetings were agreed to for the purpose of working out a satisfactory plan of amalgamation that might meet the requirements of the Printing Pressmen's Union.

Further conferences have been held and your committee is advised that a plan of adjustment has been submitted and it is now in possession of President Berry of the Printing Pressmen's Union for his consideration.

Therefore, we recommend that conferences be continued with the view of adjusting this matter at the earliest possible date and that the president of the American Federation of Labor render whatever assistance may be possible to bring about the desired results.

(1943, p. 42) No definite progress has been made in the final adjustment of the controversy which arose between the printing trades organizations and the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association which was reported upon to the Toronto Convention one year ago. Because of the change which has taken place as a result of the war it seemed to be the opinion of the representatives of the printing trades organizations directly interested in the controversy, that the *status quo* be continued and further consideration of the controversy postponed until after the war has been concluded.

This attitude of the printing trades organizations is set forth in a letter which was sent to President Green by President Volz, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, and President Berry, of the

International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America. The letter referred to reads as follows:

May 24, 1943.

MR. WM. GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR PRESIDENT GREEN:

While deploring the attitude of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada in not complying with the long standing rulings of the American Federation of Labor relative to jurisdiction over offset plate-making and printing, and likewise its recommendations for the amalgamation of that group with the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, respectively, and in accordance with its jurisdictional award, these two latter organizations in view of present critical war conditions which warrant cessation of all internal strife in the labor movement, recommend—without in any manner waiving their respective claims and without prejudice to the rulings of the Federation—that the entire question involved be held “status quo” for the duration.

Respectfully submitted,
(Signed) EDWARD J. VOLZ,
President,
International Photo-Engravers'
Union of North America.

(Signed) GEORGE L. BERRY,
President,
International Printing Pressmen,
and Assistants' Union
of North America.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the suggestions made in the letter received from President Volz and President Berry be complied

with and carried out with the understanding that the respective claims of the several organizations involved and decisions heretofore rendered upon them by the Executive Council and previous conventions shall in no way be modified or be prejudiced.

(P. 384) The Executive Council reports its inability to bring about an adjustment in accordance with the previous convention decisions in the differences between the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. We regret that no adjustment in conformity with convention action could be reached, and recommend that unremitting efforts be made to reach an early settlement of all differences. Under the existing conditions of rapid and profound changes in the graphic arts industry, the achievement of complete harmony in the ranks of the printing trades is urgent and imperative.

Prison Labor—(1924, p. 43) Continued efforts have been made in the past year as in preceding years to protect the labor of free men from competition against convict labor. To further legislation of this character a conference was called by the Executive Council as directed by the Portland Convention of the A. F. of L.

As was indicated in our report of a year ago, out of approximately 67,000 prisoners in the various prisons and reformatories conducted by the several states, 18,439 were engaged in what is known as “shop trades,” out of which 10,740 were employed in industries under contract and public account systems and wherein the manufactured goods are disposed of in the open market in competition with free labor. Of the 10,740 prisoners working under the contract system, 5,749 or fifty-three per cent are employed in the manufacture of work shirts and overalls. It is thus apparent that the solution of this problem does not rest

entirely upon the enactment of effective state and national legislation, but that substantial aid can be given the movement of eliminating competition of convict labor by wage earners exercising a greater discriminating care and judgment against purchasing convict made goods. A consistent and persistent demand for union label goods of this kind will be of material assistance.

The evil involved in the competition of convict labor with free labor, however, cannot be wholly exterminated without proper and effective national and state legislation. Indeed, it is a fundamental error for the state or nation to use the services of convicts for private gain or other than for state use.

The A. F. of L. has consistently advocated the state use system of employing convicts in penal institutions; that is, that the state itself or its subdivisions consume the commodities produced within the penal institutions of the state.

It has also condemned the contract system, the lease system, the piece price system and the state or public account system, the first three of which are practically the same in operation as the contract system and work to the detriment of the convict, the state, the employers and the workers of the states. The last system, the state itself enters into direct competition with its citizens by disposing on the open market of materials manufactured by the inmates of its penal institutions.

There are at present 47 states that use either or all of the following: Contract, piece price, lease and/or public account systems. It is advisable that a bill for legislative enactment be prepared for presentation to and enactment by these several state legislatures abolishing either or all of these systems and installing in their stead the state-use system.

It is also advisable that continued

efforts be made to have an enabling Act similar to what was known as Booher or Nolan bills, enacted by Congress which will permit the states that have already enforced the state-use system to legislate against the importation of goods made under the four systems which are condemned by not only the A. F. of L. but by all fair-minded citizens interested in this problem.

Central bodies, which have legislative committees, state branches, and international organizations the members of which are adversely affected in states where the four systems condemned are in whole or part in use are urged to use every possible effort and activity to have substituted therefor the state-use system.

(P. 71) A bill was introduced directing the Secretary of Labor to make an investigation and report on the subject of convict labor. Another was introduced to "further regulate interstate and foreign commerce by prohibiting the interstate transportation of the products of convict labor." No action was taken by the Committee on Labor.

(P. 187) Convention emphasized with approval that every effort be made in the respective states to eliminate harmful convict labor competition. State legislatures should be vigorously urged to adopt the state-use system.

The E.C. is instructed to seek the enactment by Congress of the bill which would prohibit the interstate transportation of the products of convict labor.

(1925, p. 63) Bills for presentation in Congress and in the various states to eliminate the competition of products of convict labor with free labor have been prepared. The federal bill is based on two laws that have been passed by Congress and declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the U.S. It provides that any products of the labor of convicts shipped

from one state into another shall come under the laws of the latter state the same as if manufactured therein.

In 1890 Congress enacted a law "to limit the effect of the regulations of commerce between the several states and with foreign countries in certain cases." This provided that all fermented, distilled, or other intoxicating liquors, or liquids, transported into any state or territory, or remaining therein, for use, consumption, sale or storage therein, shall be subject to the operation and effect of the laws of such state or territory enacted in the exercise of its police powers, to the same extent and in the same manner as though such liquids, or liquors, had been produced in such state or territory, and shall not be exempt therefrom by reason of being introduced therein in original packages or otherwise. In declaring this law constitutional, the Supreme Court said:

Congress has not attempted to delegate the power to regulate commerce or to exercise any power reserved to the states, or to grant a power not possessed by the states, or to adopt state laws. It has taken its own course and made its own regulation applying to these subjects of interstate commerce one common rule whose uniformity is not affected by variations in state laws in dealing with such property. No reason is perceived why, if Congress chooses to provide that certain designated subjects of interstate commerce shall be governed by a rule which divests them of that character at an earlier period of time than would otherwise be the case, it is not within its competency to do so.

A similar law enacted in 1913 was also declared constitutional by the Supreme Court, which said:

This Act, which in substance prohibits the shipment or transportation from one state to another of intoxicating liquors in violation of

any law of such state, is a valid exercise of the power of Congress.

It is therefore believed that should Congress pass the bill it is proposed to introduce, constructed on the lines of the two laws declared constitutional, that if enacted into law it will also be approved by the Supreme Court.

A bill providing for the state-use system to be presented in the various state legislatures where that system is not in effect is based on the best features of the New York, Ohio and Illinois convict labor laws. It provides that the inmates of all penal institutions shall be employed in the manufacture of articles for the exclusive use of the state or its political divisions. The enactment of the proposed federal law referred to will be an incentive to the various states that have other systems now to adopt the state-use system for self-protection. It will also prevent the transportation into a state of the products of convicts of other states to the detriment of free labor. It will destroy the contract system and any other method in effect that permits the products of convicts to be placed on the market. Both the federal and state bills exempt eleemosynary institutions.

The last report available shows that in 1923, 36 per cent of the inmates of penal institutions were employed under the state-use system.

The superintendent of federal prisons has announced that he will present a bill in Congress providing for establishing the state-use system in the three federal prisons at Atlanta, Leavenworth and McNeil Island. The object is to manufacture products for the departments of the government, none to be sold on the market.

(1927, p. 75) Bills were introduced in Congress "to divest goods, wares and merchandise manufactured, produced or mined by convicts or prisoners of their interstate character in certain cases." It would subject all

convict-made goods sent into a state or territory to the laws of such state or territory to the same extent and in the same manner as though they had been manufactured therein.

The opposition came from officials of penal institutions of more than 20 states. They defended the present contract system. Representatives of the A. F. of L. insisted at the hearings that in states where the state-use system prevails all convicts are employed but the products of convict labor did not come in competition in the markets with the products of free labor.

The bill was reported favorably to the House. The Senate bill was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. . . . It is believed there will be no serious trouble in securing a favorable report in the Seventieth Congress both from the Senate Committee and again from the Committee on Labor of the House.

(1928, pp. 78, 204) Notwithstanding most bitter opposition from prison officials and prison contractors, the Cooper-Hawes bill, to divest convict made goods of their interstate character in certain cases, almost became a law. It passed the House by a vote of 303 to 39 but did not come to a vote in the Senate because of a filibuster by opponents.

During all the hearings not one witness aside from state and prison officials and the representatives of prison contractors appeared to oppose the bill. Most ridiculous objections were raised, but cross-examination of witnesses by members of the committees shattered their claims. Seventy-five members of the Senate were pledged to vote for the bill, nine were not unfriendly, and only 10 declared their determination to defeat it. The bill will be unfinished business when Congress meets again in December, and we believe it will pass.

(1929, p. 89) Now that the Hawes-Cooper convict labor bill has become a

law it is necessary to outline a program for legislation in the states. This is a much more difficult problem than would first be recognized. The bill provides that goods, wares and merchandise manufactured, produced or mined by convict labor shall come under the laws of the state into which they are shipped. It has never been the intention to interfere with farm products. Only manufactured goods come in competition with free labor in the factories and workshops of the country.

The question that arises is how shall legislation in the states be worded and what is to be its intent. The Hawes-Cooper Act provides that convict labor products shall be divested of their interstate character in certain cases. This permits each state to enact a law prohibiting the importation within its borders of convict-made goods from other states.

(P. 245) The A. F. of L. earnestly urges every delegate to closely read and study the report of the E.C. on the subject of convict labor. Particularly, it is essential that the delegates realize the Hawes-Cooper bill, which has been termed one of the most important labor measures in recent years, requires supplemental legislation by the states to become effective. Consequently, this eagerly sought legislative measure is valueless unless backed up by the appropriate state enactments mentioned in the report.

It has been definitely determined that the convict labor question is a state problem and delegates should study it in relation to the existing laws in their own states.

The Hawes-Cooper bill will not become effective until January 19, 1934. In the meantime the organized labor movement must take the initiative in the fight for satisfactory state legislation along the lines of the model amendments included in the E.C. report. The utmost vigilance is necessary to prevent hostile forces from

nullifying the Hawes-Cooper bill by enacting inadequate and unsatisfactory state supplemental measures.

(1930, pp. 105, 233) Several laws were enacted providing for a reform in federal prison methods. Amendments were made at the request of the A. F. of L. to prohibit any federal convict working on any article sold on the open market while incarcerated either in a federal or state penal institution. These laws embody within their provisions the policy of the A. F. of L. that there shall be no sale of prison made goods from one state to another or to the Federal Government or from the Federal Government to any of the states.

(P. 111) Although little more than a year has passed since the Hawes-Cooper Convict Labor Act became a law the governors of many states have accepted its provisions and state legislatures are enacting legislation which will make vital and effective the provisions of the law.

The Hawes-Cooper Act does not go into effect until January 19, 1934, and at that time it is expected that the majority of the states will have adopted the state-use system in the employment of convicts and will also prohibit the importation within their states of convict made goods from other states. Among the most bitter opponents of the Hawes-Cooper bill was the governor of Missouri, who sent a delegation of officials to Washington to protest against the legislation, but after a year's study of its provisions he has changed his attitude. He communicated with the governors of all the states asking for opinions of the law.

At the Governors' Conference in Salt Lake City in July, the governor quoted some of the answers he had received. The great majority of the answers regarded the law in a philosophical way and stated they were endeavoring to meet the conditions that

will come when the law goes into effect. Governor Caulfield said:

It would seem evident then that each state as a protective measure must bar from its market the prison made goods of other states and to avoid an unconstitutional determination must withdraw its own prison made goods from its own open market. . . . The state-use system seems to offer the greatest possibilities for stabilizing the present employment situation. My inquiries reveal that most of the states will turn to that system in preparation for the Hawes-Cooper Act.

He also said:

The state-use system will no doubt result in greater diversification and this will give better training to the prisoners for life.

Only two governors suggested that the law was unconstitutional, but a careful reading of the minutes of the conference shows that the governors of most of the states have accepted the law as constitutional and will seek to introduce the state-use system and the prohibition of convict made goods manufactured in other states being sold on their open markets.

The Hawes-Cooper Act is an enabling Act. It gives the states the power to forbid the transportation within their respective borders of convict made goods from other states. The New York legislature passed a bill in the last session and it was signed by the governor prohibiting the importation of convict made goods into that state after January 19, 1934. The working people of New Jersey and Ohio, which have the state-use system, will endeavor to have the same law enacted next winter.

We urge state federations of labor in states where the state-use system is not in force to have bills introduced in the legislatures to introduce the state-use system and also to prohibit the importation into the states of convict made goods from other states.

In states where the state-use system is in effect, bills should be introduced to prohibit the transportation into the states of convict made goods from other states. Some 38 legislatures meet next winter and the work should begin immediately.

(1931, pp. 120, 291) The Boston Convention referred Resolution No. 31 to the E.C. for the purpose of having a complete statement made on the subject. The resolution states that "January 7, 1925, Congress passed a law which makes it mandatory for the attorney general to employ prison labor for the construction and maintenance of all federal prisons and federal reformatories wherever possible."

The law referred to and which was passed January 7, 1925, refers only to one prison and is not mandatory. It provides that in the construction of the Chillicothe Reformatory the attorney general shall employ the labor of such United States prisoners who are confined in the Chillicothe Reformatory "and who can be used under proper guard in the work necessary to construct the buildings."

Free labor is doing much of the work at the Chillicothe Reformatory and all those employed directly by the government are being paid the union rates of wages. Convicts are used only in the rough work.

In the 71st Congress provisions were made for the erection of a federal prison, several jails and a reformatory. All of these buildings are to be constructed by free labor. A union contractor has the contract for the federal prison to be erected at Lewisburg, Pa., at a cost of \$3,800,000.

For many years the A. F. of L. has endeavored to eliminate as far as possible the competition of convict labor products with those produced by free labor. Until within the last two years our efforts were confined almost entirely to the production of goods, wares, merchandise and coal.

The unusual demand for new penitentiary buildings or additions during the past two years has brought convict labor in competition with the building trades. As said before so far as the Federal Government is concerned none of the new penal institutions will be built by convicts or will they have anything whatever to do with the work in any capacity.

All work done by federal prisoners is exclusively for the government. Nothing is sold on the open market or sold to or exchanged with any state.

The aim of the A. F. of L. has been to minimize the competition of convict labor so that employers of free labor will not be driven out of business.

Various humane improvements are being introduced in the construction of the new federal prison. Iron bars will be absent except in cells where those mentally deranged or where those guilty of some infraction of the rules are incarcerated.

As soon as Congress meets a bill will be introduced to prohibit the sale or exchange of convict made goods from any of the several states of the U.S. in competition with goods produced by free labor in the District of Columbia.

(1932, pp. 71, 232) As the Hawes-Cooper Convict Labor Act becomes effective January 19, 1934, it is absolutely necessary that the legislatures which will meet in January, 1933, shall enact legislation to carry out the object of the Act. The Act enables states to forbid the sale, within their borders, of convict made goods from other states. But it must be understood that unless the laws of the states provide that none of their own convict made products shall be sold on the open market, they cannot forbid the sale of convict made goods from other states.

The Act provides that when convict made products from one state are shipped into another, they come under

the laws of that state the same as if manufactured therein. Therefore, great care should be taken to have the laws of the state changed to provide that none of the products of its penal institutions shall be sold on the open market.

Four states have taken advantage of the Hawes-Cooper Act. They are: Illinois, Maine, New York and New Jersey. The Ohio Legislature in its next session will undoubtedly approve proper legislation. In the last session the House by practically a unanimous vote passed a bill which was lost in the Senate in the closing days because of the congestion.

(1933, pp. 107, 535) Unusual efforts were made to have the model convict labor bill passed by the legislatures of the various states. Seventeen states now have laws satisfactory to the A. F. of L. Twelve of the states enacted the law in 1933.

The Indiana Legislature passed two bills, one providing for state-use and the other forbidding the sale of convict-made goods from other states. The governor vetoed the latter.

The Iowa Legislature passed a branding bill and applied its regulations to outside products. Rhode Island has chosen a commission representing Labor, manufacturers and others to report to the 1934 session looking to the placing of that state on the state-use basis.

The fact that no convict-made goods can be shipped into 17 states after January 19, 1934, for sale on the open market, will serve as a warning to states that have not enacted this law that they must adopt the state-use system.

A representative of a prison contractor of New York City entered suit for an injunction to restrain the attorney-general from enforcing the state law and contended that the Hawes-Cooper Act was unconstitutional. It is understood that the suit will be withdrawn.

Another suit was begun by the attorney-general of Alabama, who asked for an injunction restraining 16 states from enforcing their convict labor laws. The states asked to be enjoined will fight the suit. The attorney-generals of those states met in Chicago and appointed a committee to draw up briefs in support of the constitutionality of the Hawes-Cooper Act. The hearing was set for October 9, 1933.

Many protests have been made by the citizens of Alabama and the A. F. of L. believes that the attorney general of that state will not succeed in his efforts to uphold convict labor competition with free labor.

The Oregon Legislature passed the convict labor bill but it was vetoed by the governor. As he is a department store owner and deals in a number of convict-made products, his action can be understood. The House of the Delaware Legislature approved the measure, but the Senate refused to concur. The Maine Legislature also refused to enact this legislation.

Contracts for shirts in Kentucky and Wyoming prisons were cancelled because the Hawes-Cooper Act would become effective after January 19, 1934.

(1934, pp. 86, 399) Forty-two state legislatures will meet in January or later next year. Strenuous efforts should be made to have those states that have not taken advantage of the Hawes-Cooper Convict Labor Act do so. Seventeen states have enacted laws prohibiting the sale of convict-made goods manufactured in its own prisons on the open market.

The Hawes-Cooper Act provides that any convict-made goods shipped from one state into another shall come under the laws of the latter the same as if manufactured therein. Therefore, if a state legislature enacts a law prohibiting the sale of its own convict-made products on the open market, no other state can sell its convict-made

products in that state. This is very important, as much unemployment is caused by the sale of convict-made goods on the open market, particularly so in view of the fact that the government now permits the NRA label to go on convict-made goods, which action we condemn as being injurious to free labor.

(1935, pp. 139, 451) Another important step in the campaign of the A. F. of L. to eliminate the competition of convict labor was taken to the Seventy-fourth Congress. The bill introduced prohibited the interstate transportation of prison-made products into states that had established the state-use system. The state-use system prohibits the sale on the open market of prison-made goods manufactured by the convicts of the state.

The Hawes-Cooper Act enables a state to enact legislation prohibiting the sale of prison-made goods from another state if the former state's laws provide that its own convict-made goods cannot be sold on the open market. Quite a number of cases have been reported of convict-made goods manufactured in one state being shipped and sold in a state which forbids their sale on the open market. The Ashurst-Sumners Prison Labor Law provides:

That it shall be unlawful for any person knowingly to transport or cause to be transported, in any manner or by any means whatsoever, or aid or assist in obtaining transportation for or in transporting any goods, wares and merchandise manufactured, produced, or mined wholly or in part by convicts or prisoners (except convicts or prisoners on parole or probation), or in any penal or reformatory institution, from one state, territory, or district of the United States, or place non-contiguous but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or from any foreign country, into any state, territory, or district of the United

States, or place non-contiguous but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, where said goods, wares and merchandise are intended by any person interested therein to be received, possessed, sold, or in any manner used, either in the original package or otherwise, in violation of any law of such state, territory, or district of the United States, or place non-contiguous but subject to the jurisdiction thereof. Nothing herein shall apply to commodities manufactured in federal penal and correctional institutions for use by the Federal Government.

The law also provides that convict-made goods shipped in interstate commerce shall be plainly marked so that the name and address of the shipper, the name and address of the consignee, the nature of the contents and the penal institution or reformatory where manufactured or produced may be readily ascertained on an inspection of the outside of the package in which said convict-made goods are shipped. A violation of the law shall be punishable by a fine of not more than \$1,000, and said goods, wares and merchandise forfeited to the U.S.

(1936, pp. 135, 465) Twenty-two states have enacted legislation for the protection of free labor from competition of convict labor. The last state to act was Louisiana. In those states no convict-made goods, wares, or merchandise produced or mined in the United States can be sold on the open market. The Hawes-Cooper Act divests state prison-made products of their interstate character and when such goods are shipped into a state, the laws of that state govern. This law was declared constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Ashurst-Sumners Convict Labor Act is supplementary legislation to more thoroughly enforce the Hawes-Cooper Act. It provides that convict made goods shipped in interstate commerce must bear a label

upon the container on which is printed the name of the prison where the articles were produced and to whom it is consigned. The object of this law is to prohibit carriers from accepting prison made products to be delivered in the twenty-two states that have adopted the state-use system. It is the purpose and intention of the A. F. of L. to examine all proposed legislation relating to the manufacture, shipment and sale of convict made goods, to consider all facts and information, legal, social and economic, bearing upon such proposed legislation and to take such action in connection therewith as may seem necessary in order to protect the interests of free labor from competition of goods manufactured by convict labor. It accepts and regards the enactment of legislation providing for the state-use system only, this to be supplemented by the enactment of the Hawes-Cooper Act in the different states, as the real solution of the problem. If all the states can be prevailed upon to pass a state-use system act, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of convict made goods in competition with free labor and confining the distribution and use of convict made goods to state use only, the sale of convict made goods in competition with free labor within the state would be prohibited. If such state-use legislation could then be supplemented by the enactment of the Hawes-Cooper Act, each state could then prevent the shipment and sale of convict made goods within the state which were manufactured in other states and shipped in interstate commerce.

In conformity with actions taken by conventions of the A. F. of L., official communications have been addressed to the officers of state federations of labor in the different states where the state-use system has not been adopted, urging them to draft and sponsor legislation prohibiting the production and sale of convict made goods in com-

petition with goods manufactured by free labor.

(1937, pp. 175, 310) The campaign to eliminate the sale of convict made products on the open market is gradually forcing upon the states that do not have the state-use system the necessity for this legislation. Seven states enacted the state-use law this year. Eighteen states still sell their prison products on the open market, but there are thirty states into which they cannot ship them to be sold.

The problem of finding a market is becoming so difficult that it is doubtful whether there is a prison official in those eighteen states who does not recognize the fact that they must adopt the state-use system. Every state in the Union has a sufficient market in its state institutions or political subdivisions that will keep every convict employed.

Under the present method of doing business the prisons sell on the open market and then buy from favorite contractors the articles that are used in the state institutions. This increases the cost. If the convict-made products were used they would reduce the cost of maintaining the prisons at least 50 per cent. Every state that has adopted the state-use system acknowledges its benefits.

The eighteen states that are still selling their prison-made products on the open market in competition with those produced by free labor are: Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

No doubt everyone of the eighteen states could be induced to adopt a state-use system if a persistent and vigorous campaign is launched to have candidates for the legislatures pledge themselves to vote for this legislation. Other state federations of labor have worked diligently and succeeded in having such laws enacted.

The opposition to the state-use system has not been so aggressive during the present year. Amendments to bills have been made in Congress that would prevent the transportation of convict-made goods in interstate commerce and very little opposition has developed. However, the only true way in which the convict labor problem can be solved is through each state providing that all goods, wares and merchandise produced or mined by convicts shall be exclusively for state use.

(1938, p. 176) Thirty-one states have adopted the state-use system in the employment of convicts. Two of them have partially carried out the policy of the A. F. of L. Indiana and Maine enacted laws prohibiting transportation into those states of convict made goods to sell on the open market. They neglected, however, to enact the state-use law, which makes the law enacted inoperative.

The regulations relating to the transportation of prison made products have been completed and distributed to all freight agents throughout the United States. The regulations contain the Hawes-Cooper Act and the Ashurst-Sumners Act, and then gives the laws of every state pertaining to the sale of convict made products. The publication of the regulations will immediately prevent the transportation of convict made products into states which do not permit its own convict made products to be sold on the open market. The result will be that the seventeen states that have not yet enacted the proper laws will be forced to do so as their markets for prison made products are slowly being taken away from them.

The problem has been to impress the legislatures of the southern states that they must arrange for establishing the state-use system or otherwise they will not be able to sell any of their products anywhere in the United States.

(1939, pp. 159, 386) Fourteen states are still lacking the state-use system in the manufacture of goods, wares and merchandise. Nine of these states have practically no laws governing prison labor. These are: Alabama, Delaware, Missouri, Nevada, North Dakota, South Carolina, Vermont, West Virginia and Wyoming. While the latter has no laws governing convict labor, the administration prohibits the sale of convict made goods on the open market.

Florida and Indiana adopted a state-use system this year but the following states still refuse to indorse the state-use system: Alabama, Delaware, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

Eventually those states will have to adopt proper legislation as their markets for prison products are very much curtailed because thirty-four states forbid their transportation within their borders for sale on the open market.

(*Foreign*)—(1930, pp. 112, 235) The House refused to amend Section 307 of the tariff act so that not only manufactured goods but all that are mined and produced by convicts should not be entitled to enter at any port in the United States. When the bill reached the Senate representatives of the A. F. of L. took the matter up with the Senate Finance Committee and the words "mined and produced" were inserted in the Section. When the bill reached the Senate floor another amendment was inserted which would also prohibit the entry of such articles as were mined, produced or manufactured wholly or in part by "forced or indentured labor under penal sanctions."

Still another amendment was made which postponed the taking into effect of the forced or indentured labor provisions until January 1, 1932. When

the bill reached the conference committee this further amendment was made:

"But in no case shall such provisions be applicable to goods, wares, articles, or merchandise so mined, produced or manufactured which are not mined, produced, or manufactured in such quantities in the United States as to meet the consumptive demands of the United States."

This exemption would apply to rubber and certain other articles not produced in the United States, but would prohibit lumber, coal and manganese from entry if produced by forced or indentured labor.

(1939, p. 386) In that portion of the Executive Council's report captioned, "Convict Labor," your committee recommends that in the 14 States still lacking the State-use system in the manufacture of goods, wares and merchandise produced by prison labor that the State Federations continue in their endeavors to have legislatures enact convict labor legislation.

(1940, pp. 70-71, 389) Convention approved following report of Executive Council and recommended that the fullest possible cooperation be given to state federations in securing necessary supplemental state legislation.

For many years efforts have been made to curtail competition of convict-made goods with those produced by free labor. The American Federation of Labor has led the fight for such legislation and in 1929 secured the passage of the Hawes-Cooper Act (Public No. 669, approved January 19, 1929).

Under the Constitution Congress was given power to legislate in regard to interstate commerce but as all powers not expressly given to the Federal Government by the Constitution are reserved to the states, Congress is powerless to legislate regarding intrastate commerce. By enacting the

Hawes-Cooper Act Congress divested itself of a portion of its jurisdiction over prison products in interstate commerce by authorizing states to subject such goods, when shipped, to their own laws. The effective date of the Act was deferred five years in order that states might make necessary adjustments. A majority of the states took advantage of the Hawes-Cooper Act and protected themselves by enacting legislation restricting the sale or use of prison-made goods. However, shipments continued to be made into states having restrictive laws and prison-made products were being "boot-legged" in such states.

The American Federation of Labor, therefore, prepared and secured the introduction of the Ashurst-Sumners Act (Public No. 215, approved July 24, 1935), prohibiting the shipment of convict-made goods into states which prohibited their sale in the open market. It also required that containers of such goods be marked as to their origin. The Hawes-Cooper and Ashurst-Sumners Acts caused all but the following eight states to enact restrictive laws regarding prison products: Alabama, Delaware, Missouri, Nevada, South Carolina, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Some states, however, continued to ship convict products into states without protective laws and the results were deplorable. In order to deal with the situation created by lack of cooperation the Executive Council sponsored and was successful in having enacted S. 3550 (Public No. 851) prohibiting the shipment of any prison products in interstate commerce, except agricultural commodities, repair parts for farm machinery, or goods manufactured for another state.

The Executive Council also actively supported two other measures relating to prison labor:

Senate Joint Res. 59 (Public Res. No. 85), authorizes the Bureau of Labor Statistics to collect information

concerning character, kind, type, amount, and value of all goods produced in state and Federal prisons, showing separately the amount of all goods produced under the state-use, state-account, contract, and piece-rate system.

S. 2303 (Public No. 539) authorizes the continuance of the work of the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration. This agency assists any state, upon invitation, in working out more satisfactory and efficient methods of employing and training prisoners. Previous studies of prison conditions have revealed indefensible competition with free labor and industry, wholesale demoralizing idleness of thousands of prisoners due in part to restrictive Federal and state legislation, as well as overcrowded and obsolete housing conditions. The principal purpose of the work carried on by the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration is to help the states to eliminate competition of prison-made products with the products of free industry, to find useful employment for all their prisoners, and to establish better methods of penal treatment. These objectives are, of course, interrelated and inseparable.

(1940, p. 389) In commending Executive Council upon legislative gains to prohibit the sale of prison made goods in competition with free labor, convention recommended that fullest possible cooperation be given to state federations in securing desired supplemental state legislation.

(In War Material Production)—(1942, p. 199) On May 6, 1942, the Attorney General submitted a legal opinion to the President of the United States to the effect that the services of prisoners may be used for the production of war material. As a result of said opinion the President called upon the Department of Labor to modify certain features of the Walsh-Healey Act so as to permit the pro-

duction of war material in Federal prisons and state prisons as well.

The head of the division within the Department of Labor who is clothed with authority to administer the Walsh-Healey Act, stated that it is the purpose of the Government to use much of the material produced in prisons to supply lend-lease demands rather than to utilize said material for national war needs. He further advised that it was agreed and understood that goods thus manufactured in prisons for war use will be sold to the Government for the same price paid those who produce the same goods in private industry, this action to be taken for the purpose of preventing the charge of undue and unfair competition.

The Executive Council, at its meeting held May 13-22, 1942, gave special consideration to the legal opinion of the Attorney General herein referred to, and the statement made by the administrator within the Department of Labor clothed with authority to administer the Walsh-Healey Act. All members of the Council expressed grave apprehension over the effect of the modification of prison labor legislation as set forth in the legal opinion rendered by the Attorney General. The Executive Council expressed its determination, in conformity with the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor, to do everything possible to protect free labor from the competition of convict labor. While inspired by a sincere desire to serve in every way in the promotion of the war effort, the members of the Council expressed emphatic opposition to the repeal of convict labor legislation which had been secured as a result of years of effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council adopted a motion that in view of the opinion rendered by the Attorney General of the United States which authorized

Federal prison authorities to use Federal prisoners for the creation of war material and war essentials; and whereas the opinion sets forth that they may purchase from state prisons war commodities and materials; therefore, conforming to that judgment the Council requests the Superintendent of Federal Prisons to consult with representatives of the American Federation of Labor in the extension, operation or application of this work so as to assure adequate protection for free labor and yet promote the war service. Furthermore, inasmuch as the Secretary of Labor is clothed with authority to grant exemptions under the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act that we request the Secretary of Labor not to make a general exemption, and further, that in every exemption considered, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor be given the opportunity of presenting our point of view prior to the issuance of such exemption so that free labor will not be detrimentally affected and that the war effort may be enhanced.

(P. 199) This action of the Executive Council was transmitted to the Secretary of Labor, as well as to the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, under date of June 16, 1942.

The President on July 13, 1942, issued an Executive Order relating to the employment of prison labor in the production of war material goods. This Executive Order, No. 9196, reads as follows:

Under and by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and in order to remove any doubts which might otherwise exist and to insure the effective utilization of all existing productive facilities, it is hereby ordered that Executive Order No. 325A of May 18, 1905, be, and the same is hereby, suspended for the period of the war and for six months thereafter to the extent necessary to permit officers and agen-

cies of the Federal Government charged with the purchase or procurement of articles necessary in the conduct of the war to procure, directly or indirectly, through any contractor or sub-contractor or otherwise, articles of any kind produced in any Federal, state or territorial prison, provided such articles are not produced pursuant to any contract or other arrangement under which prison labor is hired out to, or employed or used by, any private person, firm or corporation.

Prior to the issuance of this order, however, the Secretary of Labor (who is authorized to make exemptions in the application of the restrictive features of the Walsh-Healey Act to the employment of convict labor in the production of goods where justice and public interest are served thereby) issued an order amending regulations for administration of the Walsh-Healey Act and exempting from the coverage of the act contracts negotiated during the present war in states or territories of the United States or with instrumentalities wholly owned or controlled by them for the manufacture or furnishing of materials, supplies, articles and equipment necessary for the war purposes.

The Executive Council fully realizes that the nation is at war and that the productive services of all must be used in the prosecution of the war effort. These facts must be faced in a realistic and patriotic way. Notwithstanding the modifications of restrictive convict labor legislation as provided for in the opinion of the Attorney General holding that the services of President and the order of the Secretary of Labor, during the war emergency, it is the purpose of the Executive Council to stand guard against and to oppose any attempt which may be made to permanently repeal, modify or change the provisions as well as the application of the Walsh-Healey Act and other convict labor legislation

secured through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor.

(P. 514) Under this caption the Executive Council relates the circumstances and details in connection with the legal opinion of the Attorney General holding that the services of prisoners could be used for the production of war material. Although presentations were made to the Superintendent of Federal Prisons and to the Secretary asking for safeguard, the Secretary of Labor issued an order lifting protection under the Walsh-Healey Act and the President issued an executive order lifting restrictions on contract prison labor.

We approve the action of the Executive Council in making every possible protest and in now centering on limiting these restrictions to the emergency.

(1943, p. 413) The convention unanimously adopted Res. 117 as follows:

Whereas—It has been reported by the OWI, as late as September 14, 1943, that more than 160,000 prisoners in 100 state prisons are producing war goods for the Army, Navy and Maritime Commission, and

Whereas—On July 9, 1942, Federal restrictions on the sale of convict-made goods to Federal agencies were suspended for the duration by Executive Order, and

Whereas—To date, war contracts totaling nearly \$11,000,000 have been awarded to prisons, and

Whereas—Before the war, prison industries were prohibited from competing with free labor, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in its Sixty-third Convention assembled, go on record to use every possible effort to eliminate manufacturing in prisons in competition with free labor immediately upon the termination of hostilities.

Prison Service Employees (Retirement of)—(1941, p. 595) The follow-

ing resolution was submitted to the convention and referred to the E.C.:

Whereas—The number of years required for optional and compulsory retirement is based upon the many extra hazards which are placed upon the Prison Service Employees in the carrying out of their duties, and

Whereas—The title "Prison Service Employee" bespeaks the nature of the work done by the employees and it is generally understood that the life expectancy is lessened because of the constant strain and the extra hazard under which they must discharge their duties, and

Whereas—Great consideration must be given this matter as the element of humanity enters into the arguments chiefly on the side of the employee. The various types of men sent to prison and placed under the care of the Prison Service Employees necessitates constant vigil and regulation. Also the years of association with this element lends to the tendency of strain, both mentally and physically that reduces the longevity of the employee, and

Whereas—It is a foregone conclusion that better service would be rendered by replacing the employee after retirement requisite is reached with a younger person, thereby keeping the personnel of the Service at a high standard of efficiency at all times; therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor recommends legislation to establish a 20-year optional and a 25-year compulsory retirement of all prison service employees due to extra hazard connected with this work; and be it further

Resolved—That the above recommendation be drafted in the form of a bill and the same be presented to the 77th Congress of the United States, now in session, for the consideration and action of said Congress; and be now in session, for the consideration it further

Resolved—That this Convention assembled go on record urging a speedy passage of the said Bill, by the United States Congress, thereby making the same a part of the Statute of the Civil Service Laws.

Resolution No. 67 recites the hazards and responsibilities of Prison Service Employees as reasons for early superannuation and asks for legislation to be drafted, and speedy efforts made to secure its enactment, that would provide for optional retirement after 20 years' service and compulsory retirement after 25 years' service for U.S. Prison Service Employees.

Prisoners of War (also see: Conscientious Objectors)

(1952, pp. 278, 495) The Executive Council reports on its activities to secure relief and indemnity for employees of contractors in World War II, including prisoners of the Japanese and failure of the Congress to enact satisfactory legislation. Your committee recommends that these efforts be continued.

Productivity (Labor Costs)—(1940, pp. 67-68, 389) A. F. of L. requested that authority and direction be given by Congress to Bur. of Labor Statistics to make continuing studies of productivity and labor costs in the manufacturing, mining, transportation, distribution, and other industries. . . . Such studies to show what industries should reduce work hours where new machinery and techniques have increased productivity and reduced labor costs.

Figures are also needed by employers and employes for wage negotiations. By making adjustments in those industries where scientific advance makes shorter hours and higher wages possible, the problem of technological unemployment can be attacked at its source and controlled through the normal channel of trade union agreements. This is the right-

ful and constructive way to make sure that scientific advance in industries will bring higher living standards instead of an increasing problem of technological unemployment. The information necessary to give productivity and labor cost information each month in 59 industries is readily available in the monthly records kept by these industries. This information has already been compiled so as to show productivity and labor costs from 1910 through 1936 in a study made with W.P.A. funds. Keeping these figures up to date will greatly increase the usefulness of this original investment and develop information which will be constantly used by employers for managerial and financial decisions as well as by unions in planning their lines of action. The sum of \$50,000 was appropriated to carry out the intent of this resolution.

Shorter Work Week (Defense)—(1940, pp. 95, 97, 553) Since shortening work week has not kept pace with increased productivity A. F. of L. called for firm stand for shorter work week. Pointed out that in 1940 average week is 39 hours compared to 49 hours in 1929 and yet factories are producing more goods and there are fewer jobs than in 1929. Warning sounded against agitation of some employers for a lengthening of work week. Convention adopted following: "Our work standards must be protected . . . and (we) call upon American Labor to use our united strength to combat destruction of those standards. Maintenance of established conditions of life and work are essential to our national welfare and to defense. All union members are urged to give themselves wholeheartedly to the achievement of the greatest possible volume of defense production under fair working conditions."

Earnings—(1940, pp. 101, 553) Increased productivity means that each worker is responsible for a larger output, and that he should be paid a pro-

portionately higher rate for his services. No matter how intricate and valuable the machinery he can operate, its usefulness and profitableness are conditioned by the control of the worker operating it.

Fittingly increased productivity of our workers has resulted in an all-time high in average hourly earnings reported by the U.S. Department of Labor. The Executive Council's report emphasizes the fact that this improvement is the result of union organization and collective bargaining, reinforced by the foundation of minimum standards fixed by the Fair Labor Standards Act, was an all important contributing factor to these results.

We emphasize that increased productivity has been accompanied by lower labor costs per unit of product. In addition, increased productivity has resulted in lower prices which have brought higher real incomes to wage earners and all salaried workers.

Sustained increases in productivity make possible continuous increases in wages and decreases in the work hours.

Wages—(1940, pp. 101, 557) The importance of a sustained prosperous national economy was pointed out in the Report of the Executive Council. The convention approved the Report of the Council with the following statement:

The cornerstone in efforts to increase national income, to sustain business improvement, to health and efficiency standards of living for all families, is to increase the real wage in step with increases in productivity.

We urge unions where collective bargaining is established and agencies have been set up to handle grievances, to set up formal committees through which workers may cooperate with management in production efficiency and earning power. Unions should also understand the financial and production records of their employing

companies for these records are properly the bases for bargaining upon the returns from joint work to be allotted to workers in the form of wage increases and hours decreases. Failure of unions to function properly—whatever the cause—will be reflected in consumer buying inadequate to sustain production.

(1952, p. 169) The E.C. submitted to the convention an important policy statement as to A. F. of L. position on parallel increases in purchasing power with increases in industrial productivity. The following excerpts are taken from the section of the E.C. Report under this title:

The A. F. of L. has long recognized the dynamic possibilities for human betterment in the constantly increasing efficiency and productivity of American industry and agriculture. During the past century the great increase in production per manhour in the American economy as a whole has laid the basis for our present standard of living. Because American workers, organized in strong unions, insisted on receiving their share of the benefits of this progress, a rising wage level has paralleled the rise in productivity.

As early as 1925 the convention of the American Federation of Labor established the policy of advancing workers' purchasing power proportionately with increases in industrial productivity, declaring that:

Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day, are progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production.

Because of this policy, the practice of increasing wages and shortening hours, as improved efficiency made such benefits possible, has been recog-

nized and accepted in collective bargaining throughout American industry. . . .

The current unusually rapid increase in productivity has been attributed to: improved technology, new machinery, greater efficiency of management and labor, shift in production to the heavy industries which have a higher average value per manhour of work, operation of industry at levels close to capacity. During World War II, cooperation of Labor contributed substantially to the rapid increase in productivity. In some operations, labor-management production committees increased output per manhour by 20 per cent or more in one year.

It is essential that our country realize its full productive potential and that we do everything possible to increase our productivity and assure equitable distribution of its benefits. It is in increased productivity and in fair distribution of its fruits that lies the secret of our industrial strength and power, and is the greatest living standard of the American people.

(P. 170) Historically, increasing productivity in the United States has been due to many factors. Chief among these are: the competitive private enterprise system; the free consumer market where all who buy may exercise a free choice among many products; the skill of American workers and their cooperation in measures to improve production; the inventive genius of our people and their interest in expanding production. More information about productivity and better methods for measuring it will help each group to participate more effectively in industrial improvement.

Any concerted effort to improve productivity must mobilize the interest and resourcefulness of all groups by assuring all that they will participate equitably in the benefits of increasing efficiency. Labor's wholehearted cooperation is indispensable. It is essential for workers to know that they

will share fully and fairly in the gains resulting from increased productivity so that their full effort can be contributed to it. Present wage stabilization regulations however have prevented workers from increasing their wages proportionately with their increase in productivity. For while production per manhour is now rising at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per year, workers' real wage per manhour has risen on the average only slightly more than 1 per cent per year during the wage stabilization period. This small wage increase however has been more than offset by the increase in taxes, so that the average worker's living standard is actually being reduced while his productivity rises at an unusually rapid rate. In some industries, workers' average earnings have not even kept pace with living costs and rising taxes have reduced living standards severely.

It is significant that while representatives of our country urge foreign nations to improve the living standards of their workers as an essential part of their productivity program, here in the United States the living standard of our workers is reduced when they are denied wage increases commensurate with their growing productivity. To achieve workers' full cooperation in improving production, this situation must be corrected. The first step is the acceptance by the Wage Stabilization Board of the resolution presented by Federation members, which proposed that the Board permit wage increases based on increased productivity.

(P. 406) Convention action on committee report as follows:

Output of goods and services per manhour in the entire American economy over the past fifty years has been increasing at the rate of almost $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent per year. In the last two years, productivity of the whole economy has been rising at the record-breaking rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ percent per year.

Unless workers share in productivity gains through higher wages, the nation's standard of living will not rise, buying power will not be available to sustain increased production and economic expansion will halt.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor have called upon the Wage Stabilization Board to permit wage increases based on increased productivity. As long as wage stabilization is in effect, we must insist on a policy which would permit negotiated productivity increases reflecting in full the annual rate of productivity gains made in the economy as a whole.

A larger challenge lies beyond these immediate considerations. Increasing industrial productivity is a responsibility of workers, as well as of management. Labor must play a constructive and positive part in the improvement of productivity in ways in which the essential interests of workers are safeguarded. While responsibility for each enterprise rests with its management, ways can and should be devised for cooperation, consultation and participation of labor in the improvement of efficiency. And, above all, it is on labor that falls the most vital task of translating, through collective bargaining, productivity gains into a higher standard of living.

Levels of consumption are raised and a higher living standard is built, not by increasing productivity alone but by enabling the workers to share fully in the progress of the economy. A modern wage policy thus becomes an indispensable tool of the nation's progress.

To further this policy, we ask that our affiliates undertake research studies of unit costs, as well as of the related wage, profit, price and production factors bearing on productivity and distribution of its benefits. This would provide basic material which would enable the research staff of the Federation, drawing also on available findings of public and private agen-

cies, to prepare a report on the relation between productivity and wages for consideration of the Executive Council.

(1953, p. 398) Res. 20:

Whereas—As early as 1925 the Convention of the American Federation of Labor established the policy of advancing workers' purchasing power proportionately with increases in industrial productivity, declaring that "Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day, are progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production," and

Whereas—The increase in manhour productivity in the textile industry has reached the highest point—in many cases to the detriment of the physical and mental well being of the worker—and this without adequate wage compensation, and

Whereas—This question of productivity and its relationship to wages, consumer demand and unemployment is of paramount importance to the wage earner, the fair employer and the economic well being of our country, it is time now to demand a balance between production and distribution and consumption as the only means of avoiding a depression, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the President of the American Federation of Labor call a special conference at the earliest possible date for the purpose of consideration and concentration on this question of productivity, and to define a policy for the guidance and assistance of affiliated unions dealing with this problem and its far-reaching consequences.

(P. 647) In lieu of this resolution, convention recommended that each national and international union be urged to consider and deal with this problem.

Profiteering (also see: Price Control)

(1941, p. 473) The Convention went on record protesting the unwarranted rise of prices in all consumer goods and instructed the officers to support legislation which would prevent profiteering at the expense of American wage earners.

Prohibition

Volstead Act Modification—(1927, pp. 92, 321) The A. F. of L. at its conventions in 1919, 1921 and 1923 pointed out the deplorable conditions that would come and had come from the enforcement of the Volstead Act. It was contended that the manufacture, sale and distribution of wholesome beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight would bring about true temperance.

December 22, 1925, the President of the A. F. of L. in behalf of the E.C. addressed a communication to President Coolidge requesting him to recommend to Congress that the Volstead Act be amended so as to meet the suggestions proposed by the three conventions of the A. F. of L.

April 9, 1926, the various declarations of the A. F. of L. and his letter to President Coolidge were submitted to the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate, which was holding hearings on a number of bills. Some of the bills proposed to increase the alcoholic content of beer, which is now one-half of one per cent.

The 1919 convention, before the Volstead Act became a law, declared that in the interest of morality and good citizenship it should provide for the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer.

In 1921 after a trial of the Volstead Act it was found that conditions were more deplorable than the 1919 convention believed could be possible.

During the next two years the E.C. made an extensive investigation of the effects of the Volstead Act and

submitted its findings to the 1923 convention of the A. F. of L.

Since then the E.C. has persistently continued its investigation and because conditions are continually growing worse believes that this convention of the A. F. of L. should reaffirm its former declarations in favor of a modification of the Volstead Act so as to permit the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer.

In submitting this demand for a modification of the Volstead Act the E.C. wishes to emphasize that no protest is being made against the Eighteenth Amendment itself. We said in our declaration in 1923, which was endorsed by the delegates by a practically unanimous vote, that "it is our contention that the Eighteenth Amendment under a reasonable and proper legislative interpretation would be beneficial to our country and would have the support of the great majority of our people."

Those who, either by propaganda or coercive tactics, seek to enforce the Volstead Act do not refer to it. They charge every violation of the Act to be a violation of the Eighteenth Amendment. This is not true. The Volstead Act could be amended without in any way violating the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Therefore this convention emphatically reaffirms its declarations of the past and insists upon Congress amending the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer.

(1930, pp. 114, 354) The A. F. of L. has repeatedly set forth in several conventions its attitude toward the failure of the Volstead Act to promote true temperance. The developments of the last year, as shown in the evil social conditions which have followed failure of the enforcement of the Volstead Act, have confirmed the position heretofore taken by the A. F. of L. in favor of the modification of this Act so as to provide for the manufacture,

sale and distribution of beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight. The Executive Council in its report to the convention of the A. F. of L. held in Los Angeles, California, in 1927, recommended that the convention reaffirm its declaration of the past and insist upon Congress amending the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer.

Nothing that has transpired since this recommendation was made has caused the A. F. of L. to change its opinion or its attitude toward this important social and economic question. On the other hand, the faith and belief of the A. F. of L. have been strengthened in the position it has heretofore taken. For this reason this convention most emphatically and unmistakably reaffirms its declaration of the past to urge upon Congress that the Volstead Act be amended so as to permit the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer.

During the past year a communication was addressed to the Chairman of the National Law Observance and Enforcement Commission by the executive officers of the A. F. of L., calling the attention of the Commission to the evils which have followed the enactment of the Volstead Law in its present form. In this communication both the social and economic evils and distress which have resulted from the failure of Congress to modify the Volstead Act were pointed out. It was shown that many industries, including mining, agriculture, transportation, building and other miscellaneous industries were seriously affected; that thousands of men employed in the breweries of the country were forced out and have been compelled to seek employment in other lines. All of this has seriously aggravated the unemployment situation. The social effect resulting from a violation of the law, the making of home brew, the speak-easy, and the illegal manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor, has had a

depressing and demoralizing effect upon our national and social life.

In submitting the position of the A. F. of L. in favor of a modification of the Volstead Act so as to provide for the manufacture of beer of 2.75 per cent alcoholic content by weight, we wish to state clearly that it is in no way demanding the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the U.S. We stated in our declaration in 1923, that "it is our contention that the Eighteenth Amendment under a reasonable and proper legislative interpretation would be beneficial to our country and would have the support of the great majority of our people." We are of the firm opinion that the Volstead Act could be amended without violating the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment. Such an amendment would provide for the manufacture of beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight and as a result we are of the opinion that temperance would be promoted and the demoralizing and destructive effects which follow the excessive use of intoxicating liquors purchased and manufactured illegally would be reduced to a minimum.

(1931, pp. 123, 414) We are endeavoring to carry into effect instructions given by several conventions of the A. F. of L. regarding the modification of the Volstead Act so as to provide for the manufacture, sale and distribution of beer containing 2.75 per cent of alcohol by weight. This action on the part of the A. F. of L. was inspired by a firm belief that such modification of the Volstead Act as proposed would promote the cause of true temperance.

It is generally understood that a bill will be introduced at the next session of Congress providing for such modification of the Volstead Act as has been repeatedly proposed by the A. F. of L. It is the intent and purpose of the A. F. of L. to give such proposed legislation its full and complete sup-

port. The indications are that public opinion is undergoing a marked change and that either at the forthcoming session or at some future session of Congress the Volstead Act will be amended by legislative action providing for the manufacture, sale and distribution of beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight.

(1932, p. 71) Conventions of the A. F. of L. have repeatedly declared the opposition of the A. F. of L. to the Volstead Act. These conventions recommended that the Volstead Act be amended so as to provide for the manufacture of beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight. This action of the A. F. of L. can be properly interpreted as a genuine desire on the part of the membership of the A. F. of L. to promote the cause of temperance, and, in addition, through the rehabilitation of the brewing and related industries, create work opportunities for thousands of idle people.

During the recent session of Congress a number of measures were introduced providing for modification of the Volstead Act. Unfortunately, no favorable vote was taken, but an increasing number of members of Congress voted in favor of a modification of the Volstead Act. It must be clearly evident to all classes of people that public opinion has greatly changed upon this question. One of the major political parties incorporated in its platform a declaration in favor of immediate modification of the Volstead Act. The indications are that favorable action providing for a modification of the Volstead Act as recommended by the A. F. of L. will be taken at the short session of Congress which meets on December 5th.

All that has transpired in connection with this important social question justifies the position assumed by the A. F. of L. in early demanding the modification of the Volstead Act. It is the definite purpose of the A. F. of L. to continue its efforts to bring

about a modification of the Volstead Act providing for the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight at the earliest possible date.

The A. F. of L. will present an earnest appeal and a strong demand to the members of Congress when the short session convenes on December 5th to pass the necessary legislation providing for a modification of the Volstead Act without delay and at the earliest possible date.

(P. 365) The A. F. of L. is, and has been, in favor of temperance. When the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted by Congress and submitted to the states the A. F. of L. predicted the consequences of its ratification. When the Volstead Act was enacted the A. F. of L. predicted the consequences.

We have reaped the fruits of prohibition and the nation has followed the lead of organized labor in repudiating those fruits.

There is no need at this late day to repeat the truths we have so often stated. Our position is and has been clear.

What America needs now is the speediest possible return to sanity. We urge the immediate modification of the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture, transport and sale of wholesome, palatable beverages, non-intoxicating in fact, and we recommend repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment as rapidly as that can be brought about.

We likewise urge modification of the Webb-Kenyon Act so as to afford ample protection to all such states as may elect to prohibit a beverage of a lesser alcoholic content than is urged by this report upon our national government, or as each may elect, pending final repeal.

(1933, p. 105)—The remarkable haste with which forty-one states and the District of Columbia passed beer legislation can be credited to the agi-

tation kept up persistently by the A. F. of L. since 1919. In that year the convention declared against the Volstead Act and called upon President Wilson to veto the measure. He willingly complied but Congress passed the bill over the veto by a two-thirds vote.

The bill to provide revenue by the taxation of certain non-intoxicating liquors was introduced in the House March 14; passed the House the same day and was sent to the Senate where it was reported favorably by the Finance Committee on March 15, and passed the Senate on March 16. On March 22 it was approved by the President.

The law provides for the sale of lager beer, ale, porter, wine, similar fermented malt or vinous liquor and fruit juices containing not more than 3.2 per cent of alcohol by weight, brewed or manufactured.

Eighteenth Amendment Repeal—1933, p. 109, 536) Twenty-nine states had ratified the amendment repealing the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States up to September 13th. Eight states will vote by November 7, and it is confidently believed that the amendment will be ratified by that date. From the inception of this legislation the A. F. of L. has opposed the enactment of the 18th Amendment and after its adoption manifested clearly that it was an unwarrantable attempt in the enactment of organic law and would prove to be a failure. The experience under the operation of the law has fully demonstrated our claims. We are happy to note that the consistent attitude of the American Federation of Labor in opposition to the 18th Amendment is about to be realized in its complete repeal.

(1941, pp. 93, 598)—The E.C. reported that efforts were being made to return prohibition and that several bills had been introduced in Congress.

The convention instructed the E.C. to oppose all such measures.

Wartime—(1943, p. 414) The convention instructed the Executive Council "to be alert against any and every effort which may be made during the war emergency to force upon the American people the principle of prohibition."

(1944, p. 413) Under the caption, "prohibition," the Executive Council calls attention to the introduction in the Congress of numerous bills to provide for prohibition of the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation or exportation of beverages containing more than one-half of one per cent by volume of alcohol. Most of these proposals are in the guise of war measures, designed to "reduce absenteeism" of workers or in other ways to speed and increase production. The large number of petitions and letters placed in the Congressional Record indicates a widespread organized effort in their behalf.

(1944, p. 534)—(Res. 47)

Whereas, The dry forces have continuously and unceasingly attempted to obtain some form of national legislation to prohibit the manufacture, sale and distribution of alcoholic beverages, and

Whereas, The dry forces up to this point have not succeeded in obtaining such legislation through the Congress of the United States, and

Whereas, The "drys" have been successfully utilizing the medium of local option election in the several States, and

Whereas, The "drys" have been overwhelmingly successful in their endeavors to dry up county after county in great numbers of States, and

Whereas, According to available statistics, almost one-third of all the nation's counties are dry, wherein twenty-five million people reside, and

Whereas, A successful culmination of such a campaign as is presently being conducted in the great distilling

State of Kentucky, where 70 percent of that State is now dry, must inevitably result in causing complete prohibition, State by State, and

Whereas, The "dry" as a result of the success of their campaigns in local option elections, will be thereby enabled to ultimately accomplish their avowed objective, namely, the complete prohibition of the manufacture, sale and distribution of alcoholic beverages, nation-wide, without the necessity of securing an Act of Congress, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates in convention assembled, go on record opposing all such activities, and urge every member of this Federation to take immediate cognizance of this serious situation, and make every effort to assist and cooperate to acquaint the general public with the activities of the "dry", and the evil conditions which must obtain if the dry forces succeed in bringing back national prohibition, and be it further

Resolved, That this Federation, its affiliated unions and its members, take such action as is proper and necessary to combat these dry forces in all local option elections whenever and wherever possible, and that we continue to militantly oppose these forces of reaction, in order to protect and safeguard our industrial and economic future.

(1946, pp. 470, 598) The established position of the A. F. of L. against all proposals designed to restore prohibition wholly or in part was reaffirmed by the convention.

Res. 186, also was unanimously adopted as follows:

Whereas, There is a well organized and heavily financed movement in this country seeking through its efforts to prohibit the manufacture, distribution and sale of alcoholic beverages, thereby destroying the distilling and wine industries and causing hardship and unemployment to thousands of employees, members of Distillery, Recti-

fying and Wine Workers' International Union of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and thousands of other members of unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, allied to the distilling and wine industries, and

Whereas, The products of the distilling and wine industries are the greatest single source of internal revenue to the United States Government, and are a significant source of revenue to State and local municipal bodies, and by reason of such revenue has resulted in substantial social improvements for the community as a whole; and the distilling and wine industries have caused the full employment of hundreds of thousands of workers in allied industries, and

Whereas, These prohibition forces with misguided zeal seek to plunge the country into a repetition of the lawlessness of the infamous prohibition era, the ill effects of which are still being experienced in this country, and

Whereas, The dry forces have utilized the technique of local option elections as a means of accomplishing their purpose piece-meal, being unable to accomplish this result on a national plane, and are engaged in waging such local option campaigns with untruth and prejudice in total disregard of reasoned findings of scientists and the Yale School of Alcoholism, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in conformity with its past efforts and utterances, hereby declares itself as unalterably opposed to the efforts of the dry forces and their organizations who seek to declare illegal the manufacture, distribution, or sale of alcoholic beverages; and further declares that the efforts of such forces are harmful to the best welfare of our country, and be it further

Resolved, That this convention, through its president, instruct its affiliated organizations, including its

state federations of labor and city central bodies, to keep a vigilant watch for all local option elections and to strenuously oppose the prohibition forces in these local option elections, and that the state federations of labor be instructed to combat the efforts of all forces which seek to prohibit by any manner or means the manufacture, distribution and sale of alcoholic beverages.

(1949, pp. 344, 502)—Res. 123 strongly opposed prohibition and to vigorously oppose the dry forces in any or all local option elections.

(1952, pp. 276, 495) The E.C. reported continued efforts to defeat all attempts to put through a prohibition bill and the convention authorized continued vigilance in the matter.

(1954, p. 154) Efforts to enact legislation to place strict limitations on advertising of alcoholic beverages "in the mails or otherwise" between states, met opposition from the A. F. of L. The E.C. reported:

It has become the habit of many to underestimate the persistence of the prohibition forces and to belittle their efforts as was done in the days prior to 1918 when national prohibition was invoked. Our Unions appeared in strength before both Committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce as did our own representative.

Proponents of the bills were not as persuasive in front of the Committees as they have been on individual members of the Congress. Even so, they succeeded in inducing some members to appear in their behalf.

Our main argument in opposition to the bills was alcoholic beverage manufacturing, distribution and sale are entirely legal so far as federal law is concerned. To place limitations upon a legal industry would be to hobble or destroy that industry.

The bills remained in committee.

(P. 591) The forces responsible for the passing of the Volstead Act are

now operating in devious ways and through one device or another are attempting to bring about another program of national prohibition.

It is our hope that history will never repeat itself on this one question as we all know the passing of the Volstead Act brought about a breakdown of regard for all law. We strongly oppose any attempt to reinstate any form of prohibition.

Public Accounting (Industrial)—
(1931, pp. 82, 365) The interrelation between the interests of all groups and industries and the necessity for coordinated efforts to prevent excessive boom periods and business recessions, make very plain that the facts of all business enterprises should be public property. The idea that private ownership entitles the owners to secrecy in methods and decisions is out of keeping with the fact that these factors directly affect results for other groups. Private ownership may entitle owners to make decisions but full reporting of all the facts should make the information available to all concerned. The conduct of industry is a matter of so much consequence to all employed in the industry, to investors, to the communities, to the maintenance of markets, to our national economic balance, that we must work toward full and open records by prescribed forms of cost and production accounting. Any employer or groups of investors who have the privilege of operating gainful industry in any community ought to be required to make regular and prescribed reports. Public accounting according to prescribed methods is an obligation which accompanies the privileges to operate a business undertaking which affects the community as well as those who supply the credit and those employed by the undertaking. In a very definite way, interrelation of economic activities is increasing the degree of public interest in all business undertakings. This

means that there should be public accounting on the facts of business which should be filed with the Federal Government and compiled there. The records should be open to responsible organizations.

Public Debt, Reduction in (Also see: Taxation) (1946, p. 608) The size of the public debt is already causing anxiety, for the debt is a considerable factor in our inflation problem as well as cause of high tax rates. However, the war and the war situation still exist. It is unsafe to reduce military expenses too drastically and our nation must assume new responsibilities in international fields and for the United Nations.

Our own Federal agencies must have funds with which to perform needed social services. In the coming year expensive war agencies will doubtless be liquidated and economies in administration can be made.

Congress and the Treasury must find ways to reduce the national debt before taxation can be materially decreased. In the meanwhile there should be more equitable distribution of the tax burden.

Public Domain and Natural Resources Preservation

(1954, pp. 119, 530) Your committee commends the officers of the Federation for their unceasing efforts to protect our natural resources and the public domain. We urge they continue to protect the natural forests and the public grazing lands. We further urge that the officers and the National Legislative Committee maintain a close watch on all legislation affecting the development of our water resources.

We note that the fight to erect a multiple purpose dam at Hell's Canyon is still continuing and urge continued support by the Federation for this project.

Your committee believes there is nothing more serious confronting this

Republic than the conservation of natural resources. With the tremendous expansion of the population a great deal of thought should be given to this problem so that we will not become another China with many starving when we have so many natural resources that can be developed to take care of the increasing population.

There are many square miles of land between the Mississippi and the Pacific wholly unproductive now and we are going to have to put that land in production to take care of future generations. In some parts of the country where the water supply is diminishing, citizens are fighting the establishment of new industry due to this shortage, while in those areas many rivers and their tributaries are dumping billions of gallons of water into the ocean.

We believe in private enterprise but there are some things which private enterprise cannot do.

The altruistic program of the A. F. of L. on conservation is thoroughly approved and steps should be taken to guard against any give-away program on this very vital issue of conservation of the public domain and natural resources.

Public Employees (State, County and Municipal) (also see: Social Security Amendments)

Police and Fire Department Employees (Social Security)—(1940, p. 526) The action of the convention covering the wishes of state, county and municipal employees now covered by their own more desirable pension plans was inclusive of all such employees. The statement adopted by the convention provides for permissive coverage under social security for state and local government employees not covered under special retirement plans.

(*Coverage under Social Security Act*) (1940, p. 524) Certain employees

of State and Municipal Governments had established their own pension funds prior to Soc. Sec. Act and do not wish to be included in the Federal Social Security program. Those not so covered, however, do want coverage. The convention adopted the following resolution dealing with this problem:

That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby declare as its policy the extension of the Social Security Act and in particular its Old Age and Survivors' Insurance provisions in all cases where States, Political Subdivisions and Instrumentalities of these governmental bodies now have no established pension funds but that the policy of the American Federation of Labor shall be to unalterably oppose the inclusion in any manner by the Social Security Act of the States, Political Subdivisions or their Instrumentalities in the said Old Age and Survivors' Insurance provisions in all cases where established public pension funds are now in operation.

(*Extension of Soc. Sec.*) (1941, pp. 243, 284, 298, 620) The convention considered a number of resolutions all calling for the removal of the ban on public employees from coverage under Social Security. The resolutions were referred to the Social Security Committee.

(*Coverage under Labor Laws*) (1941, p. 252, 544) Convention unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon state federations of labor to include in their legislative programs efforts to extend general labor laws, such as the State Labor Relations Acts, State Unemployment Compensation Laws, and others, to include state and local government employees.

(*Collective Bargaining Agreements with Public Agencies*) (1942, p. 688)

Res. 42 brought to the convention the problems faced by public employees with regard to collective bargaining agreements. The convention

unanimously adopted the resolution as follows:

Whereas, Public officials frequently take the position that they do not have authority to enter into agreements with unions of public employees, and

Whereas, The National Institute of Municipal Law Officers published a booklet in which they support the contention that state and local governments do not have authority to enter into such agreements, and

Whereas, Officials hide behind these opinions when opposing the use of collective bargaining processes in governmental agencies, and

Whereas, It is argued that the specific exclusion of government employees from the Wagner Act and from state "little Wagner Acts" indicates a policy to discourage organization among public employees, though the General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor has said. "This argument is readily refuted. First, the obvious intention of Congress was to enlarge and protect the rights of private employees and not to deal with, and certainly not to detract from, the rights of any other category of employees. Second, Congress clearly is without constitutional authority to regulate labor relations between state governments and their subordinate bodies and all of their employees." And,

Whereas, The improvement of economic conditions of state and local government employees is being seriously retarded by the attitudes and biases of public officials who oppose collective bargaining in public service, and

Whereas, Many local unions of public employees have actually engaged in collective bargaining and have negotiated agreements with their employers, and

Whereas, Governmental subdivisions should set an example for the highest type of employer-employee relationships rather than to stand in the

way of development and progress, and

Whereas, State and local governments do have authority to engage in collective bargaining and to negotiate employment agreements within the limits of administrative discretion prescribed by law; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, through its officers and executive council urge state federations of labor and central labor councils, to give all reasonable assistance to unions of public employees or unions which include public employees in negotiating collective bargaining agreements with public agencies and employers.

Post-War Planning—(1944, p. 553)

Whereas, in anticipation of establishing greater equity in the conditions of employment of those engaged by city, county, state, provincial or other employe groups with those employed in U.S. Federal service, and

Whereas, the granting of adequate leaves of absence from work will tend to assure employes of needed vacations, permitting time and means for extended travel which helps create a more homogenous nation, and

Whereas, a 26-day vacation period would increase employment both directly and indirectly, and

Whereas, steps should be taken now, and not after the war, to provide for the meeting of such a post-war problem as that presented by the necessity of spreading employment, and

Whereas, the U.S. Government has already granted to the majority of its employes leaves of absence totaling 26 days per year, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record as favoring and adopting as part of post-war planning the establishing of all employes, whether in federal, state, county, municipal, provincial or other governmental or private services, an annual leave with pay of

not less than 26 working days, and be it further

Resolved, That all state federations and central labor councils be asked to inform each of their affiliates of this action with the recommendation that they present such leaves of absence provisions in negotiations of contracts and inclusion therein and work for the adoption of the 26-day vacation principle by municipal, county and state governments.

(1946, p. 545) Res. 138, relating the working conditions in public hospitals in states, municipalities and counties, and calling for active campaigns to improve said conditions, was unanimously adopted as follows:

Whereas, In the public hospitals and other institutions in the states, counties and municipalities for the care of the mentally deficient, the mentally ill, for orphaned minors and for correctional and other purposes the pay, the required work day and work week and the living and working conditions generally have been improved but slightly for more than a quarter century so that such conditions and standards today are woefully inadequate and no longer tolerable, and

Whereas, Employees, inmates and patients in most of such hospitals and other institutions have been neglected and by-passed by legislative and appropriating bodies for so long that only an aroused consciousness by the public generally will result in placing squarely before the responsible law-making bodies these conditions and in awakening them to their several and collective duties, and

Whereas, The benefits of organization and affiliation with union labor have been brought to the employees in a few public hospitals and other institutions with astonishingly satisfactory results in higher wages, better working conditions, shorter hours, up-builed morale, improved care of inmates and patients and in greatly stepped-up efficiency, but the task of

organizing the employees because of their isolation and other conditions under which they for long periods have lived make organization efforts difficult and expensive, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor fully cognizant of the conditions described in this resolution and conscious of the responsibility of labor to help to correct them urges all state federations of labor and all subordinate bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make special efforts during the ensuing year to organize and bring about the affiliation of employees in the public hospital and other institutional services and thereafter to assist them in order thereby to finally establish such organizations firmly in the labor movement, and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor through the state federations of labor and other affiliated labor organizations in the several States urges that active campaigns be instituted before the ensuing legislatures and before appropriating bodies of subordinate units of government in order to bring to the attention of such bodies the conditions herein described and to demand that adequate appropriations be made so that modernized employment standards and efficient public institutional and hospital service may result therefrom, and it is directed that copies of this resolution be sent to all state federations of labor and to all subordinate organizations of labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Collective Bargaining—(1952, pp. 60, 474) Res. 106:

Whereas—The right of public employees to organize and bargain collectively is being challenged in many parts of the United States both through adverse state legislation and through opinions expressed by Attorney Generals, and

Whereas—The right of public employees to bargain collectively is essential to a democratic society, and

Whereas—The International Labor Organization, which represents management and government as well as organized labor, has never taken a firm stand in favor of collective bargaining for public employees, and

Whereas—The consultative committee on white collar workers of the ICFTU has placed before the ILO a request that a strong stand be taken by the ILO in favor of collective bargaining for public employees, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New York City, in September, 1952, go on record in full support of the program of the ICFTU to secure from the ILO a strong stand in favor of the rights of public employees to organize and bargain collectively, and be it further

Resolved—That all affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor be urged to express to the ILO office in Geneva, Switzerland, an urgent request that action be taken immediately to assist in securing for public employees the right of collective bargaining.

Dual Coverage Under Social Security and Private Plans—(1953, pp. 399, 647) Res. 21:

Whereas—Public employees, under existing legislation, are eligible to receive social security only if they first surrender their existing pension plans, and

Whereas—Public employees are entitled to be eligible under both private pension plans and social security so long as the private pension plans came into existence after they were covered by social security, and

Whereas—This is an unique and inequitable treatment of public employees similarly situated, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 72nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor support and take necessary action to obtain the introduction of legislation to remove this inequity.

Res. 59:

Whereas—The Social Security Act Amendments of 1950 make it impossible for state and local government employees who are working subject to a publicly supported retirement plan to obtain the benefits of Old Age and Survivors' Insurance by integration or supplementation with their existing systems, and

Whereas—According to current surveys retirement allowances of state and local government employees average less than fifty dollars per month and are woefully and increasingly inadequate to meet the high costs of living, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor reiterate its position and continue to demand an amendment to the Federal Social Security Law to make it possible for state and local governments to obtain for their covered employees the benefits of Old Age and Survivors' Insurance whenever such employees concur in such action, excepting only firemen and policemen.

Convention referred resolutions to Social Security Committee for action.

Unemployment Compensation—(1953, pp. 452, 655) Res. 144:

Whereas—Employees in state employment, in many instances, are subject to the same fluctuations in employment, and experience the same economic hardships during periods of involuntary idleness as employees in private employment, and

Whereas—Employees of state universities and employees of other agencies and political subdivisions of the state do not enjoy the benefits of unemployment compensation, and

Whereas—The absence of unemployment compensation inflicts certain

hardships upon employees of political subdivisions within the states by reason of the seasonal and temporary nature of much of the work provided through state employment, and

Whereas—Employees of the states affected by seasonal and temporary layoffs would be encouraged to return to their employment if compensation was available to them during such layoffs, thereby reducing the cost of labor turnover to state agencies and political subdivisions, and

Whereas—Unemployment compensation for public employees has been approved in principle by the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives on August 8, 1951, when the committee advanced H.R. 5118 providing unemployment insurance for Federal civilian employees, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor seek amendments to the Social Security Act, extending the benefits of the unemployment section of the Act to persons engaged in federal and state employment.

Referred to A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security.

Public Health (also see: Social Security; Health)—(1926, p. 210) The A. F. of L. being deeply concerned with the machinery by which examining boards and other governmental agencies maintain professional standards in the healing arts urge that each state federation of labor be requested to interest themselves in the establishment of the best methods for securing the highest efficiency in the healing profession, and that each state federation of labor take recognition of the various legislative health measures proposed for the regulation and control of the machinery as well as the choice of members of the various examining boards in the several states whose duties involve the procedure of granting licenses to practice in the several branches of the healing arts.

The purpose of this resolution is the elimination of fake colleges and schools and requests Labor's support for legislation or adequate state supervision of those licensed to practice in the various branches of the healing arts so that all persons who are licensed to practice will first pass a proper test or examination supervised by qualified practitioners in that branch of the healing art, for which the applicant desires to practice.

(P. 218) The E.C. was instructed to secure through some agency an investigation of the harmfulness of the pneumatic air hammer in its effect upon the workers in the cutting and carving of stone.

(1928, pp. 84, 313) No greater problem confronts the American people than that of health. A bill to coordinate the public health activities of the government, which was supported by the A. F. of L., received splendid support in Congress but when it reached the President he refused to sign it.

(1932, p. 239) The E.C. was directed to take appropriate steps to have the facilities of the Public Health Service extended to the seamen and dredge engineers, either through executive order or amendatory legislation. In this way results may be more quickly obtained and if possible legislative confusion avoided.

(1935, pp. 91, 493) Medical care is a necessity of life. It usually ushers us into the world, attends us at the end, and helps us through our physical crises. It is, in fact, a necessity but economic conditions make it a luxury. While medical skill is by no means perfected, inadequate medical care for the great majority of persons is due to their inability to pay rather than lack of medical competence. Yet we know that the quality of its medical care is an index of a civilization.

The most informing inquiry into medical care which has ever been made

in this country was that of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care which made a five-year study of the subject. The committee found that in 1930 there were the following agencies for providing medical services: Approximating 1,100,000 persons who gave their full time to medical work from which they derived a livelihood. There were 7,000 hospitals with slightly under 1,000,000 beds. The number of hospital beds under government control had been growing steadily. In 1928, 63 per cent was governmental and in 1931, 66 per cent, providing 73 per cent of all patient-days of hospitalization. There were 8,000 clinics and out-patient departments of hospitals; health departments in every state and large city and some of the smaller ones, and in a few rural areas.

The committee found that medical facilities were distributed according to the ability of the community to pay which meant that doctors were crowded in metropolitan areas where some earned good incomes and others were poorly paid. Medical services were very inadequately distributed in rural sections and in the low income states. Doctors and institutions for medical service had to look for support.

The committee's study of medical services needed and received showed that families with incomes under \$1,200 or \$2,000 received far less medical service than those with incomes of \$5,000, \$10,000 or more. However, in even the high income groups medical services were about 20 per cent below the adequate standard.

With progress in the technical side of medicine, the capital investment needed for medical practice has steadily increased. The result is increased cost of medical service. It is significant that the capital investment is increasing under government control. With specialization in medical practice and increasing complexity in certain types of diagnosis, costs of sick-

ness from certain causes is greatly increased. However, for common diseases there is little increased cost in diagnosis or treatment, but those have borne a share of the general increased costs.

The Committee on Costs of Medical Care, in its report, reaches this important conclusion:

No one single fact is more clearly demonstrated by the committee's study than this: that the cost of medical care in any one year may fall unevenly upon different families in the same income population groups. The heart of the problem, therefore, is the equalizing of the financial impact of sickness.

The committee found that though on an average only one family in five, or one person in seventeen, received hospital care in the course of a year, illnesses which involved hospitalization were responsible for 50 per cent of the total charges for medical care. The committee also found that 80 per cent of the families under \$1,200 paid during the year less than \$60 for medical service. On the other hand, 1 per cent of this income group paid \$500 or more for medical service during the same year and 2.5 per cent paid between \$250 and \$500. Such extreme, even though occasional, medical costs were catastrophic to the family.

The committee also found that the reason for high medical costs was not the high incomes of doctors. In 1929 the incomes of one-third of the medical profession were less than \$2,500. For every professional income over \$10,000 they found there were two doctors receiving less than \$2,500, hence the committee found that it was no solution of the problem of medical costs to reduce the average professional income.

In analyzing the studies of the Committee on Costs of Medical Care, Dr. Michael M. Davis said:

They demonstrated that about one-sixth of all families in any given

year have to bear over one-half of the total expenditure for the care of sickness for all families; that the amounts expended increase with the income of the family; and that the unevenness of the incidence of expenditure is somewhat greater among the upper income groups. Sickness bills running from a third to a half of the annual income fall every year upon a small but significant percentage of middle-class families, and this fact alone is sufficient to account for an annual stream of complaint from individuals; and sickness costs less high but sufficiently large to be burdensome descend upon many middle-class families as well as upon the much larger group with smaller earnings.

When 21 per cent of all families have annual incomes of less than \$1,000; 42 per cent have less than \$1,500; and 71 per cent have less than \$2,500; it is easy to understand why these families have no, or inadequate, medical service. At present charges it is impossible for 99 per cent of families to set aside reserves for illness. When illness comes it demoralizes family finances and standards of living, and leads to hopeless indebtedness or dependency.

Such conditions have led to the suggestion of pooling the costs of medical care on the ground that the nation needs sound and efficient citizens and should make available the information and medical service necessary to that end. Health insurance would provide against income losses due to illness.

During the past year the President's Committee on Economic Security studied the problem of sickness insurance but made no specific recommendations.

From such studies and materials as are available, the following principles stand out:

1. Sickness incidents and the cost of medical care fall very unequally

and without predictability so that there is practically no way for the individual or his family to provide against such emergencies. Particularly is this true with the mounting costs of medical care. 2. Development of preventive medical service is definitely impeded by costs. 3. Cumulative developments of care for organized groups show that adequate service can be given for relatively low family costs. 4. The medical profession needs to feel its responsibility for organization for low-cost and adequate medical service to groups and communities. Public health services and departments should be greatly increased and developed as one phase of developing preventive medicine. In 1929 only 2-1.3 cents out of each medical dollar was spent for public health work. 6. Study of the problem of chronically ill persons should constitute a preliminary step in planning for adequate medical care for all and incomes for those disabled by occasional sickness.

It is obvious that the whole problem falls into two parts: providing incomes for those disabled by illness, and organization of the medical profession to give adequate service at reasonable costs.

The San Francisco Convention directed that studies be made of health insurance and medical services, but the Federation has neither the finances nor the facilities to carry out these instructions. We can better accomplish this purpose by urging the Federal Government to study these problems and by participating in such studies.

(1938, pp. 147, 454) Two separate developments in the past year have directed attention to need for provisions for better medical care.

The U.S. Public Health Service made public its National Health Survey. This survey, financed by the Works Progress Administration be-

gun in the winter 1935-6, included 2,800,000 persons in eighty-three cities and twenty-three rural areas in nineteen different states. This survey related sickness to the economic and social background of the families included, with confirming evidence on every score that sickness and physical disability increase as family incomes decrease. Inability to pay for medical care permits disease to develop and sickness to be prolonged. Disability reduces the income still further and dependency follows. Disability in low income families is double that of higher income families. Chronic diseases are nearly twice as numerous in small income families as in higher ones. Days of disability in the low income families are three times more than in higher income families. These facts point to an important national problem. The second development came from the administration of unemployment compensation. One of the tests for eligibility for benefits is "able to work." A worker who lost his job through sickness and an unemployed person who became sick are not eligible for benefits—though their need may be greater than that of a person who lost his job and retains his health. Workers generally are questioning why this gap in social security. Social insurance plans of other countries include health insurance.

When the Social Security Act was drafted it was not deemed wise to include health insurance. However, in 1936 the President created the Interdepartmental Committee to coordinate Health and Welfare Activities of the Federal Government. In reviewing this field the Committee found need for a national health program which report was submitted to the President. The President directed the Committee to call a National Health Conference to consider proposals. That conference was composed of several hundred persons representing groups concerned

with health problems. The conference considered first the need for a program and then the recommendations of the Technical Committee of the Interdepartmental Committee. These recommendations included: expansion of Public Health services; expansion of existing Federal-State cooperative plan for maternal and child health; improved hospital facilities with federal grants for construction and operation; medical care for the medically needy through federal grants in aid to states; expansion of tax-supported public medical services for persons of moderate incomes compensation for income loss through unemployment caused by sickness and a choice between health insurance or a plan of public medicine.

The President of the A. F. of L. submitted to that conference the following proposals: (1) Extension of the work and activities of the U. S. Public Health Service, adding to its preventive and research functions responsibility for planning for adequacy of local health facilities.

(2) Hospital facilities should be brought up to adequate standards through Federal grants. The resulting construction work would provide employment.

(3) Expansion of our program for maternal and child welfare services.

(4) Legislation to enable families with low and medium incomes to meet the costs of sickness. The National Health Survey showed that 80 per cent of all families covered had incomes less than \$2,000 (minimum income that will provide standards of health and decency is \$2500!) The insurance method of pooling funds to meet pooled risks offers the only practical way out. Only a compulsory plan is practical. Our President proposed a plan which involved adoption of no new policies—expansion of workmen's compensation legislation. Workmen's compensation provides for medical care and compensation for loss of wages in times of

industrial injury by accident or occupational disease. By amending these laws to include medical care for workers and their families during sickness in addition to industrial injuries with compensation for loss of income to the income earners, security of workers would be greatly increased. Federal grants to help such an extension of workmen's compensation legislation would be conditioned on incorporation of prescribed federal standards, making all state laws uniform and bringing them under the federal social security program. Workers also should contribute to such funds.

Under workmen's compensation legislation free choice of physicians is established so there is no regimentation of the medical profession. This principle should be retained. A second and indispensable provision is an exclusive state fund for the custody of all funds. This social service should be in no way connected with business for profit.

It is obvious that legislation making proposals to meet the costs of medical care will be under general discussion. The A. F. of L. must develop a position on this issue. No social security program is adequate which ignores the insecurity due to sickness and costs of medical care.

Public Lands, Sale to Private Concerns—(1947, p. 651) Through Res. 46, protest was lodged with the convention against the sale of federally owned lands to private interests. The convention authorized the Executive Council to make a thorough-going study of the subject and to take such action as will protect public interest.

Public Relations (also see: Publicity, Press Service for Armed Forces; Veterans, and Syndicated News Column).

Public Relations Department Proposed (1942, p. 552) The importance of good public relations for the aims and purposes of the trade union movement was presented to the convention

through a resolution No. 29 which was referred to the Executive Council for consideration. The resolution and convention action follows:

Whereas—It has become increasingly apparent that large sections of the American public still have no adequate understanding of the aims, ideals and achievements of organized labor and that suspicion and prejudice against the labor movement are systematically fomented and financed by anti-labor elements in business, industry and in public life, and

Whereas—Such anti-labor trends and activities not only tend to destroy mutual confidence and respect among the people of our country but also menace our national unity and undermine our war effort, and

Whereas—It is equally apparent that without the adequate support of a well-informed public opinion, the social gains achieved by the labor movement through decades of struggle and sacrifice, are in constant jeopardy, be it therefore

Resolved—That this convention instruct and empower the Executive Council to establish a Public Relations Department which shall be adequately financed through a special fund raised from contributions of affiliated international unions and federal locals in proportion to their membership.

It should be the function of this Public Relations Department to widen all avenues of contact between the organized labor movement and the general public; to interpret the true economic and social aims of the millions of organized workers to the American people, and to present to our fellow countrymen in every walk of life an undistorted picture of trade unionism as a constructive force in the national life and the national economy.

Your committee is in approval with the purpose of this resolution. It is evident that the application of this purpose cannot be adequately secured without first receiving careful con-

sideration by the Executive Council and the affiliated organizations.

(1943, pp. 510-513) Seven resolutions were submitted to the convention calling for the establishment of a public Relations Department. The following committee report on the subject was unanimously adopted:

Your committee finds itself in accord with the spirit of all these resolutions, but does not concur in the thought of creating a public relations department, separate and distinct from all such activities carried on by the officers and the Executive Council of the Federation.

We would call attention to the splendid work having been and now being carried on, not alone by the Federation but as well by several of its departments and a number of our national and international unions. It is evident good use has been made of every available opportunity presented through the public press, the public forum, the radio, screen, and other means of communication in presenting organized labor's constructive efforts to the community and to the nation, to industry and our national economy, past and current; and in meeting unjustified and unwarrantable criticism and attack designed to place our movement in a false and unfavorable light.

However well may have been our past activities in this direction, there is room for improvement and enlargement of these activities. To that end we recommend, first of all, that the officers of the Federation make every possible effort to have all activities of this character of the several departments, and of our national and international unions, coordinated with like activities of the Federation.

We further recommend that the Executive Council, through its officers or a committee appointed for this purpose, consider how these public relations activities may be furthered and effectually enlarged, and that it likewise consider the setting aside of an

appropriate sum of money out of the Federation's funds and insofar as its finances will permit, for this purpose, and that in the event it is essential or desirable to further enlarge such a fund for the purposes indicated, that the national and international unions be solicited for such voluntary financial contributions as will enable the Federation to engage in an effective and all-comprehensive public relations campaign.

Your committee understands that progress has been made by the Special Committee on the Labor Press and that it proposes to submit a report to an early meeting of the Executive Council.

The *bona fide* labor press has been of such great service to the labor movement in the past year that your committee feels the American Federation of Labor should make every effort to provide wider opportunities for its growth and development.

Your committee heartily concurs with the conclusion of the Executive Council that the "Labor For Victory" radio programs of the American Federation of Labor have been of great value in informing the public of labor's great contributions to the war effort.

We recommend that this convention formally express the whole-hearted appreciation of the American Federation of Labor to the National Broadcasting Company for making this radio time on its nation-wide network facilities available to the American Federation of Labor without charge as a public service.

Your committee is indeed pleased by the fact that President Green has appointed an outstanding committee to study ways and means by which the American Federation of Labor can be of greater service and assistance to the *bona fide* labor press which upholds its policies. This action was taken in conformity with the instructions of the 1942 convention at To-

ronto. The personnel of this new committee, guarantees that its recommendations will be of practical and constructive benefit to the *bona fide* labor press.

(1944, p. 277) Greater respect and consideration for Labor's opinion, attitude and abilities are evidenced everywhere. From the public relations point of view, the increased prestige and respect which have come to the American Federation of Labor as a result of its relief activities are not the least part of its achievements in this field. The American Federation of Labor's participation in community work has in many instances brought Labor for the first time into direct and friendly contact with elements to whom organized labor had previously been an almost unknown quantity. This first-hand knowledge and understanding of the aims and ideals of the A. F. of L., plus the widespread publicity that has been given to the League's work on behalf of the National War Fund and Community Chests, have been of immense value in helping to counteract the anti-Labor trend that has lately been evidenced in the reactionary press of the country.

Front-page articles in influential newspapers, advertisements of appreciation in Chest publications and daily papers, messages of appreciation on the radio, all reflect this general recognition of and respect for Labor's contribution to the welfare of the community. Further proof of Labor's new standing in the community can be found in the fact that there are already a number of significant instances where American Federation of Labor representatives have been elected chairmen of the community-wide campaigns, of budget committees, executive committees, and boards of directors.

Publicity, Radio and the Labor Press—(1944, p. 591) The convention considered the report of the E.C. dealing with attacks via public media on

labor and adopted the recommendations of the committee, containing the following:

This portion of the Executive Council's report relates to the wave of anti-labor propaganda which has been launched against our trade union movement. In addition it refers to the volume and varied attack against labor on the home front, and the efforts of the publicity and information service of the American Federation of Labor to overcome the onslaught. The Executive Council indicates its purpose for the broadening and extending of the public relations program of the Federation, including greater use of the radio, and expanding and strengthening the labor press. It pays a tribute to our labor press, but indicates the necessity for greater helpfulness by the Federation.

It is the opinion of your committee that the immediate period following peace will require farther reaching and more widespread public relations than heretofore. Unquestionably public relations has become one of the outstanding requirements of our trade union movement.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council review the entire question of publicity and public relations in all of its aspects, so that a program may be approved and set into action which will give the most effective publicity relations possible.

(P. 591)—Res. 12:

Whereas—While we regard these still unrealized decisions of the 1943 Convention as a step in the right direction, we still believe that the expansion and improvement of organized labor's public relations could best be effected through the establishment of a properly financed Public Relations Department by the Federation, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention approve the formation of such a public relations department in the American Federation of labor to interpret

the true social aims of organized labor; to present a responsible picture of trade unionism as an element in the American way of life; and to establish close mutual relations of good will and cooperation with those sections of the public to whom labor is bound by a community of interest.

(1946, p. 534)—Res. 104:

Whereas—The forces of extreme wealth, spearheaded by the National Association of Manufacturers, have by their vicious and virulent campaign of villification against organized labor created a monstrous libel on our traditionally democratic labor movement, and

Whereas—This campaign of attack against our movement is prosecuted through the medium of the radio, the controlled press, controlled periodicals, and other avenues and instruments operated by the National Association of Manufacturers, and

Whereas—The control of public opinion in our country is in the hands of an unscrupulous group of talented and efficient propagandists, and

Whereas—These people are in the employ of the most economically powerful and politically entrenched confederation of greed ever formed for so vile and reprehensible a purpose, and

Whereas—The effectiveness of this campaign to remove organized labor from the economic scheme of things, is clearly demonstrated by the increasing number of anti-labor members of our National Congress, and not for their constituents who send them to our national capital, and

Whereas—To offset the distorted picture of labor-management controversy built up in the public mind, it now becomes a duty of public service incumbent upon organized labor to correct wrong impressions, therefore be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor through its many powerful national and international brotherhoods and their thousands of

affiliated local unions, seriously consider the necessity of launching a combined and intensive national educational campaign, and a public relations activity program in order that it may give Labor's side of the story to a fair-minded but ill-informed public.

(1947, p. 664) The need for a Public Relations Department in the A. F. of L. was projected through Res. 143 as follows:

Whereas—It is essential for the welfare of our country that the American Federation of Labor not only continue to merit public esteem and support but that it also shall gain and hold more public esteem and support, than at present, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor establish a new and permanent Public Relations Department, to fill the void of wisdom on the part of those who fail to realize the vital importance of organized labor to the welfare of our country, and be it further

Resolved—That in the establishment of said Public Relations Department, the American Federation of Labor Executive Council shall employ competent public relations counsel, to the end that all men and women in our country, both within and without the American Federation of Labor, shall become men and women of understanding who hold the peace and jointly work for the good of our country.

The resolution was referred to the E.C. for "study and such action as is deemed advisable."

(1947, p. 660) Res. 118, calling for a program of public relations, was unanimously adopted as follows:

Whereas — The labor movement, due to recent national legislation, needs now more than ever before to get its message before the American people regularly, and

Whereas — The American Federation of Labor and many of its affiliated national unions, did a remarkable job of getting labor's views re-

cently through the medium of well-written advertisements in large daily papers and by means of a very good program on the air, and

Whereas—Those who are responsible for putting through many of the anti-labor measures recently have been doing and are continuing to do a tremendous selling job through their public relations programs, and

Whereas — Labor has been very backward in realizing the need for this very valuable medium and has utilized it only when in immediate danger of losing many of its gains, therefore, be it

Resolved — That this convention of the American Federation of Labor held in San Francisco, California, October 6, 1947, consider a program of public relations which will attract national interest so that labor's constructive work of elevating the standards of living of the American wage earners can be presented in an enlightening and educational manner which will show that labor unions are the best assurance for a greater America.

Expansion urged—(1947, p. 667) Attention was again directed to the need for expansion of the public relations program of the A. F. of L. through Res. 150, which was referred to the E.C. for consideration and such action as it deems most advisable. This resolution made the following proposal:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor expand its publicity by making of transcripts of educational programs to be sent out over the nation to central labor unions with a request that local radio stations be asked to broadcast them as a public service, in the same manner and without cost, as is now being done for the National Association of Manufacturers and other business groups.

(P. 562) A good public relations service is more essential to the Federation than ever before. We have the

task of informing all who constitute the public of Labor's objectives and the reasons for them. It is important that the public realize Labor has a constructive program evolved out of experience and planned to help the masses of the people participate in democratic institutions and share in economic and social progress.

To be sure, we do not have the resources of those opposed to us, but we can secure the cooperation and the aid of sympathetic groups and thus bring indirect influence to bear on all the media which influence public opinion. We need to bring Labor's cause home to those who write the news and edit papers, those who manage magazines and weekly news publications, and those responsible for news reels.

We shall count upon a broader, more effective program than ever before.

(1947, p. 632) The need for better public relations was reflected in Res. 26 calling for plans to expand the A. F. of L. publicity through radio. The resolution was referred to the E.C. in connection with plans for an enlarged publicity campaign.

(1947, p. 211) In its report to the convention on the special advertising and radio campaign which was resorted to in order to combat anti-labor propaganda being leveled by the press and radio during the period when the Taft-Hartley Bill was being considered by Congress. It was pointed out that this was the first time in the history of the Federation when the organization "was compelled to buy space in newspapers and time on the air, day after day and week after week, to express its views in a way that would command public attention." the report further stated:

The fact that the Taft-Hartley Bill was eventually enacted over President Truman's veto does not detract from the effectiveness of the educational

campaign against it which was carried on by the American Federation of Labor.

The need for the establishment and maintenance of a permanent public relations program for the purpose of offsetting the widespread propaganda activities of the powerful forces arrayed against organized labor is both very great and clearly apparent. In this connection it should be pointed out that the National Association of Manufacturers is planning a \$2,000,000 public relations program for the coming year.

The American Federation of Labor program should be aimed not only at the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the defeat of similarly repressive legislation, but it should also stress the positive achievements of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of the nation's workers and the American people as a whole.

(1948, pp. 262, 466) Res. 85 called attention to the need for a national public relations program to combat the campaign of attack being directed against the labor movement. The following was adopted:

Resolved—That this convention recommends that the American Federation of Labor through its many powerful national and international unions and their thousands of affiliated local unions, seriously consider the necessity of launching a combined and intensive national educational campaign and a public relations activity program in order that it may give Labor's side of the story to a fair-minded but ill-informed public, and be it further

Resolved—That the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor coordinate all of its resources toward this end as outlined in this resolution.

(1953, p. 497) The convention committee which considered the E.C. report on the subject of A. F. of L. activities in the field of public relations

made the following statement which was unanimously approved:

We are gratified by the progress made by the American Federation of Labor in the important field of public relations.

We must face the fact that it has become increasingly necessary for us to bring home to the public the value of the services rendered by our labor movement to American workers, to the nation as a whole, and to the free world. Broad support of our objectives and policies can only come from widest possible dissemination of the information about the activities of our Federation and its purposes.

To tell the story of labor adequately, every available means should be effectively employed. We urge, therefore, that an integrated public relations program should be planned and put into operation by the American Federation of Labor during the coming year.

Public Schools (Education)—(see: Public Schools) (under Education)

Publications (Labor) for Military Forces

(1942, p. 548) A large number of Central Body and State Federation delegates attending this convention of the American Federation of Labor, have requested the Committee on Resolutions to draft a supplementary report calling upon all A. F. of L. International Unions to mail a generous supply of their official journals and publications to the libraries and recreation centers of every Army and Navy, or other Military Camps in the United States and the Dominion of Canada, in the belief that this is the best and most effective way to combat a growing anti-union sentiment reported to be in existence in some military training establishments.

A goodly proportion of the members of every local union have joined the armed forces of our nation, and are going out to fight in all parts of the

world. These men are cut off from their trade union contact and when they leave these shores where labor papers cannot follow them, they will no longer be in a position to hear the trade union side of any question. The papers they will see will far too often be anti-labor. They will be among men unfamiliar with trade unionism. They know that their jobs are being filled by union men, and they will be open to fears for the future of those same jobs. They need to be kept in touch with their own trade, with their own union, and to be made to realize that they are still an integral part of the American labor movement.

With this thought in mind, your Committee on Resolutions respectfully requests every International Union to include on the mailing list of their official journal, and other official news publications, the camps of the Army, the Navy, the Air Corps, and all other military training and military recreation centers, so that union labor news and all other current union information will be made available to those who wear the uniform of the United States and the Dominion of Canada.

Publicity (also see: Public Relations)

(1946, p. 616) We believe that in order to create a more favorable state of public opinion toward organized labor and to counteract the attacks made upon it by inimical sources, the information service should be extended and expanded. Labor cannot hope to compete with the vast and expensive propaganda mills financed by big business, but it should take every opportunity, both nationally and at a local level to maintain an alert and effective publicity service.

(1946, p. 421) Res. 29:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge that a movement be brought about through a concerted effort to establish news broadcasts by

radio, radio commentators, columnists in as many daily papers as possible, and to work toward the establishment of more daily newspapers throughout the United States which will editorially espouse the cause of organized labor.

In Labor Disputes—(1946, p. 474) The following resolution, No. 60, was unanimously adopted by the convention:

Whereas — Several states have enacted legislation which compels employers, whose employes are striking, locked out or engaged in a labor dispute, to insert such information in any advertisement seeking to obtain new employes, and

Whereas — Such legislation has been effective in preventing deception by employers in such condition and prevented them from recruiting strike-breakers, and

Whereas — Such legislation has assisted organized labor in increasing wages, reducing hours and improving conditions of employment, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor seek enactment of similar legislation in all States.

Publicly Owned Industries in Collective Bargaining

(1941, p. 471) Three resolutions (Nos. 2, 7, and 118) on the subject of Collective Bargaining in Publicly Owned Industries were unanimously adopted by the Convention, declaring it to be the right of employees of publicly owned or publicly operated industries to bargain collectively in the same manner that employees of privately operated industries bargain, and that the employes of publicly operated industries are within their rights in seeking signed working agreements with the managers of publicly operated industries, whether such managers be public officials of units of government or administrators legally designated by the proper public offi-

cials, and that such employes of publicly operated industries may properly use the same methods in securing signed agreements as the employes of privately operated industries may legally use in their negotiations.

Public Works (also see: Work Projects Administration; Alien Employment)

Public Works, Citizens on—(1928, pp. 81, 216) What is known as the Bacon bill, "to require contractors and subcontractors engaged on public works of the United States to give certain preference in the employment of labor," was favorably reported by the House Committee on Labor. It provides a remedy for a long standing grievance of Labor. At the same time reputable contractors, those who believe in paying fair wages and granting desirable working conditions, gave every support to the measure. It provides that where any work is being done for the United States preference shall be given to mechanics and laborers as follows:

1. To citizens of the United States and of the state, territory or district in which the work is to be performed who have been honorably discharged from military or naval forces of the United States if they are qualified to perform the work.

2. To citizens of the United States who are *bona fide* residents of the state, territory or district in which the work is to be performed.

3. To citizens of the United States.

4. To aliens.

For many years government contractors have gathered together large groups of "handymen" and taken them from state to state to work on government contracts. In the erection of many buildings and doing other work these "handymen" have been kept in barracks and are subjected to a sort of peonage. This prevents competent workmen in the various states from securing employment on government

work. It also permits contractors who employ mostly "handymen" to underbid reputable contractors. The consequence is that buildings are not stably erected and other public works do not come up to specifications. The bill was reported favorably by the House Committee on Labor but no action was taken.

Puerto Rico (also see: Territorial Federations of Labor)—(1924, p. 202) We are in full sympathy with the hopes and ambitions of the people of Puerto Rico, for a greater autonomy in the affairs of their civil government. We approve the attitude and activities manifested by the E.C. for the early attainment of this end, and urge continuance of this effort on behalf of the people of Puerto Rico.

(P. 300) This complaint was presented to the convention:

That on the 4th of November, 1924, a general election was held on the Island of Puerto Rico, under the authority, laws and flag of the U.S. of America, for the purpose of electing all the officers of the government of the Island, except the governor thereof; and during the said elections a combination of the old political parties who control the economic and vital forces of the Island, using all kinds of force, violence and corruption, employing the public insular police and officials of the department of justice, and putting into practice the worst kind of devices, including actual use of force against the electors, the voting of paid agents with the name of thousands of legal electors, whereby the said legal electors all over the Island were deprived of their votes; making false returns and annulling enormous amounts of ballots which were perfectly legal; and finally, committing an innumerable set of outrages and violations of the law, proof of which is being prepared and shall be submitted to the Con-

gress of the U.S. in the form of documentary evidence enough to contest and annul the legality of the election.

Convention directed President to submit complaint to President of U.S. and both houses of Congress.

(1925, p. 54) A bill introduced in Congress provided for an investigation of alleged frauds committed in the election held in Puerto Rico in November, 1924. The violations of election laws during that election, it was charged, were so flagrant that the people wanted the perpetrators exposed and provision made for honest elections in the future. Secretary of War Weeks opposed the sending of a commission to Puerto Rico and the bill failed of passage. H.R. 6583, providing a more ample civil government for Puerto Rico, attracted much attention, but failed of passage. Hearings were held by the judiciary committee of the House and the bill was reported favorably, but it was impossible to have it acted upon by the House. It provided for the election of a governor and vice-governor in January, 1928.

(P. 315) Convention directed the president of the A. F. of L. to request the President and Congress to appoint a commission as soon as possible to investigate the deplorable industrial conditions as well as the general government affairs of the Island, especially the living and working conditions of the masses of laborers in Puerto Rico, land and financial resources, and to ascertain how the Federal as well as the Organic Law of the Island have been continually violated by the big financial interests, corporations and individuals which exploit the people of the Island to the discredit of our Nation.

(1926, p. 167) The A. F. of L. proposes to continue to lend its worthy and unquestioned cooperation, influence, moral aid and all financial help possible to the working masses of

Puerto Rico as represented by the "Free Federation of Workingmen in Puerto Rico" and to the people of that island in general, in their efforts to better conditions, to establish a decent scale of wages, a reasonable number of working hours, living conditions in harmony with civilization, the promotion of social legislation and the exercise of all their civil rights free from industrial or political tyrants.

(P. 234) Inasmuch as the people of Puerto Rico have been granted a civil form of government in harmony with our territorial form of government and being a law-abiding and peaceful race of people, that this convention, through its officers, request the President of the U.S. to transfer the official governmental business of that Island from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to a civic department, and in our judgment the Department of the Interior, which has always had official supervision over all our territorial forms and government.

(1930, p. 373) The president of the A. F. of L. is authorized and he is hereby earnestly urged to instruct and direct the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. toward the legislative demands of the Puerto Rican Federation of Labor, so that the case of Puerto Rico be properly presented and duly heard, and so that the proper action might be taken before Congress to secure adequate help from Congress and also to secure the extension to Puerto Rico of the laws above referred to.

(1931, pp. 114, 351) Congress created a Department of Labor in Puerto Rico, the head of which is designated as the Commissioner of Labor. This legislation has been asked by Puerto Rican labor for years. Heretofore labor interests have been looked after by the Agriculture Department. The provisions of the Act for the promotion of vocational education and rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry

or otherwise was also extended to Puerto Rico. This will be very helpful to that Island as there are many thousands who will be benefited by the Act.

(P. 145) The Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico, which is the state branch of the A. F. of L., conscious of its mission has reiterated its most sincere support for all the American institutions in the Island as against those who have intended to create disruption, discredit and disloyalty of our form of democratic government. Puerto Rico is a part of the U.S. The justice that this nation extends to Puerto Rico has touched the hearts and the minds of the majority of the people in the Island. The Puerto Rican Federation of Labor has indorsed unreservedly the plans of economic rehabilitation and social justice being developed to make the Island a better community in which to live.

(P. 350) The president of the A. F. of L. is authorized to earnestly urge the President of the United States and recommend to Congress to favor the petitions of Puerto Rico on its general plans of rehabilitation as set forth in the report of the E.C.; and, furthermore, to instruct and direct the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. toward the economic plan of the Puerto Rican Federation of Labor so that the needs of the Puerto Rican people be properly presented and duly heard, and so that the proper action might be taken before Congress to secure adequate means of rehabilitation from Congress.

(1932, pp. 113, 301) The most significant labor event during this year was the preparation and celebration of the Twelfth Labor Congress, which took place during the 6th, 7th and 8th of September, 1931, at San Juan, together with the Labor Day celebration.

The Twelfth Labor Congress undertook the study of the great problems affecting the Puerto Rican community,

especially the producing class, and passed a resolution placing greater stress upon labor propaganda and education through organization. It authorized its executive council to organize unions under a special apprentice or training system, with dues in consonance with the prevailing industrial and agricultural unrest, so that apprentices may stabilize their lives before applying for admission to the respective national or international unions.

Periodicals, magazines and newspapers of the national and international unions and of the A. F. of L. are used by an information bureau, and translations from English to Spanish are made for publication in the daily press of Puerto Rico. This work of public information is carried out for the purpose of enlightening the workers and public opinion in general as to the principles and activities of organized labor in the U.S.

The hopes of the Free Federation with regard to the creation and functioning of the Department of Labor and its beneficent and renovating influence have not been in vain.

The Twelfth Legislature, during its second special session (1931) and its fourth regular session (1932), passed the following Acts which extend the field of usefulness of the Department:

Act No. 4. To authorize the treasurer of Puerto Rico, with the approval of the Governor of Puerto Rico, to issue bonds of the people of Puerto Rico for the purpose of purchasing lands to be devoted to agricultural farms under the provisions of the homestead law; to provide for the payment of principal of and interest on said bonds, to repeal Act No. 9 of April 15, 1930, as amended by Act No. 41 of April 24, 1931, and for other purposes.

Act No. 13. To amend Sections 2 and 10 of an Act to determine the procedure in cases of claims of

workers and employes against their employers for compensation for their work, approved November 14, 1917, and for other purposes.

Act No. 16. To amend Section 9 of an Act to prevent, and aid in the settlement of, strikes and lockouts, approved June 3, 1919, and for other purposes.

Act No. 36. To amend Sections 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 14, and to repeal Sections 5 and 11, of Act No. 13, entitled "An Act to regulate the operation and handling of cinematograph machines, and for other purposes, approved July 3, 1923."

Act No. 37. To amend Sections 2 and 3 of "An Act to prevent and aid in the settlement of strikes and lockouts," approved June 3, 1919, as subsequently amended, and for other purposes.

Labor has declared its support for the indivisible association and unification of the people of the Island with the people of the U.S. and has declared also that such association and unification has given to the people of Puerto Rico American institutions of freedom, the help of civilization and progress, is the right to avoid in the future oppression and despotism on the part of those who are claiming to be the masters of our Island.

Puerto Rico Labor favors every political advancement for the Island, but it is more concerned in bettering the economic conditions of the masses of the people. The president of the A. F. of L. was asked to present the following plank in behalf of the workers and people in general of Puerto Rico at the Republican and Democratic conventions:

Since Puerto Rico is a part of the U.S. with over 1,500,000 inhabitants who are American citizens, we believe that the spirit of its people and the purposes of its Organic Act are entitled recognition in good

faith, and that therefore, Congress and the President should include the Island in all legislative and administrative federal measures enacted or adopted for the economic rehabilitation of their fellow citizens of the mainland.

The A. F. of L. succeeded in obtaining the incorporation of the above plank in the Republican platform. The A. F. of L. has always been in favor of such fair recognition and has opposed every intent of the reactionary element of the Island who has appeared before Congress with the purpose of restricting the constitution of the Island as against the rights of the people politically, economically and otherwise.

(1933, pp. 139, 279) The laws enacted by the national Congress extended to Puerto Rico, especially those tending to eliminate unemployment, as the National Recovery Act and others dealing with the bettering of the working and living conditions of the people, serve as an incentive to promote a permanent and systematic campaign of organization throughout the Island. Conferences, lectures, and open air meetings are being held daily by the various trade unions and federal labor unions so as to enlist the largest possible number of members in their ranks, and thus be in better condition to receive the benefits of the National Recovery Act.

A special convention of labor representatives from all over the Island was held at the insular capitol on July 22; 150 delegates attended representing about 25,000 workers. This conference was called by the E.C. of the Free Federation of Labor. The commissioner of labor, in behalf of the governor of Puerto Rico, has invited the leading employers of Puerto Rico to a joint conference with representatives of the labor organizations to discuss the application to Puerto Rico of the National Recovery Act and to

draft codes of fair competition to be submitted to the approval of the national administrator. This conference was held at San Juan, July 28.

Most active among the various labor unions are those of the needleworkers and its kindred branches, which give employment to about 60,000 workers, mostly women. It is expected that within a very short time a very large proportion of these workers will be joining their unions and prepare themselves to affiliate with the national and international unions of its kind or to the A. F. of L. direct. The needlework industry represents a business of nearly \$15,000,000 annually. One of its chief aims is the elimination of home work and the unfair competition of contractors, subcontractors and all sorts of middlemen who prey on the workers' wages.

Next to the needleworkers, the most active are the tobacco strippers, chauffeurs and the building trade unions.

Agricultural workers, laundrymen, button makers, printers, barbers, bakers and confectionerymen, retail clerks, stenographers, longshoremen, shoemakers, and many others are continuously on the go with the only purpose in view of enlisting 150,000 workers, men and women, within the ranks of the Free Federation of Labor. A revival of the old spirit is now in progress and the results are near at hand.

(1934, pp. 170, 357) Important developments have taken place in Puerto Rico during the past year, all of which have brought practical results in strengthening the already existing organizations and in organizing new unions.

The hope instilled in the minds and hearts of the Puerto Rican workers by the New Deal, intensified their enthusiasm for organization. Hundreds and thousands of workers of all trades, especially those employed in the sugar industry and needle trades, crowd the federation halls anxious to join their

respective unions, or to apply for charters for new ones.

There is no doubt but that Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act has been a great help in the organization drive throughout the Island.

There are now 450 local unions with a membership of approximately 80,000 covering all trades and occupations under the jurisdiction of the Free Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico. Great credit is due to the earnest, capable work of the volunteer organizers and the representatives of the organized labor movement of the Island for the steady progress in organization. They have rendered yeoman service through open air meetings, conferences, lectures and personal interviews.

Sugar and needle trades being the leading industries in the Island, it follows logically that unions of agricultural and needle workers lead the organized labor movement. About 125,000 workers are employed in the sugar industry, including factory and plantation workers. In the needle trades it is estimated that nearly 100,000, mostly women and children are employed, ninety per cent or more of whom are home workers.

The workers in Mayaguez, mostly women, the leading center of the needle work industry, last October made a most courageous protest against unbearable conditions through a general strike. This gradually affected the entire industry. Through the cooperation and mediation of the commissioner of labor, who took charge of the situation at the request of the governor, an agreement was secured by which the workers received an increase in wages ranging from 15 to 25 per cent.

As a result of the strike, unions have been organized in the greater number of the needle trade centers. At present more than 75 per cent of the factory and shop workers are

organized. A start has been made to organize home workers. There are now 35 local unions with a membership of about 12,000. This includes 9 unions, exclusive of home workers, with a membership of more than 3,000.

A campaign has been started to bring all the needle workers' unions under the banner of the Ladies Garment Workers International Union.

Act No. 17, approved August 24, 1933, providing pensions for destitute widowed mothers, assigned the sum of \$100,000 annually for its expenses and administration, said sum to be taken from the tax on beer and light wines.

A pension board composed of five members was provided in the law; the commissioner of labor, the commissioner of health, and a representative of the Free Federation of Labor were designated besides two other persons.

Officers were installed and thousands of petitions were filed and classified, but, for some unknown reason, the treasurer of Puerto Rico did not set aside the sum appropriated by the insular legislature.

At the 1934 regular session of the legislature, the law imposing a tax on beer and light wines was amended to include tax on all kinds of liquors; and, as the law does not specifically provide the appropriation for the "Widows' Pension Fund," even though it is specifically provided for in the original Act, the governor and the treasurer of Puerto Rico ruled that the law is not in operation.

The economic commission of the legislature and the pension board have requested from the attorney general of Puerto Rico an opinion on this matter.

(P. 172) The federal emergency laws have been made applicable to Puerto Rico, due to the active efforts of the representative in Congress from Puerto Rico. The Island has been benefited to a great extent through these laws. More could be accomplished if

the works undertaken were of a permanent character.

(1935, pp. 162, 447) The annual convention of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico was held on Labor Day. The social and economic condition of the workers of the Island was discussed at large. It is estimated that there are 375,000 unemployed workers in Puerto Rico and of these, 60,000 are sugar and tobacco workers.

In view of this situation the convention resolved to request the secretary of agriculture to enforce protective regulations of labor, with regard to minimum salary, hours of work, child labor and other conditions which appear in the contract of agricultural adjustment for the sugar industry and which are enforced in the beet sugar and sugar cane industry in the United States. Another resolution also provided that a request be made to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration at San Juan to hold meetings with employers and employees in order to reach a satisfactory agreement to be in force for the grinding season 1935-36.

A resolution was also approved requesting that preference be given to 25,000 sugar and tobacco workers who had been left without employment because of the restriction of crops in all public works in rural districts.

The convention petitioned the Congress of the U.S. that the processing taxes now paid by the citizens of Puerto Rico in accordance with the agricultural adjustment legislation be levied and collected by custom officials of Puerto Rico to create a special fund in the insular treasury for public works, community aggrandizement measures and to protect the health and for the general welfare of the people of the Island.

Delegates attending this convention represented 75,000 workers.

Collective agreements were signed

in January, 1935, between the Association of Sugar Growers and the Insular Council of Factory and Agricultural Workers Unions covering 123,000 workers and between the shipping companies and the dock laborers of Puerto Rico, affecting 20,000 workers.

Strikes among the bed and mattress workers, carpenters, salt workers and other trades, involving 5,000 workers, were settled by the mediation and conciliation commission.

The Governor and the Commissioner of Labor cooperated in the satisfactory settlement of these conflicts.

The annulment of the National Recovery Act by the Supreme Court of the U.S. did not affect materially labor conditions in Puerto Rico. During its functioning in Puerto Rico only three codes were approved: for loading and unloading of fertilizers, for needlework and for bakeries. The approval of these codes not only limited the activities of labor in its struggle for better conditions but also imposed inferior wage rates and working hours as compared with those previously in force.

The legislature of Puerto Rico passed numerous laws beneficial to the people of Puerto Rico. Among the most important ones were the following:

An act permitting the people of Puerto Rico to levy taxes on alcoholic beverages, which contains a provision that \$30,000 be set aside for the construction of model houses for laborers, which shall be leased with right to ownership.

A plan was approved setting forth all the economic and social problems affecting the people of Puerto Rico, dealing with the insular and municipal debts; municipal charities; the necessity of creating subsistence farms to absorb a large number of rural laborers; rural electrification and irrigation, and unemployment, and other measures for the protection of commerce,

industry, agriculture and labor in general.

The term fixed for the construction of the Labor Temple of the Federation was extended five years. Ten thousand dollars has been collected and fifty thousand dollars is needed.

An Act establishing an exclusive state fund for workmen's compensation.

An Act appropriating a yearly sum of \$150,000 to meet the deficit caused by the Workmen's Compensation Act since the year 1928 to the present time. The total sum owed to clinics, injured persons, and for other expenses amounts to \$700,000.

With a view to facilitating the securing of homes and agricultural farms by industrial and agricultural workers, a reassessment of all the property under the jurisdiction and administration of the homestead division of the Department of Labor was ordered.

An Act establishing the eight-hour day in all commercial and industrial establishments.

The Department of Labor was granted a bigger appropriation in order to increase its personnel and enlarge its activities.

Voting powers were granted all citizens of both sexes, literate and illiterate. The election law including this provision is believed to be the only law of its kind in the world.

The President established the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration.

An extremely conservative estimate of the burden directly and indirectly imposed upon Puerto Rico by federal recovery legislation, shows after deducting amounts received by Puerto Rico through allotments of public work and emergency relief funds, that Puerto Rico has been penalized to the extent of twenty-four and a third million dollars during the past year. All funds allotted from the emergency

relief appropriation constitute in every sense a part compensation of such burden and hence must not be considered as emergency relief.

The Puerto Rican labor movement requested federal authorities to extend the Social Security Law to Puerto Rico and the program of workers' education.

Puerto Rico, with the exception of Canada, is America's best overseas market in the new world.

(1936, p. 119) On January, 1936, agreements between the agricultural and factory workers unions and the Sugar Producers Association and between the longshoremen unions and ship companies were renewed. These agreements bettered to a great degree the relationship between employers and employees, wages and conditions of employment.

The legislature in its last session held February, 1936, approved many legislative measures tending toward the betterment of social and economic conditions of the workingmen. To relieve the unemployment situation the legislature approved a \$6,000,000 public works program. The funds for this program will be obtained through the issuance of bonds to be redeemed by a tax on gasoline which normally amounts to \$1,500,000 a year.

The Widows Pension Bill failed of enactment this year, but efforts will be continued toward the enactment of this measure.

A campaign of organization was carried on throughout the Island. Many public meetings were held and conferences for the education of workers conducted.

After many petitions from the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico and with the aid of the A. F. of L., a training center for workers' education teachers was established in Puerto Rico the latter part of last year under the Federal Workers' Education

Division of the Relief Administration. The training center secured the cooperation of prominent educators, including members of the faculty of the University, and the work of training teachers was carried through.

The enthusiasm of the students was unusually great. Toward the end of this project and when teachers already trained were ready to start workers' education classes throughout the Island, the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration, which supplanted the FERA, did not provide funds to continue this educational work. Professors and students of the training center, feeling the great usefulness of this work in Puerto Rico, have given their services voluntarily and established a temporary workers' education bureau under the Department of Labor, which was inaugurated by Commissioner of Labor through a radio broadcast. The workers of Puerto Rico insisted that educational service should be included under the federal grant as has been done in the U.S. and they ask that the A. F. of L. shall continue to aid toward this end.

The labor movement and a great majority of the people of Puerto Rico were greatly shocked by the introduction of a bill in Congress intended to provide for holding a plebiscite for independence of the Island. The bill was introduced without consultation with its citizens, or the legislature or any officials of the Island.

Through the establishment of American institutions in Puerto Rico and the aid of the A. F. of L., the workers of Puerto Rico were able to secure guarantee for public assembly and the right to organize and exist. The workers firmly believe that under independence there is the possibility of reversion to old practices which would imply repression for labor unions and the masses of the people. Independence would spell economic ruin for the Puerto Ricans. The feeling for inde-

pendence is confined to a very small group of people while the majority believe that the protection of and relationship with the United States have afforded the best opportunity for development and progress.

The workmen of Puerto Rico, through the Free Federation of Workmen, have always labored for a closer and permanent union with the aid of the A. F. of L. In the elections which will be held on November 3, 1936, the workers will go to the polls to elect not only men who have always defended our economic interests but also who firmly believe in Puerto Rico's permanent association with the U.S.

The Puerto Rican workers have expressed their gratitude to the A. F. of L. for the assistance that it has been given during the year. They have expressed the hope for continuation of that assistance, especially with regard to the extension of federal legislation to Puerto Rico with the purpose of bettering economic and social conditions of the people, such as the Social Security Law, and the permanent establishment of a workers' education center.

(P. 474) We urge that the proper authorities undertake to secure an amendment to the Social Security Act by the Congress to provide the benefits of the Social Security Act to the workers of Puerto Rico and all other territory comprising the U.S. of America.

(P. 494) The A. F. of L. instructs the E.C. to request the U.S. Congress that the benefits of the Wagner-Peyser Act be made applicable to Puerto Rico through an adequate amendment to such Act by the Congress of the U.S.

(P. 496) In view of the fact that uncertainty, doubts and confusion have been created during the past year in the Island of Puerto Rico because of the agitation for independence; taking into consideration that the effects of

this agitation have been felt in business, and other activities in the Island and in the continental U.S., all of which has been most detrimental to the interests of both the U.S. and Puerto Rico; and having in mind that the people of Puerto Rico are anxious that this situation be brought to an end, the E.C. of the A. F. of L. is further instructed to take action on this proposal as soon as possible.

(1937, pp. 213, 315) At a meeting held by the E.C. of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico on November 19, 1936, a "Three Years Organization Plan" was approved to be inaugurated on January 1, 1937. This plan was recognized as "Tres Años de Renovación y Vida," the purpose of which was to inject new life to the organized labor movement throughout this Island. The first activity conducted in compliance with the above mentioned plan was a meeting of representatives of agricultural labor unions affiliated and unaffiliated with the state federation to discuss the terms of a collective agreement to be submitted to the Sugar Producers Association of Puerto Rico, as the grinding season was to begin about thirty days after this meeting was held. Two additional meetings of the same representatives were held at weekly intervals and finally a committee was appointed to meet the representatives of the Sugar Producers Association to discuss the stipulations and terms of the agreement to be in force for the whole year 1937. The terms preliminarily agreed upon by representatives of both sides were submitted to the ratification of the different local unions and a collective agreement was approved by which some 140,000 workers were benefited.

An agreement between the Longshoremen Unions of Puerto Rico and the Shipping Companies was again renewed by which the workingmen received an increase of 16 per cent on their salaries and full control is

granted to the Insular Council of Longshoremen Unions employing their members in the different ports of Puerto Rico.

Approximately twelve thousand longshoremen and dock workers throughout the different ports of Puerto Rico are covered by this agreement.

As a result of the action taken by the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico, in declaring that Act No. 45 of 1919, establishing minimum wages for women employed in industrial and commercial occupations was constitutional and in full force in Puerto Rico, beginning April 1, 1937. That is, after the Supreme Court of the U.S. of America decided the case of *Elsie Parrish vs. West Coast Hotel Company*, a general campaign was conducted among the women tobacco strippers to have them organize and insist upon demanding that they be paid the minimum wage provided by law.

The result of this campaign has been that, at the time of writing this report, over twenty-five employers in the tobacco stripping business, have signed collective agreements with the different unions.

Act No. 45, approved June 9, 1919, established minimum wages for women. This Act declares it to be unlawful for any employer to pay women (girls included) in industrial or commercial occupations or public service undertakings lower wages than those specified by law, to wit:

At the rate of \$4.00 per week to women of 18 years of age; and \$6.00 per week to women over 18 years.

The Supreme Court of Puerto Rico rendered decisions declaring this Act to be constitutional in 1920 and again in 1921.

Later, in the year 1924, by virtue of jurisprudence handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Adkins vs. Children's Hospital (Dis-*

trict of Columbia, 261 U.S. 525, which declared unconstitutional an act similar to ours, in regard to the fixing of minimum wages for women), the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico revoked its former decision and decided that Act No. 45, approved June 9, 1919, was contrary to the Constitution because it violated the principles of free contracting.

On March 29, 1937, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down an opinion in *West Coast Hotel Company vs. Ernest and Elsie Parrish*, upholding the constitutionality of the law in regard to minimum wages for women of the State of Washington, thus reversing its former decision.

As soon as this decision was rendered, the Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico requested from the Commissioner of Labor information as to the legal status of the women workers under the circumstances. The attorney general of Puerto Rico rendered a legal opinion to the effect that the minimum wage law of Puerto Rico had been revived automatically by the decision of the Supreme Court of the U.S.

Due to the efforts of our organization, having a substantial representation in the House of Representatives and Senate of Puerto Rico, thousands of the employees of the People of Puerto Rico have received increases in their monthly salaries this year. The efforts of the organized labor movement in Puerto Rico have proved successful in the general elections which took place in our Island in November last, and the possibilities are that there will be less difficulty in securing the adoption of better social legislation in the near future than in previous years.

Our organized labor movement was affiliated this year to the Workers Education Bureau. Although our institution is in lack of funds to carry on a systematized plan for workers

education, diffusion of educational matter has been made in the form of printed matter, through radio broadcasting and on the public platform in cooperation with the Labor Department of Puerto Rico.

In connection with the workers education plan, the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. unanimously adopted a resolution asking the president of the A. F. of L. to urge the proper federal authorities to carry on workers education in Puerto Rico as is done among the different states of the Union, and that funds from the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, or from any other available source be allotted for this activity.

It is reported that there are active unions in Puerto Rico affiliated and unaffiliated numbering 195, and that there are unions affiliated and unaffiliated which are inactive, numbering 157, making a total of 352, and 7 central bodies.

In addition to the natural difficulties confronted by the labor movement in Puerto Rico, as in so many other parts of the continental U.S., of an economic and social character, the labor movement of Puerto Rico had to confront political conditions created by small groups agitating for the separation of the Island from the United States. The president of this federation was the victim of an assault while delivering a speech last October in Mayaguez, when shots aimed at him, intended to take his life, were made by one of the members of such groups who claimed to believe in independence, but not in liberty and freedom.

The organized labor movement of Puerto Rico has been, since its inception, in favor of a permanent union of Puerto Rico with the U.S. It has been our duty not only to fight against social and economic evils, but also against political evils which would deprive the people, and very particularly the workers, of all intervention

in the organization of our government. Political conditions, on account of the actions of these groups practicing terrorism, were unsettled to such an extent that our labor movement had to take a strong stand to protect the leaders of our movement against assault and assassination. Fortunately, the government has succeeded in stopping terrorism and conditions at present are different from what they were about a year ago.

Taking into consideration the economic, social and political difficulties we had to confront during the year and the lack of adequate funds to conduct our campaign; as well as unemployment which is general in the Island and also the result of seasonal employment of many of our very limited industries, the three years organization plan as being conducted has produced very satisfactory results which have been of great benefit to the working people of the Island.

The moral support of organized labor, as represented by the A. F. of L., its ideals and principles which have always been an inspiration for us, constitute the strongest grounds upon which our organization campaign has always been based and we are grateful to this movement for all it has been able to do for Puerto Rico and will continue to do in the future.

(1938, pp. 127, 533) The E.C. of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico, in line with the organization plan approved on November 19, 1936, has worked during this year with the same zeal and enthusiasm displayed last year. Activities were intensified and results have been highly gratifying, both in connection with city workers as well as rural laborers. The *Tres Años de Renovación y Vida* (Three Years of Rehabilitation and Progress) campaign has exerted a valuable influence in renewing the interest and enthusiasm of labor leaders and labor people in general, and

has notably contributed to the defense and maintenance of the ideals, tactics and procedures of the A. F. of L. and this Puerto Rican state branch.

(P. 131) Taking advantage of the situation created in the dock controversy by some irresponsible persons, the reactionary forces in the legislative assembly of Puerto Rico introduced a bill to establish compulsory arbitration and making obligatory the awards made by an arbitration committee created thereby. This bill was consistently fought by the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico, through its loyal members occupying seats in our legislature, through the press, through meetings and other means. The Insular Department of Labor was also against this proposed legislation. Fortunately for the working people, so many amendments were made to this bill that as finally enacted it is unimportant and harmless.

(P. 429) The A. F. of L. believing Puerto Rico to be a full part of the U.S., therefore makes the recommendation that an incorporated territorial form of government be initiated and established in Puerto Rico by the Congress of the U.S. without further delay and that the people of Puerto Rico be enabled to rapidly develop full and complete economic and political self-government by granting the right to elect its governor and other high officials.

(1939, pp. 284, 562) Regardless of the position adopted by different industries of Puerto Rico who have been opposing the Federal Wage and Hour Law, the Free Federation, in line with the policies of the A. F. of L., has always maintained that the extension of this statute to Puerto Rico would be highly beneficial. On May 31, 1938, our institution sent the following cablegram to the U.S. Congress:

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen, affiliated to A. F. of L., organized 1899 and the only

bona fide labor organization following American ideals representing more than hundred thousand workers respectfully demands that in approving hour and wage bill no discrimination shall be made detrimental to our working classes. We hope to be treated as continental American citizens. Our institution also urges approval in this session of bills extending to Puerto Rico federal, social and economic legislation.

For several months after the passage of the law there existed in Puerto Rico a state of uncertainty, in industrial as well as labor circles, owing to the fact that the machinery necessary for enforcing the law had not been organized in this Island. This situation gave rise to intense doubts. Many employers of the tobacco and needlework industries closed their shops, thus laying off thousands of workers who earned their livelihood in these industries. The campaign waged by employers against the Fair Labor Standards Act, in Puerto Rico as well as in the mainland, reached a surprising state of intensity, creating in many circles an apparent spirit of opposition to the law.

(*Governor to be appointed*)—(1940, p. 547) Convention unanimously adopted a resolution expressing gratification over new appointment of Admiral Leahy (former governor of Puerto Rico), to become Ambassador to France, and further recommending the following procedure in selection of new governor:

... That in view of our interest in the well being of the inhabitants of Puerto Rico, the president of the A. F. of L. be instructed to wait on the President of the United States and to convey to him the message of this convention that in appointing a new governor for Puerto Rico, the interests of labor constituting the great majority in the Island, be taken into consideration.

That the president of the A. F. of L. be also instructed, in learning of the appointment of a new governor for Puerto Rico, to confer with him and advise him on the necessity of following the very well established policy of keeping at the head of the Department of Labor in Puerto Rico, a man from the ranks of labor selected from among the members of the A. F. of L., as it has been the case in Puerto Rico since the organization of the Labor Department in 1931.

(*Social Security*)—(1941, pp. 296, 618) A resolution was adopted by the convention directing the E.C. to continue efforts to amend the Social Security Act so as to include workers of all territories and possessions of the United States. With that objective the matter was referred to the Social Security Committee.

(1943, p. 189) On February 5, 1943, the Social Security Commission of Puerto Rico submitted to the governor and legislative assembly (pursuant to a law approved April 2, 1941, creating the Commission) a report containing recommendations and drafts for the establishment of an Island-wide public assistance program. The commission is composed of five persons appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate of Puerto Rico. The first vice president of our federation represents the labor interests. Plans following the lines of the A. F. of L. have been submitted by him to said commission. The commission was created for the purpose of studying, drafting and reporting to the governor and the legislative assembly the plan or plans necessary for the establishment of a social security program. Appropriations made are definitely inadequate to meet the local needs.

The Free Federation of Workmen has repeatedly demanded, through the conventions of the A. F. of L., the

full extension to Puerto Rico of the Social Security Act.

(1948, pp. 325, 468) Reaffirmed previous demands for extension to Puerto Rico of Titles I, IV and X of the Social Security Act.

(1949, pp. 336, 495) Res. 104 called upon the A. F. of L. to "vigorously reiterate its demand to Congress for the urgent extension to Puerto Rico of the Social Security Act as a means to improve social and economic conditions of said American territory and provide the Island with an appropriate legislative measure that may permit the people of Puerto Rico to face the problem of social insecurity and unrest."

(1951, p. 289) Res. 39 called for instructions to the E.C. to continue efforts to secure legislative measures extending and applying fully to Puerto Rico all the titles and provisions of the Social Security Act.

(P. 561) Referred to committee on Social Security.

(1953, p. 397) Res. 15 reaffirmed position of A. F. of L. in favor of the extension of federal aid to education in Puerto Rico as well as in favor of the extension of all the titles of the federal Social Security Act to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico; 2—Instruct the E.C. and its officers to continue their efforts to have these federal statutes extended to our fellow American citizens in Puerto Rico.

(P. 646) Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Social Security Committee with instructions to discuss the matter jointly with the Committee on Education.

(*Wagner-Peyser Act*)—(1941, p. 611) Res. No. 155 calls attention to the fact that the Wagner-Peyser Act, creating a new United States Employment Service, which was enacted by the 73rd Congress, made no provision for extending its benefits to Puerto

Rico. It also recites a resolution upon this subject adopted by the 56th annual convention of the A. F. of L. at Tampa, Florida, November 16-27, 1936, and requests this convention to instruct the E.C. to redouble its efforts to secure an amendment that will extend the benefits of the Wagner-Peyser Act to Puerto Rico.

(*Self-Gov't*)—(1943, p. 456) Res. 11, reaffirmed by the 1943 convention, registered opposition to legislation introduced in the Congress looking to independence for the Island of Puerto Rico. Resolution also called for support to efforts to make the Island a state of the Union.

(1944, p. 414) The report of the E.C. lists numerous bills introduced in the 78th Congress dealing with affairs in Puerto Rico, and cites the action of the A. F. of L., in cooperation with the labor movement of Puerto Rico, in regard to them.

Many bills have been introduced providing for extending to the people of Puerto Rico a greater measure of self government and selection of administrative officials by popular election. One measure provides that the compensation of U.S. government employees in the Territory of Puerto Rico shall be at a rate of twenty-five per cent higher than for similar employment in the continental U.S.

Your committee recommends adoption of this section of the E.C.'s report and also that the E.C. be instructed to continue its cooperation with the Puerto Rico Federation of Labor to secure a greater measure of self-government and improvements in economic conditions.

(*Constitution Proposed*)—(1948, pp. 327, 469) The right of Puerto Ricans to draft their own constitution was endorsed through Res. 120 as follows:

Resolved—That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled in Cincinnati Ohio, in harmony with its well-established

lished policy of fostering the political liberties, rights and privileges of the people of the U.S., their territories and of mankind, declares that inasmuch as the people of Puerto Rico have shown with clear evidence to the nation and to the world their maturity and capability toward a complete self-government within the American political structure; and inasmuch as the U.S. Congress through the Treaty of Paris assumed the delicate responsibility of determining the political destiny of the people of Puerto Rico, Congress should not postpone any longer the definite clarification of the political status of Puerto Rico and to that effect considers it desirable and highly justified that the territory of Puerto Rico be granted the right to draft and approve its own constitution five years after November 2, 1948, subject to the final approval of said constitution by the Congress and the President of the United States; and that the E.C. of the A. F. of L. be authorized and empowered to carry on the purpose of this resolution through those actions which might be deemed advisable in behalf of the people of Puerto Rico; and that copies of this resolution be sent to the President and the Congress of the U.S. and to the governor of Puerto Rico.

(1950, pp. 169, 457) The E.C. reported that the labor movement of Puerto Rico supported legislation favoring a constitutional government for Puerto Rico. This constitutional government, however, was not designed to affect basic relations with the U.S.

(*Protection of Labor Rights in Constitution*)—(1951, p. 289) Res. 40 called upon the AFL to assist the people of Puerto Rico in the drafting of a constitution satisfactory to those governed thereby.

(P. 561) Your committee is in sympathy with the resolution and recommends that this convention empower the officers of the A. F. of L. to

assist in securing a constitution acceptable to the people of Puerto Rico, and render every assistance to the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor.

(*Social and Economic Conditions*)—(1944, p. 474) (Res. 21) Resolved—By the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

1. That the E.C. of the A. F. of L. be authorized and directed to appoint a committee to investigate at the earliest possible moment the social and economic conditions of Puerto Rico so as to enable the E.C. of the A. F. of L., upon the report of this committee, to recommend to the President of the United States and to Congress those measures that might be considered just, reasonable and necessary to ameliorate social and economic conditions of the inhabitants of the Island and that would also permit Puerto Rico, through its duly accredited representatives to participate in all the post-war plans and programs intended to rehabilitate our nation and dependencies.

2. That said committee be also empowered to investigate how the labor movement of Puerto Rico is functioning and to find out what cooperation could be rendered to carry out its work to improve conditions of the toiling masses of Puerto Rico and to protect and maintain the principles and ideals of the A. F. of L.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the E.C., with the expression of the committee that it has thorough-going sympathy with the problems of our brothers in Puerto Rico.

(*Full franchise for*)—(1946, p. 524) Res. 39, adopted, as follows:

Whereas—The President of the United States, Hon. Harry S. Truman, appointed Hon. Jesus T. Pinero, a Puerto Rican-born American citizen as governor of Puerto Rico with the consent of the Senate of the United States, and

Whereas—This is the first time in our political history that a Puerto Rican has been selected for the governorship of the Island, and

Whereas—In the inaugural ceremonies the Secretary of the Interior read a message sent by President Truman offering his support and that of the nation to Governor Pinero, and

Whereas—The A. F. of L. has given constant support to the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen and the people of Puerto Rico in their demands, toward bettering the political conditions of the two million American citizens living on this Island, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 65th convention of the A. F. of L. held in Chicago, Illinois, expresses its satisfaction to the President of the U.S. for the appointment of Mr. Jesus T. Pinero for the governorship of Puerto Rico, a step which is considered as the initial one toward the strengthening of the local self-government of the Island, and be it further

Resolved—That this convention recommends to the Congress of the U.S. that the Organic Act of Puerto Rico be amended to the effect of granting the people the right to elect the governor at or before the general elections to be held in November 1948, consistent with the resolutions of previous conventions of the A. F. of L. and the demands of the people of Puerto Rico, and be it further

Resolved—That said Organic Law be liberalized to the extent that its provisions be in conformity with the rights that should be vested in the Puerto Ricans as American citizens and in accordance with the Treaty of Paris.

(*Political Status*)—(1947, p. 625) Res. 5, unanimously approved by the convention, called for a clarification of the political status of Puerto Rico as follows:

Whereas—The sixteenth convention of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen held at the City of Arecibo during March 14, 15 and 16, 1947, unanimously approved a resolution asking from Congress and the President of the United States the immediate clarification of the political status of Puerto Rico, and

Whereas—Puerto Rico has been under the American flag since July 25, 1898 and under the Spanish colonial regime since Columbus discovered the Island in 1493, and

Whereas—The people of Puerto Rico have lived during the last half century in a democratic climate having proved once and again its capacity as a matured and well-seasoned community, and

Whereas—The loyalty of the two million American citizens living in Puerto Rico to the American flag, to the nation it represents and to the ideals and principles it symbolizes has been evidenced during the first and second World Wars, and

Whereas—The clarification of the political status of the Island of Puerto Rico will enable the orientation of the educational processes to practical objectives, and

Whereas—The world is living in an international hour of clarifications, definitions and liberties, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this sixty-sixth convention of the A. F. of L. held in the City of San Francisco go on record declaring that the American territory of Puerto Rico has reached such a point of maturity, capability and loyalty as a progressive community within the jurisdiction and under the auspices of the U.S. that the Congress of the U.S. is morally obligated to a clear definition of the political status of the Island of Puerto Rico through those measures compatible with the rights and privileges of the American citizen-

ship vested upon the people of Puerto Rico in 1917; and that the E.C. be authorized to take such action as deemed advisable to carry on the purpose of this resolution and to ask Congress and the President of the U.S. for the approval of such measures that may definitely clarify the political status of the two million American citizens living in Puerto Rico; and that copies of this resolution be sent to Congress, to the President of the U.S., to the State Department and the Department of Interior.

(Sugar Processing and Marketing)—(1948, p. 329) Res. 122 directed attention to the problems facing the Puerto Ricans under the Sugar Act of 1948. The resolution was referred to the E.C. for study and appropriate action. The resolution specifically requested the following:

Resolved—By the A. F. of L. in convention assembled that it expresses its vigorous condemnation of any attempt by any part of the government of the U.S.; by Congress or the government of the U.S. itself to place Puerto Ricans in the category of a second-class citizenry or to limit the rights, privileges and immunities recognized to them or bestowed upon them by the Congress of the U.S. through the Treaty of Paris, the Organic Law or through legislation or action of Congress and the government of the U.S.; that it recognizes the existence of an apparent discriminatory measure approved by the Secretary of Agriculture interpreting the Sugar Act of 1948 that merits a thorough investigation of the case presented in this resolution toward the redress of any damage or injustice imposed upon the sugar refiners of Puerto Rico and the people of the Island in general and to that effect authorizes and entrusts the E.C. of the A. F. of L. to conduct such investigation as complete as possible making the proper recommendation to the U.S. Congress, to the President of

the U.S. and the Department of Agriculture; that copy of this resolution be sent to the above mentioned entities and to the governor of Puerto Rico and that copies of the final recommendation made by the E.C. of the A. F. of L. be sent to the Puerto Rico State Federation and to the governor of Puerto Rico.

(Wage-Hour Law)—(1949, pp. 336, 495) The A. F. of L. convention was requested, through Res. 103, to instruct the E.C. to endeavor to secure the enactment of the necessary legislation to include Puerto Rico within the Wage-Hour Law.

(Committee to Study Conditions)—(1949, pp. 337, 495) Res. 105 proposed that the A. F. of L. appoint a special committee . . . "to carry on a thorough investigation of the social, economic, political and industrial conditions of the working people of Puerto Rico so that said special committee may render a report with the necessary recommendations to the E.C. of the A. F. of L." Referred to E.C. for inquiry and appropriate action.

(Sugar Act of 1948)—(1949, pp. 337, 497) Res. 106. Resolved—By the A. F. of L. in convention assembled in the city of St. Paul, Minnesota:

1. That in view of the prevailing economic conditions of the Island of Puerto Rico it vigorously and earnestly urges from the U.S. Department of Agriculture and from the Marshall Plan Organization that steps be taken so that the American territory of Puerto Rico could find the way to sell its surplus production of sugar through the channels of said Marshall Plan Organization or through those that could be appropriately fixed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

2. That the E.C. of the A. F. of L. be instructed to order a thorough study of the Sugar Act of 1948 in order to recommend to the U.S. Congress the corresponding amendment to

said Act to protect not only the domestic area of Puerto Rico but thousands and thousands of workers employed in the sugar industry in the United States.

(*Federal Benefits to Workers*)—(1950, p. 173) The council recommends that continued support be given to the workers of Puerto Rico in order that they be treated on the same footing as the workers of a state of the Union, for the purpose of receiving the benefits of the Social Security Program, Housing, Federal Aid to Education, Minimum Wage, and other federal benefits.

(*Fair Labor Standards*)—(1950, pp. 167, 457) The E.C. reported on efforts made to secure full application of the Fair Labor Standards Act to the Island. Convention endorsed the E.C. report and authorized continued efforts to be made.

(*Wage Rates*)—(1950, pp. 52, 484) Resolved—By the 69th convention of the A. F. of L. that the administrator, in the light of industrial conditions in the continental U.S., of the leather, leather goods and related products industry, and, further in consonance with the spirit, intent and specific provisions of the Act, approve an hourly wage rate of 75c per hour or as close to 75c as possible for the workers of Puerto Rico, engaged in the leather goods and related products industry, and be it further

Resolved—That copies of this resolution be forwarded with all prompt dispatch to the Wage and Hour Administrator and to the Special Industry Committee No. 8 for Puerto Rico. . . .

Your committee is in accord with the aims and objectives of the resolution and recommends that its provisions be extended to protect all workers by amending out of this resolution the references to "employees in Puerto Rico engaged in leather, leather goods

and related products industry" and substituting in lieu thereof the words "all employees in Puerto Rico covered by the Act."

(*Wages and Hours Law*)—(1951, p. 290) Res. 41 called upon the A. F. of L. to protest against the provisions of the Wage and Hour Law as amended in 1940 as applied to Puerto Rico, and to assist in having this discrimination eliminated.

(P. 561) Convention expressed itself as in accord with this resolution and referred it to the officers for appropriate action.

(*Federal Aid*)—(1951, pp. 291, 398) Res. 43 proposed that the A. F. of L. assist in having federal aid to education extended to Puerto Rico on a state basis.

(1952, pp. 269, 454) The establishment of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico with full self-government and autonomy represents an important milestone in the march of the freedom-loving people of Puerto Rico toward the full realization of democracy. It is evidence also of the sincerity and good faith of the U.S. in its policy of furthering liberty and self-government everywhere. . . .

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, although independent and self-governing, remains an integral part of the U.S. as an "associated state" of this nation. This relationship to the U.S.—which, as the E.C. reports, is neither statehood nor complete independence—was freely chosen by the overwhelming majority of the people of Puerto Rico in a popular referendum.

As trade unionists and fellow Americans we must continue to give to the people of Puerto Rico every assistance in their efforts to develop their economy. The A. F. of L. is seeking to organize the workers of Puerto Rico into *bona fide* unions within the ranks of our federation in order to advance the living standards and improve

working conditions of the workers of Puerto Rico as rapidly as possible.

(Federal Aid to Education)—(1952, pp. 272, 493) In this section of its report, the E.C. states the facts upon which its interest in legislation for adequate support of education in Puerto Rico is based and of the activity of the A. F. of L. on behalf of the adequate provisions along those lines. The E.C. is to be commended for its support of this project and your committee urges that such support be continued.

(Industrial Expansion)—(1954, p. 148) The E.C. devoted special attention to a report on industrial expansion and working conditions in Puerto Rico. In approving this section of the report, the convention committee submitted the following which was unanimously approved: (page 587)

The rapid development of the economy of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico represents both a challenge and a threat to the labor movement. Our challenge is to assure that the workers of Puerto Rico share fully in the fruits of industrial and economic progress. The threat will exist, however, so long as this industrialization is taking place on the basis of substandard wages and working conditions for Puerto Rican workers. Continuance of such conditions means not only a continuing low-wage level for Puerto Rican workers, but also an unfair competitive advantage for Puerto Rican employers, which jeopardizes the labor standards of workers employed in competing industries on the mainland. The far-reaching program for raising living standards which the governor of Puerto Rico has described to this convention is indeed encouraging.

Puerto Rico's rapid industrial growth requires an ever-increasing skilled and semi-skilled labor force. In order to meet this problem, Puerto Rico has established various training

programs, including modern vocational schools, apprenticeship programs sponsored by Joint Labor-Management Committees, and supervised on-the-job training.

From the viewpoint of organized labor, it is crucial that these new industrial workers be organized in the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. Unfortunately, at present over 90 per cent of the industrial workers of Puerto Rico are not organized. This not only depresses the labor standards in Puerto Rico, but offers an incentive to anti-labor employers to avoid collective bargaining with unions by transferring their operations to Puerto Rico.

Unfortunately, the Federal Wage and Hour Law has helped to perpetuate substandard wage conditions in Puerto Rico. This law permits Puerto Rican employers to pay their workers far less than the 75 cent minimum hourly rate required by the Act for mainland workers. Under a special industry committee procedure authorized by the Act, the Wage and Hour Administrator has established minimum rates for Puerto Rican industries as low as 17½ cents an hour. This convention has unanimously recommended that the minimum wage for Puerto Rico be brought up to the mainland level within three years. Pending enactment of this amendment to the law, the industry committee procedure should be drastically revised so that the minimum wage for each industry is reviewed annually and revised minimum wages are put into effect promptly.

Your committee directs the attention of this convention to the large-scale migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland in recent years, which can be attributed almost entirely to the search of low-paid Puerto Rican workers for better wages. Higher wages and decent working conditions would keep many of these workers in

Puerto Rico, and thereby help to strengthen the Puerto Rican economy and its industrialization program. Organization of Puerto Rican workers into unions would mean that even if they did choose to migrate to the mainland, they would have been imbued with the spirit and aims of the trade union movement and would tend to become good members of mainland unions.

Thus, the organization of Puerto Rico's new industrial workers presents a challenging frontier for the A. F. of L., which should receive serious consideration and a high priority in the program of our federation. We should develop an effective program geared to the special conditions of Puerto Rico to make possible the rapid expansion of A. F. of L. unions in Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor (1940, pp. 220-226) A rather comprehensive report on the activities of the Free Federation was submitted in the report of the E.C. Included in this report was a memorandum which had been prepared covering the economic and social problems of the Island. Since the memorandum covered major objectives of the Free Federation it is quoted in its entirety herein: (p. 222)

The points of view of our Puerto Rican State Branch of the A. F. of L. on the economic and social conditions of Puerto Rico and our recommendations thereon may be summarized as follows:

1. In spite of the sound cooperation given the Island of Puerto Rico by the federal administration, our country undergoes a serious economic crisis, as particularly shown by the existence of over 400,000 unemployed.

2. Puerto Rico depends on a very few industries and is mostly an agricultural country. Sugar produc-

tion is our main source of income. It can employ about 150,000 workers but production is limited through a system of quotas that has aggravated our economic crisis and deprived many thousands of workers of a living. We believe that our yearly sugar quota should be increased at least to 1,500,000 tons in order to put a level to our depressed economy and that our country should not be discriminated against to favor foreign countries.

3. The decision of the United States Supreme Court in favor of the people of Puerto Rico, upholding the constitutionality of the law limiting the possession of land to 500 acres, has led us to the conclusion that a definite program is necessary to serve as a basis for a conscientious and reasonable agrarian policy toward the permanent solution of our economic problems. The government of Puerto Rico lacks the funds necessary to expropriate lands owned in excess of 500 acres wherefore we suggest that a \$150,000,000 loan be granted by federal authorities to the government of Puerto Rico to carry out an agrarian policy that would solve the problems involved. We suggest the establishment of an Insular Economic Board, with representatives from capital, labor and the government, to be charged with the execution of definite plans connected with investment of the aforementioned loan.

4. We favor the government control of our hydroelectric resources, wherefore we earnestly endorse the Puerto Rican TVA bill introduced in the Lower House providing the government control of our hydroelectric service in order to promote the industrialization of our country and the carrying of electric light to the urban and rural zones of Puerto Rico at a low cost.

5. The people of Puerto Rico are pro-American and have during a period of forty years shown their loyalty and spirit of public sacrifice toward the U.S. Our Island constitutes a cardinal point in the defense of American interest in the Western Hemisphere. Inasmuch as the Puerto Rican masses want to live permanently linked to the U.S., we request that our political status be solved as early as possible by granting us the right to become a state of the Union.

6. We are of the opinion that Puerto Rico should not be exempted from the Wage and Hour Law. We believe, however, that flexible changes must be effected to conform the law to local conditions, and that there must be approved legislation of this sort to cover workers in industry as well as in commerce and agriculture in interstate and intrastate commerce as well. With respect to amendments to this law that would facilitate the operation of certain insular industries we ratify our viewpoints expressed in a resolution approved by the E.C. of the Free Federation of Labor in March, 1939, to which we have previously referred.

7. The Lafayette experiment must be continued on a basis that would guarantee its success. Workers should be given reasonable and just participation and intervention in its administrative control. Organized labor was not represented on the committee that investigated the Lafayette Cooperatives. The report rendered by this committee attributes the failure of the experiment to factors that have no bearing on the workers because they never had participation in the management of the experiment.

The principle established by these cooperatives must be amplified throughout all the Island by means

of plans properly studied which would ensure success.

8. The principles of collective agreement must continue to have the recognition by the federal government in Puerto Rico. These principles have succeeded in maintaining industrial peace and the best relations among employers and laborers. A proof of the effectiveness of this principle is shown by agreements entered into since 1934 by the Association of Sugar Producers of Puerto Rico and the Free Federation of Labor, those signed by the shipping companies and longshoremen unions, besides the ones approved by employers and workers of the tobacco stripping industry.

9. We look to the A. F. of L. to cooperate with us in obtaining larger appropriations for vocational education and that the teaching of the English language be expanded.

Larger appropriations should be made for the National Youth Administration agencies in Puerto Rico in order to help our poor children continue their school training.

We want the A. F. of L. endorsement to our petition requesting the establishment of a Pan-American University in Puerto Rico.

10. The committee acknowledges the effectiveness of the cooperation heretofore received from the A. F. of L. and hopes that this cooperation will be maintained in behalf of the fraternal bonds uniting our Puerto Rican movement with our brethren of North America, in whose free institutions we have placed our faith.

(1940, pp. 220, 558) In approving the report of the E.C. on activities of the Puerto Rico Free Federation during the preceding year, the following statement was also included in the committee report:

. . . your committee calls attention

to the problems of organized labor in Puerto Rico, including the formation of a dual movement with the improving standards for labor and the opportunity for extended trade union organization. Your committee recommends that the officers of the A. F. of L. give every possible assistance to the trade union movement of Puerto Rico.

(1942, p. 562) Some of the most pressing problems of the working people of the Island were presented to the convention through a resolution (No. 36) which was adopted by the convention. The resolution called for increased organizing activity in Puerto Rico; protested against the Tugwell Administration there; again demanded independent status for the Island; endorsed the efforts being carried on to establish a better standard of living for the workers there; and called upon the E.C. to take all legal and practical steps necessary to achieve the objectives of the resolution. The plight of the people of Puerto Rico was projected at length by the delegate to the convention from the Island. The convention voted the committee recommendation that the labor movement in Puerto Rico should be more adequately represented in the administrative agencies of that Island; and that the conditions referred to should be called to the attention of the President of the U.S. by the president of the A. F. of L.

(1942, p. 547) A rather comprehensive report on conditions in the Island was presented to the convention which in turn adopted the following statement:

This portion of the E.C.'s report is in effect a report of the many activities of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen, which is affiliated with the A. F. of L. It records the many collective bargaining agreements negotiated under the federation's auspices, hearings in Congress, and in

particular the difficulties it has encountered under the administration of Governor Rex Tugwell, who, immediately after his inauguration, eliminated labor representation from his cabinet, and who has, apparently, failed to appreciate the part which organized labor must play in any satisfactory administration of Puerto Rico, and its unquestioned right to have a representative voice in the activities of the administration.

It is to be regretted that the nation's administrative representative in Puerto Rico should have created a condition where, because of all lack of representation, it is difficult, if not impossible, for organized labor in Puerto Rico to adequately cooperate with him.

(1949, pp. 278, 475) The regular report of the Free Federation of Puerto Rico was included in the E.C. report. The following convention action was taken on the subject matter:

The report of the E.C. under this caption shows that there is a nucleus of sound unionism in that Island. After a struggle for decades the workers are coming to an understanding of the practices of sound trade unionism. There has been under way in the Island an economic development program which now shows definite progress although they have had little outside help. To this undertaking the unions have contributed collective bargaining. The biggest problem of the Island is over-population. As we have recommended elsewhere, surplus agricultural workers could be integrated with agricultural workers on the mainland, and under the protective services of the National Farm Labor Union join groups of migratory crop harvesters as well as find jobs on farms.

Your committee urges that it is high time to bring aid to Puerto Ricans in making plans for future progress and in more thoroughly or-

ganizing workers in free trade unions.

Puerto Rico is our eastern outpost—an island strategic for our commerce as well as military defense. It lies adjacent to Communist centers in the Caribbean area and is constantly subject to Communist offensives.

Your committee further urges the E.C. to make Puerto Rico a strong outpost of free trade unionism to protect our homeland and to develop leaders to help in extending economic unions throughout South America.

Pullman Sleeping Car Porters—(1932, p. 398) The A. F. of L. endorses, commends and pledges support to the significant, militant and worthy fight of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to eliminate the Pullman Company Union through injunction procedure, as did the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, which will not only establish the right of self-organization to the porters, but help break down the company union movement in general which is a deadly menace to trade union movement organization. A motion was adopted calling upon affiliated organizations to make contributions to aid the porters in their court fight.

(1933, p. 519) The A. F. of L. herewith condemns the policy of oppression and exploitation of porters and maids by the Pullman Company through low wage rates and the chain ganging of runs that boost the hours of work of porters from four hundred to five hundred a month, a policy which is in direct contravention of the spirit of the National Recovery Program.

(1939, p. 494) The Order of Sleeping Car Conductors has an agreement with The Pullman Company which has been interpreted by the National Railroad Adjustment Board in its Award No. 779, issued December 12, 1938, to mean that wherever it is established that conductors' work exists, they have the right to perform it. The Pullman

award and continues to operate portions of the run without conductors. The A. F. of L. condemns this violation of National Railroad Adjustment Board Award No. 779, interpreting Company has refused to obey that the agreement between The Pullman Company and its conductors.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers vs. Wall Paper Crafts (See: Wall Paper Crafts)

Pulp, Proposed Regulation of Imports (Also see: Tariff) (1939, p. 431)

Res. 74 was unanimously adopted as follows:

Whereas—In the pulp and paper mills of the U.S. many mills are operating but two and three days per week; and

Whereas—The U.S. consumes enough pulp and paper to keep all mills running full time if pulp and paper made in the U.S. were used before any foreign made pulp and paper were used; and

Whereas—Pulp and paper is brought into the U.S. duty free from Canada and the Scandinavian countries where much of this product is produced by low paid labor; and

Whereas—Much of the imported pulp and paper is not labeled so that its origin is unknown; and

Whereas—The unemployed and part-time employed men in the pulp and paper industry present flagrant example of this sabotage of national recovery; therefore be it

Resolved—That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled go on record to petition the Congress of the U.S. to set quota on the importations of pulp and paper into the U.S. to the extent that local mills can operate at full time; and be it further

Resolved—That foreign-made pulp and paper shall be labeled, stating place of origin.

(Tariff)—(1939, p. 431) Res. 73,

calling for endorsement of an investigation to ascertain the effects upon the American wood pulp industry from the importation of large quantities of wood pulp from foreign countries which maintain low wage scales and which enjoy other competitive advantages, was unanimously adopted by the convention.

P.W.A. for White Collar Workers— (1936, p. 645) The A. F. of L. declares in favor of a permanent works program for all unemployed white collar workers, whether on relief or not (such as statistical, research, technical, educational, social, recreational workers, and artists, writers, actors, dancers, musicians, etc.), at trade union wages and working conditions similar to that provided for by the Public Works Administration.

(1947, p. 562) A good public relations service is more essential to the Federation than ever before. We have the task of informing all who constitute the public of Labor's objectives and the reasons for them. It is important that the public realize Labor has a constructive program evolved out of experience and planned to help the masses of the people participate in democratic institutions and share in economic and social progress.

To be sure, we do not have the resources of those opposed to use, but we can secure the cooperation and the aid of sympathetic groups and thus bring indirect influence to bear on all the media which influence public opinion. We need to bring Labor's cause home to those who write the news and edit papers, those who manage magazines and weekly news publications, and those responsible for news reels.

We shall count upon a broader, more effective program than ever before.

Racial Discrimination (also see: White Primaries; Poll Tax; Discrimination, Fair Employment Practices Commission, Negroes, Segregation

(Schools), Ku Klux Klan, Religious Discrimination; Education and Training)

(1942, pp. 573, 580) Several resolutions were considered by the convention all protesting against discrimination on account of "race, color, religion or national origin," and all called for intensified efforts to abolish such discrimination. The following committee report on these resolutions, considered jointly, was adopted:

The American Federation of Labor, at every convention where the subject has been introduced, has vigorously and unequivocally, declared against race discrimination—any discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin. The American Federation of Labor has been the outstanding organization in the United States and Canada to make such declaration, and to further the interests of the colored race.

It is unfortunately true that because of geographical situation and other reasons, there still remains a degree of discrimination, not only against the colored race, but against other groups, because of their racial origin; but we have no hesitancy in comparing the record of the American Federation of Labor on the question of race discrimination with the activities of any other organization in the United States and Canada.

It was the American Federation of Labor which pioneered the organization of the colored people. Experience has led us to believe that the most effective way of eliminating race discrimination is the education of the trade union movement and of the public. Without this education the progress which has been made in organizing the colored men in North America would not have made the progress which it has. We are doubtful whether any other method than the educational one can make the progress which is necessary, for experience has been that where compulsory methods are

applied, prejudices are increased instead of diminished.

Your committee voices its approval of the recent Executive Order of the President intended to accomplish the praiseworthy elimination of racial distinction between the wage earners and the citizens of the United States.

(1943, p. 421) The convention gave serious consideration to a group of resolutions (Nos. 24, 28, 29, 32), all of which dealt with some phase of discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin. The following was unanimously adopted in lieu of the resolutions:

The founders of the American Federation of Labor since their inception, were opposed to any prejudices, traditions, social or religious demarcations which could be applied to interfere with, or prevent thorough-going organization of all wage earners. They made one of the corner-stones of the great trade union structure they were determined to erect—the principle that the right to work, or membership in a trade union should not be limited, or restricted in any manner, because of creed, color or race.

The American Federation of Labor at that time, and ever since, has been the principal constructive and influential force in our country in giving practical application to that basic principle. We can examine the record of progress made in eliminating prejudices against so-called minority groups, with gratification and sincere pride.

The principle announced over sixty years ago has been given increasing practical application. Distinctions, because of national origin within our trade union movement, have been very largely eliminated. The color bar has been removed to such an extent that labor representatives of our colored members inform us that over half a million of their race are now dues paying members of the American Federa-

tion of Labor. This is the largest organization of colored workers in the world.

It is evident, however, that in some portions of our country there still remain among workers lingering suspicions, prejudices and traditions fostered by conditions long since passed, but which still operate to prevent the complete application of that great principle upon which our trade union structure has been erected.

The world war in which our country is now engaged, which involves safeguarding the vital principle of free institutions under government by law, enacted by the peoples' representatives for the people, demands that national unity must be had and that all prejudices which interfere with this unity must be eliminated.

Those in our armed forces are risking their lives in our country's defense, without thought of national origin or the color which nature has given them. All of them are the nation's defenders. When the war ends those who are wage earners must be free to return to peaceful occupations as equals in the enjoyment of all the rights and opportunities enjoyed by others in our trade union movement.

National origin, race or color must in no manner or form restrict any American from a free opportunity to prepare himself to become a skilled mechanic, a craftsman, and take his place as such in any employment requiring the skill which he has acquired. The doors of our trade union movement must be open. This country must not maintain an industrial standard which discriminates against a wage earner because of his color.

Substantial progress has been made in eliminating prejudices, but there still remains an obligation upon the American Federation of Labor to carry on and expand the good work it has already done, so that the principle of industrial equality of all men will

be established beyond question to every section of our country.

It is obvious that the goal we aim for, the best interests of the American people as a whole, and our democratic way of life, cannot be secured by one strike or through the method of decrees, mechanical orders or threats handed down from on high. What is required is the intelligent, systematic, educational efforts to speed the day when there will no longer exist in the industrial field any prejudices or handicaps because of racial origin or color.

So that vitality and action can be given to this declaration of principle and of policy, your committee recommends that these declarations be given the widest possible publicity, and that all of the educational facilities of our trade union movement be used in furthering the objectives which have been herein set forth.

Your committee recommends reaffirmation of the action taken by the last convention endorsing the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

The Post War Problems Committee of the A. F. of L. has appointed a subcommittee to deal with this and other minority questions. On this subcommittee the minority groups, including the colored race, are represented. Your committee is confident that as the results of this committee's work definite progress will be made.

(1944, pp. 250, 593) The convention approved the report of the E.C. on racial discrimination embodied in the report on the Fair Employment Practices Committee as follows:

Wherever Americans have fought for democracy they have fought for the right to equal opportunity. The right to an equal chance to get a job and to be promoted to a better job without discrimination because of race, color, religion, or sex is an inalienable right of every American so long as

democracy endures. The American Federation of Labor has been in the past, and is today, unalterably opposed to any form of discrimination because of race, creed, color, or sex.

In the days of transition from war to peace the American Federation of Labor will have a special responsibility to extend the work it has done in the past in eliminating prejudices to the end that industrial equality of all men be firmly established in every part of the United States. In these times there exists an intensified need for systematic and positive educational efforts to remove handicaps and barriers of race or color in industrial employment, assuring full equality of economic opportunity to all Americans. Not only is the attainment of this goal essential to the fulfillment of the full promise of democracy, but it will also serve the best interests of Labor and of the American people as a whole.

The Executive Council recommends reaffirmation of the actions taken by previous conventions endorsing the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. It is our belief that, while protection of non-discriminatory employment is needed, especially during the difficult years that lie ahead, compulsory government regulation of free and voluntary associations of workers is inimical to the basic right of freedom of association. Government controls, interfering with the self-government of labor organizations, must not be permitted.

The right to union membership without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or sex is a basic tenet irrevocably established by the American Federation of Labor. During the past year great progress has been made toward the universal acceptance of this principle by all constituent unions of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council is confident that this objective may be reached in the near future through the

exercise of the prerogative of free self-government of our member unions.

(1944, p. 508) Res. 26

Whereas—The Master Race Doctrine is responsible for the threat of Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's Fascism and Hirohito's Militarism to modern democracy, Christianity and free and voluntary trade unionism, the ruthless and inhuman persecution of the Jews, Catholics and Protestants of Germany and other lands and the Negro people in the United States of America, therefore, be it

Resolved — That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, La., November, 1944, go on record as condemning the Master Race Doctrine as mythical, unsound, unscientific and a menace to peace and the democratic way of life.

Your committee is in accord with the substance of the "whereas" which condemns the Master Race Doctrine as applied by Nazism, Fascism and Japanese militarism, and any other social or political doctrine based upon the principles that one race is superior to another. But your committee cannot give approval to the "resolved" for we hold, and the Federation always has maintained, that there is no Master Race, and that all races, white, black, red or yellow stand upon a basis of equality, and belief in the basic doctrine taught by the Carpenter of Nazareth, the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of Man.

(1944, p. 557) Res. 157, containing the following "resolves" was unanimously adopted as A. F. of L. policy on discrimination because of race, creed, etc.

Resolved—That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in the City of New Orleans, November, 1944, issue a warning to the American people against the danger of allowing the

wave of racialism to rise in this country, and against the evil of discriminating against minorities, no matter who practices the discrimination and against what group it is directed, and be it further

Resolved — That the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. be particularly cautioned to be on guard in their readjustment to post-war conditions, lest they fall victim to the disruptive attempts of the union-wreckers whose interests bigotry serves, and be it further

Resolved — That this convention demand the immediate abolition of the poll tax and the establishment, by act of Congress, of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, authorized to eliminate discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin, in private industry as well as in government work, and be it further

Resolved — That the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged to wage an unrelenting struggle against the groups responsible for the spreading of the poison of anti-Catholicism, anti-Protestantism, anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism and other forms of racial prejudice, and that the Executive Council give all possible support to the international and local unions in the undertaking and carrying out of an educational program calculated to promote tolerance, understanding, and amity among the various groups comprising the family of American organized labor.

(1946, p. 357) Res. 163:

Whereas — There are some million or more Negro workers who are loyal members of the American Federation of Labor who have racial-labor relations problems that require adjustment from time to time by the federal, national and international unions, not only for the welfare of the Negro workers but also to advance the organ-

ization and increase the power of the federal, national, international unions, city central bodies and state federations, therefore, be it

Resolved — That this sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Chicago, October, 1946, go on record as favoring the appointment of a paid Labor-Racial Relations Worker, with trade union understanding and sympathy with the program and philosophy of the A. F. of L. as a part of the staff of the President of the A. F. of L., with adequate facilities and means and co-operation, to conduct a long-range, sound and constructive educational program among the members of the A. F. of L., with a view to eliminating the dangerous doctrines of the master race that threaten and endanger the American labor movement, the citadel of our American democracy.

Your committee is in sympathy with the objective of the resolution, and recommends it be referred to the Executive Council, A. F. of L.

White Primaries—(P. 490) Res. 6:

Whereas—The United States Supreme Court went on record in the Texas Primaries case outlawing white primaries as an invasion of the constitutional rights of citizens set forth in the 15th Amendment of the Constitution, and

Whereas — This decision of the United States Supreme Court has been defied by Biblo, Talmadge and other southern political leaders, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning the practice of certain southern states designed to invalidate the constitutional rights of Negro citizens by intimidating them at the polls and by the employment of other deceptive and terroristic practices to prevent these citizens from exercising their right to vote as being un-American, undemo-

cratic and unconstitutional and to support the fight now being waged by civic, religious and labor organizations.

(1948, p. 148) Since its inception, the American Federation of Labor has fostered the principle of equality of opportunity to all. Through the years of our growth, we have encountered many situations in which discrimination and intolerance were deeply embedded. The source of discrimination cannot always be easily ascertained or readily stamped out, but our record of many decades of direct experience in dealing with this issue has conclusively demonstrated that the most powerful single force behind discrimination against persons because of their color or creed is economic discrimination. This experience makes it absolutely clear that to assure healthy economic growth of the nation, to safeguard and sustain the general welfare of the people of America, it is the duty of our legislative branch of Government to uphold the principles of equal opportunity for all, a principle to which this Nation is dedicated.

Convention Headquarters — (1950, p. 27) Res. 20: Protested against practice of hotels in Houston refusing to accommodate colored A. F. of L. delegates, and called upon the convention to "go on record as adopting the policy of refusing to hold its annual conventions in any city in which hotel accommodations are not available to all delegates to the convention.

(P. 473) Since the E.C. was delegated to select the next convention city, resolution referred to E.C. for attention.

(Pp. 26, 2471) Res. 17 adopted as follows:

Whereas—The Korean war is an unmistakable and strong reaffirmation of the fact that a normal conflict exists between world democracy and world communism which appears destined to become more violent and

threatening to world peace, and which may eventuate into a world atomic war, which according to the best scientific minds, will bring an end to our civilization as we know it today, and

Whereas — If the Korean conflict is localized, it will not represent an end of warfare between the United Nations and U.S.S.R. but will only be a stage where it will assume a new form of an intensified cold war among all peoples of the world, with emphasis upon civil wars and insurrections in various world areas comparable to Korea, such as Iran, Indo-China, East-West Germany, Yugo-Slavia, Greece, India and Africa, therefore, be it

Resolved — That the 69th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, September, 1950, go on record as calling upon the United States government in the interest of increasing the strength of the appeal of democracy to the peoples of the world, especially the world of color, to re-state our democratic creed so as to reflect a basic economic and ethnic content which will give assurance to the peoples of Africa and Asia that the U.S.A. represents a new deal for them in land reforms and recognition of their nationalistic aspirations and racial equality. This is necessary for the peoples of Asia and Africa and Europe and will increase the faith in the declarations of American democracy, for the idea of political democracy upon which chief emphasis is placed by American leaders, while necessary and important, cannot alone meet the needs of the peoples of the world who are in poverty and want and under the oppression of colonialism.

(1951, p. 275) Res. 8:

Whereas — Racism is a form of aggression against the dignity of the personality of an individual by denying him or her rights and privileges, economic, political and social, by dis-

crimination, on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, which results in dividing the workers, thereby weakening the trade union movement and lessening its power to fight the battle of labor, and also makes a mockery of our democracy, and puts a powerful propaganda political weapon into the hands of Russian Communism, the enemy of the free trade union movement and the free world, therefore, be it

Resolved — That this seventieth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, California, September, 1951, go on record as condemning racism in all of its varied forms as a danger to free trade unions, democracy and world peace.

(P. 549) Your committee is in full accord with this resolution. We commend it to you for indorsement and adoption.

In this connection, your committee desires to point out that in recent years, while our country has been making progress in eradicating this pernicious evil, racism has taken on new and even more dangerous expressions in various parts of the world.

In the so-called Soviet "paradise" there are now rampant new styles of race prejudice resulting in the economic strangulation, cultural ostracism and suppression, and genocide against citizens of Jewish, Lithuanian, Estonian, Latvian strain and other minority peoples.

In other parts of the world, the Cominform has exploited the understandable lingering resentment amongst newly liberated peoples against some European nationals on account of their prejudices and mistakes of the past in order to generate race hatred and create a vicious racialism in reverse against those of Caucasian origin.

In urging full approval of the above-mentioned resolution, your com-

mittee condemns both new and old racist vices. We solemnly declare that it is the duty of all free trade unionists to fight against every manifestation of racialism—regardless of where it may occur, or the flag behind which it hides.

District of Columbia

(1953, pp. 416, 651) Res. 57 protested against practices existing in the District of Columbia of discrimination and segregation and contained the following:

Resolved — That this seventy-second convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in St. Louis, Missouri, call upon President Eisenhower and the Congress of the United States to fulfill their campaign pledges to end discrimination and segregation in Washington, D. C., by taking immediate steps to assure all persons in the District of Columbia full and equal privileges and opportunities in employment, in places of public education, accommodation, resort, entertainment and amusement.

(Pp. 415, 651) Res. 54:

Resolved — That the seventy-second convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in St. Louis, Missouri, call upon affiliated unions to continue and extend their activities in behalf of civil rights, and be it further

Resolved — That this convention express its gratification at the headway and progress made by A. F. of L. affiliates during the past year in the elimination of existing barriers within the trade union movement, and urge the elimination of the last vestiges within the labor movement of distinctions among workers based on race, creed, color or national origin, and be it further

Resolved — That this convention call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to continue to use its good offices to assist

and promote further progress and leadership in this area.

Housing

(1954, page 381, 465)—Res. 27:

Resolved — That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, go on record as condemning and opposing segregated housing and the use of government funds to promote same as contrary to justice, fair-play and sound, democratic principles as set forth in Supreme Court decisions striking down segregated housing.

The convention referred the resolution to the executive officers of the A. F. L. for such action as may be warranted.

(P. 302) The American Federation of Labor has again taken the lead in efforts to assure equality of employment opportunity to all workers. In Congressional hearings, our Federation has this year again strongly urged enactment of a fair employment practice law which would prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin. . . .

Our affiliates should insist that employers with federal contracts adhere to the letter and spirit of the non-discrimination clause. They should also, whenever possible, inform individual employees and applicants for employment of their rights under the clause. By giving such support to the non-discrimination program, our affiliates can make a notable contribution to its success and thereby help eliminate discrimination in a large sector of American industry.

Armed Forces, Integration in.—(1940, p. 511) Acting upon a proposed resolution calling for complete integration in the armed forces of the country, the convention adopted the following statement:

Your committee in reporting on the

resolution calls attention to the heroic part played by negroes from the period of the American revolution to the last war in which our country was engaged. Their record of bravery, loyalty and patriotism is a tribute to the part they have played as citizens.

Your committee believes that the record of the colored race justifies them to the same consideration given to every other citizen in connection with the present program for national defense.

This equality between the races in our country is already largely recognized in the manufacturing industries.

The resolution makes specific reference to military service and military organization. We believe that this is the province of those authorities charged with the conduct of military activities, and that we should not attempt to interfere with such policy unless there developed evidence of racial discrimination.

(1944, p. 471) Res. 11:

Whereas — The constitution of the United States guarantees to the citizens of this country equal rights before the law, and that there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, or color, and

Whereas — The Selective Service Act specifically states that no member of the armed forces shall be discriminated against because of race, creed or color, and

Whereas—It is now charged that the Selective Service Act is being violated in that the negroes inducted into the Armed Forces are discriminated against, particularly, this is true in the Air Forces by the establishment of a segregated Air Base at Tuskegee Institute at Tuskegee, Alabama, and

Whereas—These negroes in the Armed Forces have given a good account of themselves in the conflict and have assumed their full responsibility with credit to themselves and to the nation, therefore, be it

Resolved — That the American Federation of Labor investigate the allegation made that the discrimination is being made against negroes in the Armed Forces, and that every opportunity be afforded to those making the charge to present their evidence to the end that all such alleged discrimination shall be eliminated and that the people of the United States, both negroes and whites, will have full confidence that prohibition against discrimination is being fully observed.

Civil Rights—(1948, pp. 234, 455) Res. 6 requested the A. F. of L. to "go on record as demanding the abolition of discrimination and segregation through municipal, state and federal legislation so that the dignity of the human personality, regardless of race, creed or color, will not be humiliated and insulted, and that the city central labor bodies, the state federations and federal and local unions, national and international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, be called upon and urged to use their influence and strength in the interest of securing civil rights for all peoples, creeds, colors and countries in the interest of labor solidarity, one of the most effective weapons against reaction, bigotry and hatred.

(1949, pp. 43, 484) Res. 23 adopted in amended form as follows:

Your committee is in full accord with the objectives sought by this resolution. To avoid placing the Federation in the anomalous position of condemning legislation dealing with the internal relations of the affairs of our trade unions, on the one hand, and furthering trade union regulatory legislation on the other hand, your committee recommends the approval of this resolution amended to read:

Whereas—Lynching and mob violence are violations of the dignity and sacredness of the human personality—all men, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, being children of one God, and

Whereas—The poll tax denies to white and black workers the opportunity to exercise their sovereign right of free citizenship in the American democracy, and

Whereas — Federal fair employment practice legislation will help the elimination of discrimination in industry based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, and

Whereas — Discrimination and segregation in the Armed Forces because of race, color or religion, denies the sacred right to an American citizen to fight and die for his country as a free man, therefore, be it

Resolved — That the sixty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, October, 1949, go on record as supporting legislation which seeks to abolish lynch-law, the vicious poll tax, the elimination of discrimination and segregation in industry, and the Armed Forces, and, herewith, expresses its support and approval of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee Report and his Civil Rights Program, submitted to the 81st Congress, and pledge to fight for the enactment of legislation sought in the President's Civil Rights Report and Program.

In presenting this amended resolution for approval your committee directs attention to existing laws in some of our states making mandatory the segregation of workers and others, based on color distinctions. We have no hesitancy in condemning such unjustified restrictions on freedom of association and the unjustifiable dividing of our people on color lines. We urge every effort be made for the early and complete repeal of such laws.

Then too, we would counsel all our trade unions to avoid falling subject to criticism we direct against others for their failure to deal with all of our people, on a basis of equality and without distinction as to race, color,

religion, national origin, or ancestry.
(Pp. 340, 498) Res. 111:

Whereas — During the last war and the succeeding period it has become apparent that there are certain flaws existing in our fundamental democratic rights, and

Whereas — It has become increasingly necessary to remove the inequities, prejudices and archaic and sectional incumbrances upon the fundamental rights of large portions of our population, and

Whereas — The Constitution of the United States guarantees the equal protection of the law to all our people, and

Whereas — Civil rights have been denied to many citizens because of their color, race or creed, and

Whereas — The denial of such rights to minorities has been accompanied by restrictions upon their opportunities to be gainfully employed and also to exercise all the rights, privileges and prerogatives of American citizens, and

Whereas — These deprivations of rights to minorities constitutes a threat to the collective rights of all citizens, and

Whereas — It is essential for our great country in discharging its obligations as a world leader for democracy and democratic rights to set an outstanding example to which the people of the world will respond, and

Whereas — We have confidence in our collective ability to remove injustices existing in our democracy, and

Whereas — Both major parties pledged to enact an adequate civil rights program to extend democratic and civil rights to all peoples and to remove archaic restrictions against minorities, therefore, be it

Resolved — By the 68th Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we endorse without qualification the full and complete civil

rights program which was presented to the Congress by President Truman in his message and urge that this program, which was subscribed to by both major political parties in their platform.

(P. 238) The E.C. reported continued efforts to secure the enactment of proposed anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation.

(P. 386) Convention authorized continued efforts to secure enactment of aforementioned legislation.

(1950, p. 25) Res. 14:

Whereas — President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights Report involving lynching, mob violence, poll tax registration, discrimination for the exercise of the right of suffrage and fair employment practice, represent principles and action which A. F. of L. conventions have endorsed and supported in the past because they are in accord with the ideals of sound trade unionism and the traditions of our great movement, therefore, be it

Resolved — That the 69th Convention assembled in Houston, Texas, September, 1950, go on record as endorsing and supporting President Truman's Civil Rights Report and call upon its affiliated unions, central and state bodies, to support efforts to secure the enactment of the proposals of this Report into legislation since discrimination on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry constitutes the most powerful propaganda political weapon in the hands of Communist Russia whose commitment to cold and hot wars represent the gravest threat to democracy and civilization modern man has ever faced, and the victory of western democracies is only possible if the U.S.A. and other democracies repudiate white racial superiority or white supremacy as a principle of national policy and take a stand for complete racial equality.

(P. 471) Your committee recom-

mends re-application of our declaration of a year ago on this subject in view of this resolution and which unqualifiedly endorsed President Truman's Civil Rights Report. In keeping with this action the American Federation has called upon our affiliated unions, central and state bodies, to support all possible efforts to secure the enactment of the proposals of this report into legislation. Your committee again urges and recommends a like direction and appeal to our affiliated unions, central and state bodies.

(Pp. 34, 479)

Whereas — There is need for all good Americans to give consistent attention to problems of civil rights and discrimination, and

Whereas — The American Federation of Labor has done an outstanding piece of work in defending and securing recognition of civil rights and has worked consistently and valiantly to overcome discrimination and segregation, and

Whereas — The American Federation of Labor could do a more consistent and effective job in this area if someone were employed for this special task than has been done to date in spite of the value of the work so far accomplished, and

Whereas — The very designation of someone to work in this field of discrimination would in itself constitute helpful public notice of our concern with this problem, therefore, be it

Resolved — That this Sixty-ninth convention of the American Federation of Labor meeting in Houston, Texas, recommends to the Executive Council early consideration of the establishment of a new, regular headquarters department to work in the field of civil rights and discrimination.

The convention referred the resolution to the President of the A. F. of L. "with the thought that he might designate someone to perform the task involved."

(1951, pp. 353, 566) Res. 109 directed attention to the need for international unions, state and local federations to develop programs for the advancement of civil rights and the improvement of human relations, and that the A. F. of L. urge the extension of these activities to the end that the cause of Labor and democracy may be advanced.

(1953, p. 315) Under the title of "Civil Rights" the Executive Council outlined the traditional policy of the A. F. of L. in opposition to discrimination, and in defense of freedom guaranteed under the Constitution. The report stated:

From the date of its founding, the American Federation of Labor has been deeply devoted to the American heritage of equality, freedom and justice under law. Our Federation has staunchly defended from the outset the right of every American to equal economic opportunity and his unfettered right to exercise freedom of speech, of conscience and of assembly. Indeed the growth of trade unionism in this country has been due in no small measure to our steadfast adherence to these principles on which our Republic was founded.

Discrimination in Employment

In recent years our Federation has intensified its efforts to assure equal economic opportunity to every worker. We have sought to eliminate discrimination in employment based on race, creed, color or national origin and have called for the enactment of fair employment practice legislation. Despite the widespread popular support of legislation which would safeguard the worker's right to equal economic opportunity, every effort to obtain enactment of a federal fair employment practice statute has been blocked by the deliberate dilatory tactics and outright filibustering of the Dixiecrat forces, supported by other reactionaries in the Senate. These tactics

have successfully prevented enactment of legislation which would afford to Negroes and other minority groups the opportunity to improve their economic and social status.

The main obstacle blocking the enactment of fair employment practice legislation has been the Senate Rule 22. This rule makes it virtually impossible to stop a well-organized filibuster by requiring an affirmative vote by two-thirds of the entire Senate to limit and close debate. We have sought the amendment of Senate Rule 22 to permit the majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate. Such a change would make impossible irresponsible procedures which make mockery of the democratic process in the highest legislative body in the land. It would permit the enactment of fair employment practices and other civil rights legislation.

With the great expansion of government purchases in the present defense program, the Federal Government has taken administrative action to require firms awarded federal contracts to adopt and practice non-discrimination in their employment policies. On December 3, 1951, President Truman established the Committee on Government Contract Compliance. This committee was given the responsibility of developing procedures for securing compliance by Government contractors and subcontractors with provisions in their contracts forbidding discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin. The committee put into effect regulations requiring such compliance and, on January 16, 1953, made its report. Its major recommendations were:

- (1) Establishment of a specific agency of the Government to receive and investigate complaints of violations of the non-discrimination provision in Government contracts. Such an agency would, in addition, be responsible for preliminary efforts by

conciliation, mediation and persuasion, to effect compliance by contractors and it would also recommend necessary action to the contracting agencies.

(2) Establishment by each agency of the Government of administrative procedures to insure compliance with non-discrimination requirements in Government contracts.

(3) Revision and strengthening of the non-discrimination clause in Government contracts, including a requirement to post notices to inform employees of their rights.

While the life of the first committee expired with the issuance of its report, it is understood that President Eisenhower is contemplating the appointment of a new committee to deal with Government contract compliance.

In addition to Federal administrative action to effectuate non-discriminatory employment practices, state and local fair employment practice laws are in effect in twelve states, the Territory of Alaska and in 25 municipalities. Most of these laws contain enforcement provisions. Experience has shown, however, that, once enforcement powers are in the law, they seldom have to be utilized. Main reliance has been placed on persuasion and assistance to harmonious integration.

Progress has been made in the past year in a number of communities by voluntary effort as well as through action by local legislative bodies, administrative agencies and the courts in ending discrimination in housing, education, recreation, and in restaurants, hotels and theaters. Of special note was the Supreme Court decision forbidding discrimination in restaurants in the District of Columbia. In many communities, our affiliates have vigorously cooperated with civic, religious and anti-discrimination groups to secure the fullest measure of democratic rights and privileges for all persons.*

* "The Freedom We Defend" pro-

gram—(see 1953, beginning p. 315).

(Page 636) Gratifying progress has been made in recent years toward the adoption of more state laws prohibiting discrimination in employment. We urge all state federations of labor to give this subject urgent attention in their legislative work.

Segregation in Schools (1954, pp. 396, 556) Res. 65:

Whereas — The recent Supreme Court decisions outlawing the infamous "separate but equal" doctrine have reaffirmed our faith in the spiritual and moral attributes of our Constitution and have raised significantly our stature as a democratic force in the global conflict, and

Whereas — These decisions have substantiated in large measure the position of the American Federation of Teachers when they recognized the social and psychological implications of integration, the essential dignity of the individual and the trend of history toward desegregation, and

Whereas — The American Federation of Teachers foresaw the important role that teachers must play in this human drama when it filed *amicus curiae* briefs in 1950, 1952 and 1953 before the Supreme Court against the "separate but equal" educational dogma; when it ruled "separate but equal" locals illegal within its own ranks; and when it integrated its own Washington, D. C., locals, and

Whereas — Teachers in a democratic society if they are truly dedicated to the ideals of the Hebrew-Christian ethics and the preservation of our heritage of freedom, cannot regard themselves simply as passive instruments of the law, but must take an active part in assuring that this decision will continue to be upheld and not subverted in any way, therefore, be it

Resolved — That in the near future when the Supreme Court will hear arguments as to the most fea-

sible procedure to follow in carrying out its decisions, that the American Federation of Labor join the American Federation of Teachers in furnishing facts that will aid desegregation without compromise of principle, and, be it further

Resolved — That the American Federation of Labor nationally and through its affiliated bodies make it unmistakably clear that labor will insist on fair labor procedures so that no group of teachers or administrators will suffer.

(Pp. 395, 555) Res. 62:

Whereas — The United States Supreme Court declared, May 17, 1954, that segregated public schools are unconstitutional and its decision is now the law of the land, which imposes upon all good, loyal American citizens the moral obligation to help bring about desegregation, including administrative staffs, teachers and pupils, in the public schools in every community now plagued with this social evil, and

Whereas — This historic decision will have far-reaching definite and monumental significance in winning the confidence, faith and good will of the teeming millions of peoples of color all over the world in the profession and deed of our Democracy, and serve as an effective refutation to the propaganda of the "big lie" by the Kremlin about racial relations in our country, with a view to discrediting the United States in the councils of the world, and will, thereby, give strength, reality and integrity to the foreign policy of our country much more effectively than military might, therefore, be it

Resolved — That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, go on record as applauding, endorsing and supporting the aforementioned Supreme Court decision and

call upon the central bodies, state federations, international and national unions and federal locals to join hands with law-abiding government officials, business, church, fraternal, civic and professional groups and housewives, white and colored, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, in the local communities in the South in helping to bring about full and complete implementation of this decision, in the interest of a peaceful, orderly, methodical transition from the segregated public schools to the non-segregated pattern of public schools, with the realization and conviction that if our youth, black and white, can fight together and die together on the battle fields in every war involving our country to preserve our American way of life, its national sovereignty and honor, they can, by the same token, go to the same school together and study together, which democratic procedure is certain to make and keep our country great; for well did President Eisenhower state in his message to the recent convention in Chicago of the American Federation of Teachers, that: "No task can be greater than the promotion of democracy in education, for democracy without education, free government cannot survive; without democracy, education loses its significance."

(P. 303) Under the sub-title "Equality and Democratic Rights," the E. C. reported:

The past year has witnessed notable gains reinforcing and extending principles of equality and democracy. On May 17, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional. This decision has paved the way for early elimination of racial segregation in the nation's public schools in those states where it still prevails. The detailed procedure for carrying out this far-reaching change will be determined when the Supreme Court in the next session issues the decrees to guide

local and state officials in areas where segregation exists in conforming to the decision. Since the schools to which Negroes have been restricted have been greatly inferior to the schools for whites, the elimination of segregation in education will mean that in many areas children of all races will have equal educational opportunities for the first time.

In the school decision the Supreme Court overruled the "separate but equal" doctrine to which the Court has adhered since 1896. This historic decision will, therefore, result not only in the abolition of segregation in schools but it will hasten the ending of segregation in the use of all facilities publicly sponsored or supported with public funds.

Perhaps the most notable record of elimination of racial segregation in recent years has been made by the armed forces. Under executive directives, all branches of the armed services have shifted, in only a few years, from almost complete segregation to nearly 100 per cent integration. Despite the ominous warnings of foes of civil rights, this transformation has been accomplished smoothly and virtually without incident. Indeed, the experience with elimination of discrimination in the armed forces provides positive proof that equality and democratic rights can be established in our civilian life as well.

With the strong support and leadership of many of our local affiliates, notable advances have been made in a large number of local communities toward the elimination of discrimination and segregation. While the pace of progress is by no means equal everywhere, in community after community racial barriers have been removed in schools, public housing, places of amusement and recreation, local transit lines, hotels, theaters and restaurants. Recent progress toward racial equality in the District of Columbia has been particularly gratify-

ing because of the attention centered on Washington as the nation's capital and the capital of the free world.

(P. 319) The Supreme Court of the United States has given meaning to our law, but even more to our basic belief in freedom of each and in the dignity of every man. Segregation in our schools by law betrays our country's ideals and distorts our concepts of equal protection under the law. We have now a great opportunity and a grave responsibility to help implement these laws.

We recommend that a program of action be prepared to help effect a constructive approach through which to help communities meet their responsibilities as set forth in the decision of the Supreme Court on segregation in our nation's schools.

(Page 560) Your committee concurs in the report of the Executive Council and urges full support from all affiliated bodies in helping us as a nation realize the democratic goal which the decision envisages.

(1955, p. 200) In addition to the progress made toward elimination of segregation in the schools, noteworthy gains have been made during the past year in many communities toward removing discrimination in housing, theaters and other recreational facilities, hotels and restaurants. Our affiliates have played a leading role in efforts to establish patterns of equality in all aspects of community life.

In quite a number of cities, our affiliated central bodies have established special committees which have worked both in our own movement and in the community at large to eliminate any discriminatory policies and practices that may exist. These efforts by A. F. of L. unions and their members to eliminate discrimination have contributed to the extension and strengthening of equality of opportunity for all.

Our affiliates have made substantial contributions in many other ways to-

ward extending the principle of equality. In some areas where white and negro union members have previously had separate local unions, they have joined together in a single union. Often action by the international unions in support of the A. F. of L. policy against discrimination has been particularly effective in bringing about the amalgamation of such local unions.

A. F. of L. state federations and city central bodies have spearheaded the fight for state and local fair employment practices legislation. These efforts resulted in enactment of such laws this year in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Minnesota and in a number of municipalities. In all, 11 states and a considerable number of cities now have fair employment practices laws in effect.

In various localities, A. F. of L. city central bodies have sponsored meetings, institutes and conferences to discuss some of the knotty problems involved in eliminating discrimination. Such meetings have helped develop effective means for extending the principle and practice of equal opportunity in the trade union movement and in the community at large.

Union membership (1939, p. 230) Res. 33 called upon the A. F. of L. to go on record as calling upon all national and international unions and departments, to eliminate the color bar and all forms of discrimination which serve to exclude workers from membership on account of race or color; and directing the President and E.C. of the A. F. of L. to call upon the conventions of such national and international unions as have color clauses in their constitutions barring negro workers from membership, to create a committee to report on the question of the color bar and various forms of racial discrimination to their respective following conventions for discussion and abolition. The resolution was concurred in and "recommended to

the Executive Council in the spirit in which it is submitted."

(P. 458) Res. 23: The convention substituted the following statement of policy for the original wording as follows:

As a substitute for the WHEREASES and RESOLVES of the resolution, your Committee recommends that this convention reaffirm its past declarations for the abolition of all forms of discrimination on account of race or color, and call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, State and City Central Bodies, as well as Federal Local Unions, National and International Unions, and the various Departments of the American Federation of Labor, to express their definite moral opposition to the destructive practice of race discrimination, and to support legislation intended to secure for the Negro people full civil and political rights.

(1940, p. 507) The convention was asked to seek the establishment of an Interracial Committee to investigate cases of discriminations by trade unions against certain workers on account of race or color. The convention directed that affiliated national and international unions be requested "to give the most sincere consideration to policies which will assist in the elimination of any tendency to discriminate against workmen because of race, color, or creed". It was pointed out that the A. F. of L. in previous conventions declared its opposition to racial or religious discrimination within the trade union movement, or within the nation.

(1941, p. 475) Convention reaffirmed action taken by New Orleans 1940 convention in lieu of resolution introduced in 1941 which was substantially the same as the one approved in 1940.

(1946, pp. 549, 490)

Two resolutions were considered by the convention dealing with alleged discrimination against colored work-

ers in trade unions (1) calling for the abolishing of such racial discrimination and (2) authorizing a study of the charges made that negroes are discriminated against in trade unions. Both resolutions were unanimously adopted as follows:

Res. No. 5:

Whereas—Discrimination on account of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry in the trade union movement makes for division and division makes for weakness which robs the workers of the power to protect and defend their interests and rights against the ruthless attacks of organized business, and

Whereas—Discrimination based on race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry has been used by Hitler in Nazi Germany to create scapegoatism for the victimization of the Jews which helped to lead to the Second World War, resulting in the destruction of billions of dollars of property and millions of human beings, and

Whereas—The American labor movement must stand as the bulwark of democracy and freedom in the United States and give to America the spiritual and moral leadership of the democratic forces of the world, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn discrimination in all trade unions, international and local unions, central and state bodies, as a disruptive and destructive evil which gnaws at the heart of organized labor and go on record calling upon the international's locals and federal bodies to set up anti-discrimination committees for the purpose of teaching the membership, through discussion and the dissemination of literature, the dangers of discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin and ancestry to our American democratic system and world peace.

Res. No. 144:

Whereas—The following discriminatory practices are known to exist within the American Federation of Labor: (1) Restrictions excluding negroes from membership, (2) Limiting the right of negroes to skilled trades, (3) Preventing the fair upgrading of negroes according to their seniority rights, (4) Refusal of certain city central bodies to admit to membership locals composed of negro members, (5) Maintenance of separate seniority lists for members of different races, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor initiate immediately a study of the discriminatory practices of various unions for the purpose of abolishing such practices toward the ultimate end of breaking the pattern of separate unions for white and negro members, and be it further

Resolved—That recommendations resulting from this study be presented to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for action.

(1947, p. 632) Res. 23, unanimously adopted, reaffirmed the established position of the A. F. of L. in opposition to discrimination against membership in unions because of race, color, creed or national origin.

(Auxiliary Locals)—(1941, pp. 251, 536) A resolution was considered by the convention "condemning the auxiliary form of organization, since it denies workers, because of race, color, religious or national origin, the privilege of full fledged membership, in the national or international union, enjoyed by other workers, and that this convention, in harmony with sound trade union principles, calls upon the national and international unions that have auxiliary local unions to disestablish said auxiliary local unions."

During discussion it developed that many international unions have established auxiliary local unions, and that the membership of these auxiliary lo-

cals is not based upon any distinction or discrimination of race, color or creed, but are intended solely to increase the field of organization.

Attention was called to the fact that several organizations against whom there has been charges of discrimination because of color, have established auxiliaries for the purpose of bringing colored workers into the trade union movement.

As this resolution would condemn all such auxiliaries, the convention non-concurred.

(1944, pp. 44, 491, 495) Res. 23:

Whereas—Auxiliary unions deny workers, on account of race and color, the right in the form of a voice and vote, to participate in the making of the laws, constitution, general rules and policies that govern the national and international union, since they cannot attend and share on a basis of equality with other workers in the deliberations of the national conventions, and

Whereas — The auxiliary unions even deny the workers, on account of race and color, a voice and vote in the selection and designation of representatives who negotiate agreements concerning rates of pay and rules governing working conditions that vitally affect their work and life, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, Louisiana, November, 1944, go on record as condemning the auxiliary unions and call upon all international and national unions that have such devices to abolish said auxiliary unions on the grounds that they are undemocratic, unfair and against sound trade union principles, and constitute taxation without representation, which the A. F. of L. cannot consistently countenance and tolerate as it fights for the rights of wage earners from business and government.

Your committee is not aware of any

changes during the past year which should alter the positive declaration of last year's convention. We therefore recommend re-affirmation of the declaration of the Boston Convention, 1943.

(1946, p. 557) Res. 162:

Whereas—Auxiliary unions based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry are contrary to and destructive of sound trade union principles, practice and philosophy, un-American and undemocratic, and are a species of racism and fascism that constituted the basic causes of the Second World War which destroyed millions of human lives and billions in property, and

Whereas—Certain international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor still maintain auxiliary unions based upon color and race that deny their members voice and vote in the determination of policies affecting their wages and working conditions, resulting from the negotiation of agreements, or in the selection and election of officers that direct the affairs of the national or international organization, or delegates to the international or national conventions, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Chicago, October, 1946, go on record as condemning auxiliary unions as a form of taxation without representation, and call upon the national and international unions to abolish said auxiliary unions in the interest of justice and democracy to all of the members of unions, regardless of race, color, creed, country or ancestry.

In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends that the convention reaffirm the action of the Boston convention, 1943, and the New Orleans convention, 1944, on this subject.

Racketeering (also see: Gangsterism)

(1923, p. 511) The president of the A. F. of L. is commended, in cooperation with national and international unions for purging the labor movement of the rackets, racketeers and anti-union agitators and urge the continuation of these activities until the labor movement is entirely free of these undesirables.

(1933, p. 523) The A. F. of L. stands firmly and boldly against racketeering and gangsterism of all forms. It is the particular duty of the officers of the Federation and its E.C., and its organizers and other representatives, and the officers and members of all international and national unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies, local unions, and of all other divisions of the trade union movement, to use every means within their power to prevent the entrance of any form of racketeering or gangsterism into any part of the movement, and to purge it of any taint of this menace which may have entered into it in any part of the country.

The trade unions are an essential factor in our industrial, economic and social life. They are necessary to the social welfare of the community. They are the only means through which working people can effectively participate in the determination of their wages and working conditions. Through trade unions alone is it possible for the workers to be adequately represented at hearings and conferences relating to laws and public regulations which vitally affect their interests. The trade unions are the only medium through which the organized voice of the workers can be heard in a representative manner in the legislative halls of the city, state and nation. In a thousand ways, trade union organization, that is to say, the organization of workers of common or allied occupations for the purpose of discussing their common problems and needs, especially as relating to wages and working conditions, is of such tre-

mendous importance in the lives of the working people that it is difficult to imagine anything that can be more dangerous to the commonweal than the misuse or perversion of any of these organizations to purposes other than those for which they were brought into existence by their members. Through them, the worker finds the means of a happier and better life, that reaches not only into his place of employment, but into his home, to his wife and even to the very babe in the cradle. The progress he makes through trade union activities enhances his opportunity to secure for his children the education to which they are entitled. It enables him to participate more actively in the civic life of the community. It means for him greater freedom to make the sort of social contacts so necessary to the fulfillment of life. Higher wages, better sanitation, greater safety and shorter work time at his place of employment send him out to his home with more to give to his family, a stronger, cleaner, healthier man, with time to sit at his own fireside, to meet with his neighbors, to assume his place in the political life of the community, and to participate in all of its social activities.

There is certainly no place in any of these splendid organizations for gangsters or racketeers or others who would misuse the good name of the trade union movement, or any of its divisions. The E.C. and the affiliated national and international unions have, whenever necessary, taken action in particular cases of such a character as to leave no doubt as to the attitude of the A. F. of L. on this point. In view of the fact, however, that the question has been raised at this convention, your committee has deemed it wise to present this statement for approval here in order that no enemy of the movement may be in a position to say that the convention failed to reiterate the position of the A. F. of L. on this subject. The E.C. is

instructed to send copies of the declaration to all affiliated organizations for their information and guidance in order that action may be taken wherever and whenever necessary, through all available means, to protect and safeguard every division of our great trade union movement against any and every encroachment by racketeering or gansterism in any form or under any guise.

(1934, p. 629) Our trade unions are a most essential factor in the Nation's industrial economic and social life. They constitute the only practical method by which workmen can have a definite voice in the determination of their terms of employment and conditions of labor. Our trade unions constitute the only effective method through which the voice of Organized Labor can be heard in a representative capacity in connection with local, state and federal legislation. Our trade unions have been the source through which wage earners have secured a clearer understanding of their rights as free men, and through which they have secured practical knowledge of the problems which face them, and the most effective manner of dealing with them. They have been the source from which Labor found inspiration and encouragement. It is our trade-union movement which first demanded a free public school system, so that the workers' children would have full opportunity to secure an education. It is our trade union movement which has taught the principles of true brotherhood, of a proper recognition of the rights of others, and of the sacredness of contracts. In the industrial field our progress has been influenced largely through the practice of collective bargaining, a practice which required confidence in our integrity if employers are to freely accept this method of establishing industrial relations with their employes. All that is uplifting and ennobling in our trade union movement; all that we

have accomplished which has met with the approval of sincere, honorable men in all walks of life; all that we have done which is a part of the splendid record of achievements for higher standards of living, a higher level of citizenship; the announcing of principles, and the declaration of purpose, which have met with the approval of the great religious denominations of our country, and which has received legislative support in our state and federal legislative bodies, is stained and besmirched when racketeering and gangsterism in any of its forms secures an entry, whether masked or openly, in our trade union movement.

(1935, p. 589) The spread of racketeering, corruption and gansterism in any section of the labor movement seriously effects the whole movement and every part of it. This convention instructs the E.C. to initiate a determined campaign to eradicate every sign of racketeering, corruption and gangsterism in the labor movement, taking all necessary measures to overcome the resistance of those elements in the trade unions who are today tolerating and protecting these evils.

Compliance With Law

(1940, pp. 26, 64-65, 150, 504-507) A. F. of L. took definite stand for preservation of law and our form of government and American institutions. Autonomy of national and international unions over their administrative policies reaffirmed, but racketeering, gangsterism and lawlessness deplored in following statement of Executive Council:

The American Federation of Labor is an American institution definitely committed to the preservation of our form of government and our American institutions. From the moment when the American Federation of Labor was launched, it has sought through official pronouncements and the formation of administrative policies, to develop and promote respect

for and observance of the laws of the land. We seek to operate within the law and to secure economic betterment and higher standards of life and living for all working men and women through the utilization of lawful methods. That is the high aim and lofty purpose of the American Federation of Labor.

Unfortunately, we have found that men who have been influenced by criminal instincts have penetrated our movement and through a seizure of power and control have resorted to exploitation of helpless workers for purely selfish purposes. We are compelled to deal with the realities of the situation, to organize men and women as we find them, to accept into membership wage earners who are willing and qualified to join. The economic success of the workers in each industrial calling depends largely upon the percentage of workers who become organized and who assume union obligations. Wage earners are wage earners. We accept all qualified wage earners into membership in our unions. They in turn, exercising their democratic rights, elect their officers.

We seek to establish and maintain our unions upon a high moral, ethical and law-abiding basis. We disavow racketeering, gangsterism and disregard for law most emphatically and without reservation. These forces of lawlessness inflict great injury upon the membership of organized labor. We want none of it in our movement. We know that public opinion, which after all is a vital and controlling force in American life, will support organized labor when it is right, and will turn against it when it is wrong. We seek to keep the American Federation of Labor right because we are inspired by a sincere desire to lift the standard of life and living among working men and women to a higher level. As a voluntary organization, we realize that our progress and our achievements will depend very largely

upon the support of a healthy public opinion.

The millions of members who make up the American Federation of Labor are honest, sincere, law-abiding citizens. They exercise a wholesome influence in the promotion of the civic and moral betterment of each community. Invariably they take an active part in all movements launched in their respective communities designed to advance community and individual interests. Their interests must be protected and their welfare promoted.

In order to accomplish this high and lofty purpose the Executive Council calls upon all members of unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor to exercise all care and diligence in preventing exploiters and gangsters from securing official positions in their organizations and from exercising control over their administrative policies.

In dealing with this question, however, it must be pointed out that national and international unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor are autonomous organizations, exercising full and complete authority over their own administrative policies. Full and complete control is vested in the membership of these national and international unions to formulate and execute their policies, to adopt their own constitutions and to elect their own officers. All of this is in entire conformity with the voluntary as well as the democratic procedure established and followed by the American Federation of Labor since its formation over sixty years ago. The American Federation of Labor could not confer upon these organizations full and complete power to administer their own affairs and at the same time reserve to itself the right to exercise dictatorial control. Such attitude would be contradictory.

However, the Executive Council urges that the membership of national

and international unions select and elect men of character, of known honesty and integrity to official positions, and prevent those with criminal records from either holding official positions or from representing them in any capacity whatsoever.

(Pp. 504 - 507) Resolution submitted to convention authorizing A. F. of L. Executive Council to act in charges of racketeering involving officials of affiliated unions. Convention committee made lengthy and important report on policy in this matter as follows:

Resolution No. 32:

Whereas—Recent instances of racketeering in a few labor organizations by individuals in high places, who have exploited the labor movement for personal gain and aggrandizement have cast a reflection on the good name of the entire labor movement, and

Whereas—These instances have been seized upon by unscrupulous enemies of labor to discredit the cause of trade unionism and hamper its progress, and

Whereas — Racketeering provides hostile government officials with a convenient excuse for interfering with the legitimate activities of *bona fide* trade unions under the guise of prosecuting racketeers, and

Whereas—The integrity of the labor movement in the nation demands that it take prompt and effective action to eliminate from its ranks officers found to be corrupt or to have been convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor has hitherto lacked the constitutional authority to take effective action against affiliated organizations harboring such unscrupulous officers owing to the autonomous powers which such organizations have traditionally enjoyed, and

Whereas—It has long been recognized that a formula must be devised

of affiliated organizations, will enable the American Federation of Labor to remove from its ranks such individuals who degrade the labor movement. Therefore, be it

Resolved—1. That the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, or any agency authorized by it, have summary power to order the removal by any national or international union affiliated with it or federal local chartered by it, of any officer or officers convicted of any offense involving moral turpitude or conviction of using their official positions in their unions for personal gain, in all cases where such national or international unions or federal locals which, while preserving the autonomy have failed to do so;

2. That all constitutions of national and international unions affiliated with it and of federal locals chartered by it, contain appropriate provisions for adequate disciplinary action against such of their officers as may be charged with the above acts;

3. That whenever any union fails to institute proceedings in accordance with its constitution against any officers charged with the above acts, the A. F. of L. shall use its full moral force to compel the filing of charges and the holding of a hearing upon the same.

Your committee is in complete accord with that portion of the Executive Council's report which declares that it is our purpose to maintain a high moral standard in our trade union movement, and that we definitely disavow racketeering and gangsterism, and that we want none of it in our movement.

Your committee, without qualification, condemns the action of trade union officials who use their position of trust, confidence and high responsibility, for the purpose of exploiting those whom they represent, the employers and the public, for their private gain.

While such conduct is reprehensible, and in every way injurious to our trade union movement as a whole, we direct attention to the fact that a far larger number of men in the professions, in public life, and in business, have manifested criminal tendencies and have been found guilty.

We submit with pride the record of honesty and integrity of the thousands of trade union officials as a whole, either in local, state or national capacity. The record for integrity which they have established with their membership, with public officials and with employers, is a just source of gratification.

Those who make use of instances where trade union officials have erred, for the purpose of condemning the trade union movement and its leadership as a whole, are guilty of grave social harm.

There is a direct moral responsibility on the part of the trade union movement to keep its ranks free from every tinge of racketeering and gangsterism. The membership of our trade union movement, and the public, have the right to expect that the leaders of labor will be men of unquestioned personal integrity.

Your committee believes that declarations by this convention to be effective, must be accompanied by provisions which will place the American Federation of Labor in a position where the subject under consideration can be dealt with in an effective manner.

In so doing we must keep in mind that the American Federation of Labor is a federation of self-governing national and international unions who have been guaranteed their right to self-government, which includes their election and selection of officers and control over their conduct.

On the other hand the national and international organizations have the power and the obligation to protect the integrity of the trade union movement

by the enforcement of disciplinary action which will safeguard the good name of their own organization, and the reputation of the American Federation of Labor.

We direct attention to the well established policy of the American Federation of Labor in connection with the directly affiliated local organizations. Whenever charges have been filed against officers of local and federal labor unions and investigation has shown the charges well founded, such officers have been removed from their positions of trust, and when necessary to maintain the integrity of trade unionism, offending organizations have had their charter annulled.

In lieu of Resolution No. 32, and in support of the Executive Council's report, your committee recommends that all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be advised to adopt rules or amendments to their constitution or where no provision now prevails embodying appropriate provisions for adequate disciplinary action against any of their officers and/or members who may have been found guilty of betraying the trust reposed in them, or of having used their official position for personal and illegal gain, who have been or may be convicted of such acts which cast discredit upon the labor movement.

That whenever the Executive Council has valid reason to believe that a trade union official is guilty of any such offense, and the National or International Union in question seemingly evades its responsibility, the Executive Council shall be authorized to apply all of its influence to secure such action as will correct the situation.

The foregoing recommendations must not be construed as preventing any person from rehabilitating himself.

Attention is also called to a certain type of gangsterism which requires vigorous action on the part of the trade union movement.

There have been men of ill repute who, in some instances, have succeeded, through stealth and armed force, in securing control of existing local unions, or in organizing new ones, using the power they have acquired for illegal purposes. This is a most difficult evil to eradicate. It calls for the application of every means available.

(1941, pp. 69, 541, 663) The Executive Council possesses a keen consciousness of the responsibilities of the American Federation of Labor to the public, and the value of a sound, favorable public opinion. We assert with all the power at our command that it is the purpose of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor to establish and maintain the American Federation of Labor as a great American organization, a supporter of our free institutions and our democratic form of government. We are determined to maintain the basic principles of freedom and justice upon which the superstructure of our government rests. We yield to none in our respect for law, order and orderly procedure. . . .

The Executive Council disavows and repudiates with all the power at its command, lawlessness of any character, racketeering in any form, and exploitation wherever practiced. Such procedure is no part of the administrative policy of the American Federation of Labor. We will cooperate fully with the officers of the law in the efforts they put forth to impose proper punishment upon those found guilty of the commission of crimes and the violation of law. . . .

Respect for law, the law which governs the conduct of an officer and the law which governs their associate officers and members, is fundamental to the success of any great movement such as the American Federation of Labor. These laws cannot be transgressed at will when some who hate our movement feel they should be transgressed; they must be religiously observed even under the most trying

and difficult circumstances and conditions.

The members of the American Federation of Labor, who are also American citizens, call for the punishment of any man, whether he be an officer or member of the American Federation of Labor, for violation of law or for the commission of a crime. Responsibility for the punishment of law violators rests with the officers of the law and with those charged with the duty of enforcing the law. All we ask is that those charged with the commission of crimes be given a fair trial as provided for in the laws of the land. It is inconceivable that when a representative of Labor is charged with the crime of extortion that the membership of the organization who are the victims of said extortion would tolerate or condone such action. Those who are exploited cannot willingly become the victims of the exploiter.

The Executive Council calls upon the officers and members of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to be vigilant and to guard against the employment of those who for selfish purposes seek to utilize the labor movement for the sole purpose of promoting their material welfare. Insist and demand that the representatives of organized labor shall possess honesty and integrity of the highest degree and shall administer the affairs of the organization in accordance with the laws of the organization and in accordance with the laws of the land.

The following strong statement presented by the convention committee was unanimously adopted:

The founders of the American Federation of Labor were trade unionists, affiliated with their respective organizations. For the purpose of strengthening their organizations and the promotion of the welfare of their members, they determined to bring into existence a federation of trade unions. They considered the form and struc-

ture which would be most effective in accomplishing their purposes. They determined to adopt the form and structure of the Federal Government as outlined in the Constitution of the United States.

They determined that each National and International Union, affiliating with the Federation, shall be a sovereign, autonomous organization. They reserved to each National and International Union all powers to deal with their internal affairs; manage their properties, deal with every problem affecting the officers, the local unions, and the members of such National or International Union. They granted to the Federation only such powers as were expressly delegated in the written Constitution then adopted and as amended from time to time.

These autonomous National and International Unions have deemed it wise to maintain the form and structure borrowed from the Federal Constitution. Thus the power and authority to discipline officers, locals and members of National or International Unions for wrong-doing, has been reserved to the National and International Unions. By virtue of such reservation there is no power in the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to exercise disciplinary authority for any offense committed by an officer or member of a National or International Union.

As the report of the Executive Council points out, limitation of authority in this respect is identical with the constitutional limit placed on the President of the United States and his Cabinet. The President of the United States cannot discipline an official of any state or municipality for any wrong or violation of state or municipal law committed by such officer of a state or municipality. The framers of the American Constitution concluded that this reservation of power to the states was consistent with democratic institutions. It determined that

a contrary policy would lead to dictatorship. So, with the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor they, too, adopted this procedure of democratic government.

The National and International Unions have established and maintained clean and honorable labor organizations given over to the promotion of benefits and interests of its members. That is manifested by the thousands of agreements with employers providing for fair wages, limited hours and improved working conditions for the members of these unions. It is further manifested in the hundreds of state and national legislative enactments establishing the best working standards for workers anywhere in the world.

However, in organizations, the membership of which totals more than five millions of persons, there will be found a few dishonest individuals. These individuals may be ordinary members or may be persons in high office. The dishonest individual and the law-breaker is not confined to any particular class or position, nor to any particular institution. They will be found among the membership of Bar Associations, Medical Associations, Fraternal Organizations, Religious Organizations, and in Trade Unions. Human propensities, whether for good or bad, are not limited to class, race, creed, color or institution. Wrongdoers and violators of the law have been found among presidents of Bar Associations, of Medical Societies, of Stock Exchanges, bankers, governors of states, judges, and even Cabinet members. Considering however, the fact that labor organizations accept into membership numbers which far exceed the membership of most other organizations, or institutions, those officers or members of trade unions who have offended against the law are, by comparison, considerably less than those found in other organizations or institutions.

But just as these other organiza-

tions and institutions do not condone any dishonesty or violation of law on the part of officers and members, likewise the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor condemn these practices. The affiliates of the American Federation of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor itself, have condemned the racketeer, the gangster and the criminal in most vigorous terms, whether he is in the ranks of labor or in the ranks of any other organization or institution.

Where proof exists of violation of the public laws, the unions themselves have asked that prosecution be instituted against the violators. Where members have violated the constitution and rules of the organization, disciplinary measures have been taken against offenders by the tribunals of such trade unions.

It may be well to observe, however, that courts have not in all instances been cooperative with trade unions which have sought to impose punishment upon union officials and members who have violated the laws of the union. It has proved discouraging to organizations which have tried and disciplined an officer, or member, for violation of union laws, to find that the court has reversed the action of the union and reinstated the offender. Likewise courts have at times injected themselves into the internal affairs of organizations, as the result of which unions which have taken action on these matters through their own tribunals have been subjected to long, troublesome and expensive litigation in order to sustain their own action.

Although the American Federation of Labor has no authority to discipline officers of International Unions, or locals affiliated with Internationals, or the membership affiliated with such locals, it has nevertheless called upon National and International Organizations to take prompt and decisive action, when men of this kind are found, to discipline offenders within their organizations and to rid themselves of

criminals, racketeers, dishonest persons and violators of law. The law requires that regardless of the position in the union of the person accused and regardless of the character or magnitude of the accusation, charges must be preferred and a hearing accorded the accused. A number of International Unions, which have in the past year held conventions, have revised and amended their constitutions so as to vest specific power in the general officers and boards to prefer such charges, to conduct such trials, to take over local unions and appoint receivers for them, and to make mandatory upon local unions their duty to expel any officer or member who has been found guilty of crime or serious wrong-doing which tends to bring dishonor on the union. It is gratifying to the American Federation of Labor to observe this ready response on the part of these Internationals to the request of the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor again calls upon all National and International Unions to re-examine their constitution, laws and rules, and at the earliest opportunity amend the same where amendments are necessary, so that prompt and diligent action may be taken against locals, officers and members who are guilty of offenses against public laws, and the laws of the National or International Union.

The anti-labor columnists and the newspapers which publish their articles, do not promote public welfare by condemning all organized labor for the misdeeds of a few officers and members. In their vicious and misleading attacks upon the entire institution of organized labor they harm the interests of the public as well as labor, because by such malicious and untruthful attacks they encourage anti-labor forces in State Legislatures and the Congress to endeavor to pass legislation which would effectively destroy the free democratic institutions of organized labor.

Labor has always sought to maintain a clean house. With the surge and influx of new members since the end of the depression, the problem of preventing the entrance and activities of the racketeer and the criminal, has become of utmost importance. Millions of men and women who belong to trade unions will not tolerate the racketeer, the gangster, and the criminal in their midst. They will eliminate him, and have eliminated him. Insofar as public prosecutions are concerned, the law vests that function only with the public authorities. No one more than the labor movement itself, understands the value of public confidence. The American Federation of Labor appreciates the necessity for National and International Unions and their affiliates to maintain that confidence by elimination of the racketeer and the criminal from their ranks.

Therefore, the American Federation of Labor once again calls upon its affiliates to take prompt action whenever racketeering, wrong-doing, or other crime is engaged in by any of its officers or members, which tends to bring dishonor on the trade union movement. To that end the American Federation of Labor will give every aid and support to its affiliated organizations.

Insofar as the American Federation of Labor is concerned with respect to those directly affiliated organizations over which there has been delegated to it the power to discipline officers and members of such unions and to discipline such unions, the American Federation of Labor has acted with promptness and decisiveness. Members have been ordered expelled, officers removed, and charters revoked when, after trial, an offender has been found guilty.

In order to further the program of wiping out racketeering and crime wherever it may exist, the American Federation of Labor directs all central bodies to refuse the seating of

any delegate from a union who has been convicted of serious wrong-doing which reflects dishonor on the trade union movement; and such delegate, if convicted after being seated, shall be unseated by such central labor body.

Hobbs Act—(1943, pp. 91, 300) The Hobbs bill (H. R. 653) passed the House of Representatives April 9, 1943, but is pending in the Senate. It repeals the present so-called "anti-racketeering Act" of 1934 and enacts a new law dealing with interferences with interstate commerce by "robbery" and "extortion." The Hobbs bill makes it a felony, punishable by 20 years imprisonment, or \$10,000 fine, or both, for any person in any way or degree to obstruct, delay, or affect commerce by robbery or extortion, or to conspire or attempt to conspire, or to participate in any attempt to do so. The American Federation of Labor offered an amendment to this bill so as to preserve the exemptions accorded Labor in the Clayton Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Railway Labor Act. Although the amendment proposed was not adopted in the form submitted, as a result of the efforts of the American Federation of Labor a proviso was inserted in the bill to the effect that it shall not be construed so as to modify or affect the labor provisions in the Clayton Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Railway Labor Act, or the National Labor Relations Act.

The Hobbs bill also contains a specific provision making it a crime for any person knowingly and willfully to interfere with, obstruct, or retard the orderly transportation of persons or property in interstate or foreign commerce. Here again the penalties are \$10,000 fine or imprisonment for not more than 20 years, or both.

The bill is avowedly anti-Labor. The American Federation of Labor will continue its efforts to defeat its passage in the Senate.

A. F. of L. Counsel reported the following:

The American Federation of Labor undertook to propose an amendment to this bill which would have preserved the exemptions accorded labor in the Clayton Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Railway Labor Act. Although the amendment proposed by the American Federation of Labor was not adopted in its precise form, another amendment was adopted to the effect that the Hobbs Bill shall not be construed so as to modify or affect the labor provisions in the Clayton Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Railway Labor Act or the National Labor Relations Act. Not only were the efforts of the American Federation of Labor rewarded by this amendment which makes the bill considerably less harmful than it was when first introduced, but the opposition to it has had the effect of causing it to lie dormant in the Senate. It is a vicious bill, and of course, ought not to be passed.

(1943, p. 518) As pointed out in the Executive Council's report, the Hobbs' Bill seeks to repeal the present so-called "anti-racketeering act" and substitutes a new law making it a felony, punishable by 20 years' imprisonment, or \$10,000 fine, or both, to interfere by "robbery" and "extortion" with interstate commerce. The Federation sought to defeat the passage of this bill. When enactment seemed inevitable, the Federation sought an amendment. Although the amendment submitted was not adopted in precise form, in substance, it was adopted thus rendering the bill less harmful. The House passed the bill and sent it to the Senate where it is now pending. The Federation is opposed to this bill and will exert all efforts to defeat it.

(1954, pp. 417, 490) Res. 124:

Whereas — The legislative history of Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1951, popularly known as the "Hobbs Act,"

shows conclusively that the Act was intended by Congress to curtail and render more difficult the activities of predatory criminal gangs, of the Kelly and Dillinger types, and

Whereas — That legislative history further shows that Congress did not intend that the Act should be used to hamper, interfere with or restrain in any way legitimate activities of labor unions, and their officers and agents directed toward proper, union objectives, and

Whereas — Notwithstanding such legislative history and intent, union officers and members have been indicted and/or convicted under the Hobbs Act for engaging in activities which had always been considered as being in furtherance of proper union aims and objectives, and

Whereas — A glaring example of the misinterpretation of the purposes of said Act is *United States v. Kemble*, 198 F. 2d 889, in which one Aaron Kemble, business agent for Teamsters Local 676 of Camden, New Jersey, was indicted, prosecuted and convicted under said Act, because, in the exercise of his duties as such business agent, he sought to induce the employment by a trucking concern of a competent union helper to do the unloading of said truck, and in so doing uttered a threat to the driver and someone let air out of his tires, and

Whereas — In said prosecution, the Government conceded that no inference could be drawn that either the union or Kemble was interested in "protection money" from the trucking concern, but took the position, concurred in by the majority of the Court, that even though the purposes of Kemble were to secure work for members of his union, he would still be guilty under the Hobbs Act if the demand was accompanied by any violence or threats, and

Whereas — In the majority opinion issued in the Kemble case, it is inferred that in proper cases there

might be a violation of the Hobbs Act if coercion is involved in the normal demand for wages as compensation for services desired by or valuable to the employer; for example, a strike for higher wages, and

Whereas — In a separate dissenting opinion issued in the Kemble case, Judge McLaughlin pointed out that the prosecution arose from a reputable union's genuine attempt to organize a trucking corporation, and that the sole purpose of Kemble was to procure work for capable union men, whereas the Hobbs Act was directed at blackmail and racketeering, and he further held that if violence occurred in connection with legitimate union activities, such violence or other misconduct should be left to state supervision, and

Whereas — In a separate dissenting opinion issued in the same case, Judge Staley pointed out that if the majority opinion were sound, a union and its officers and members, who struck in violation of a no-strike clause or who were engaged in a strike and picketing for any unlawful purpose, could be indicted, prosecuted and convicted under the Hobbs Act because any strike constitutes the use of force to obtain property of another, and

Whereas — Such construction of the Hobbs Act as was made by the majority court in the Kemble case encourages indictments and prosecutions of union officers, engaged in the pursuit of what have long been considered as proper union objectives, so that if such prosecutions and indictments are unchecked, it will probably result in officers and members of labor unions being reluctant to engage in any strikes or picketing where interstate commerce is involved, because of the possibility that the purpose thereof may be declared to be unlawful and because violence might ensue as tempers flare, now, therefore, be it

Resolved — That this convention

declare that it deprecates the interpretation of the Hobbs Act which has been made by our courts in cases such as the Kemble case, and calls upon Congress to so amend the Hobbs Act as to remove any possibility that officers or members may be indicted, and/or convicted under said Act for activities directed at what have traditionally been considered as proper union objectives, and that if violence, threats, coercion or intimidation occur in connection with attempts to carry out said proper union objectives, that regulation and prosecution thereof be left to the states under existing state statutes.

Resolution approved and referred to the officers of the A. F. of L. and the Comm. on Legislation for further action.

Radio (also see: Public Relations) (1925, p. 316) The E.C. was directed to investigate the feasibility of entering into arrangements with existing and future broadcasting stations for the transmission of Labor's message by radio through and under the direction of Organized Labor.

(1926, p. 59) The Atlantic City convention recommended that the E.C. investigate the feasibility of broadcasting Labor's message by radio under the direction of Organized Labor.

Letters were directed to unions in all cities in the United States and Canada where broadcasting stations are located.

While the replies to these communications were not numerous, the responses that were received indicated live interest.

In Chicago, Labor has established a radio broadcasting station. This radio station is administered and operated by a corporation composed and controlled by Labor representatives.

Talks by representative Labor men over the radio were reported from all parts of the country.

Under the law enacted in 1912 the

consent of the Department of Commerce and the assignment of a wave length were the necessary steps before the operation of a radio broadcasting station, but decisions by two courts as well as by an opinion of the Attorney General have nullified this.

On February 5, 1923, the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia held that the duty imposed by the law of 1912 to issue radio broadcasting licenses gave the Secretary of Commerce no discretionary power over such issuance and further held that the duty of naming some wave length only was mandatory upon him. This wave length was to be one which would result in the least possible interference with other stations and the fixing by the Secretary of Commerce of a wave length was but merely a restriction upon the license.

Since this decision the Secretary of Commerce had refused to assign wave lengths for various applicants for licenses, but in April of this year the Federal District Court for the Northern Division of Illinois has held that the 1912 law conveyed no grant of power to the Secretary of Commerce to establish regulations regarding the licensing of broadcasting stations, since such regulations were contained in the 1912 law itself and that Congress had accordingly withheld from the Secretary of Commerce the power to prescribe additional regulations.

Shortly after this decision the Department of Commerce asked the Attorney General for a definition of its powers and duties. The opinion rendered held that the Department was without power to enforce or deny the use of particular wave lengths or to fix the power of individual broadcasting stations.

Use of such wave lengths is a matter to be determined by the individual stations, pending subsequent legislation by Congress. While an applicant for license must select a wave length, he is not obliged to use it solely, but may use any other wave lengths, ex-

cept between 600 and 1600 meters, reserved for government stations.

Anyone may now obtain a radio broadcasting license, and the license will show the wave length selected.

There is already an intimation abroad that stations using a heretofore exclusive wave length, have secured a proprietary interest therein, and that an action at law for damages, and an injunction with damages at equity will lie. This is also claimed as regards any station, which is interfered with by another station appropriating a higher and interfering wave length.

Congress will consider legislation changing this condition in the next session. Meanwhile the industry is controlled by voluntary agreements between stations.

Such will be our endeavors when this subject comes again before Congress.

The enactment of legislation providing for the regulation of broadcasting raises very fundamental issues as to the bases upon which franchises should be granted.

Radio service is a new medium of communication. Freedom of speech is involved in a new relationship. The radio is already an important force in formulating public opinion and it is of the utmost importance that there be equality of opportunity for all. It is evident there must be administrative control over broadcasting and that the control must be in the federal government. It is equally obvious that this administration should be safeguarded against arbitrary decisions and policies not in accord with public interests. The time limitations on franchises is another important issue. The possibility of vested rights in licenses or wave lengths involves definition of property rights in either.

(P. 247) The need for safeguarding freedom of speech over the radio is urgent. Danger of any control which would involve a limitation of this

freedom is a serious matter in a medium of communication of such far-reaching influence. At present although all broadcasting stations must obtain a license to operate from the Secretary of Commerce, there are no restrictions as to wave length used due to legal situations following court decisions and inaction by Congress. The wave length is now regulated only by voluntary agreements between stations. It is intimated, however, that certain stations have obtained a proprietary interest in their respective wave lengths and that they may take legal action against anyone using a wave length interfering with them. This matter represents a possible danger which should be guarded against by legislation.

Congress is to consider legislation regulating broadcasting privileges at its next session. All citizens should work to promote such legislation as will safeguard free speech over the radio. Practical measures which will act toward this end are: Limitation of the franchise to short periods of time such as one year; Federal control over the radio.

The E.C. is directed to study the specific problems involved in this matter in order to promote legislation which will be effective in exercising needed control.

(P. 247) The 45th annual convention of the A. F. of L. endorses the Chicago Federation of Labor broadcasting station and referred the subject matter of radio broadcasting station to the E.C. for further consideration and action. In so doing attention is directed to a tender made by the Chicago Federation of Labor to the A. F. of L.

(1928, p. 115) Under the terms of Resolution No. 80, as adopted by the Los Angeles convention, an investigation of the entire field of radio broadcasting was authorized. To have attempted to investigate the broad field of radio activity in all its phases

would have been impossible and would have resulted in opinion half formed and based upon incomplete conclusions. The E.C. has, however, watched with increasing interest the developments which have taken place in this field.

It realizes the vast assistance which radio stations owned, maintained and operated by the labor movement, can be to trade unionists and to the country at large. This assistance can be especially helpful in presenting Labor's position and aims before the general public. It can also be utilized to familiarize our movement with the latest developments within our own ranks and can be very greatly used for the transmission of addresses to our membership from prominent trade union officers. We oppose and will oppose any movement which will tend to weaken our position in this field and will assist in every way the extension of trade union activities in the radio world. The vast growth of nation-wide hook-ups in the radio field may cause some annoyance and some thought of monopoly of the air, but in this practical day there is no other way by which the country as a whole can be reached for their enjoyment, enlightenment and education. It is true that there may be some hardships worked, but this is inevitable and with the systematic development of radio activity, coupled with proper functioning by the Federal Radio Commission, this will be reduced to a minimum.

Radio broadcasting is properly a part of interstate commerce. As such it should be susceptible to those regulations as are applicable to it. Again, the Federal Radio Commission is clothed with power to prevent abuses and to cure them where they exist.

(P. 214) There is going on at the present time a fierce struggle for desirable wave lengths. The desirable wave lengths or frequencies available for broadcasting in the U.S. are ex-

tremely limited. Great business and corporate interests have put in their claims. They are vigorously contesting for the right to use the limited broadcasting field for commercial purposes.

Only one broadcasting station in the U.S. is owned by and operated in the interest of organized labor. That is station WCFL, owned and operated during the past three years by the Chicago Federation of Labor, a regularly chartered city central branch of the A. F. of L.

In the recent reallocation of wave lengths, time and power, by the Federal Radio Commission, that commission assigned to station WCFL a wave length which does not permit of broadcasting from Chicago after eight o'clock in the evening at this time of the year, and also reduced its power to 1000 watts. The effect of this action of the Radio Commission is not only to restrict the area over which WCFL can be heard, thus treating the station as though it were purely local in interest and usefulness, but also to keep it off the air entirely during most of the evening, which is the only time that persons employed during the day have the leisure to use their receiving sets.

In order to give the working people of the nation the service to which they are entitled from this station, it must have an exclusive national channel with unlimited time and ample power. An application for such exclusive channel, full time and the necessary power for station WCFL is now pending before the Federal Radio Commission.

In its broadcasting program, the station is earnestly endeavoring to carry out the principles and policies of the A. F. of L. The officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor, including those who are actively engaged in the management of station WCFL, have requested the advice of the A.

F. of L. in relation to the program of the station and assistance in the efforts being made to secure the necessary allocation of wave length, time and power.

The President of the A. F. of L. is authorized and instructed to appoint a standing committee of such number or to select some person or persons as he may deem wise to advise station WCFL in relation to matters affecting organized labor in connection with the programs of that station, such committee, person, or persons to report at regular intervals, and to take such further steps and enter into such further understandings as will insure the full observance of labor's ideals, principles and policies enunciated from time to time by the A. F. of L., and carry labor's constructive, beneficial and humanitarian voice to all parts of our land and into every home.

Every effort should be made to secure from the Federal Radio Commission the desired allocation of wave length, time and power, and that the officers of the A. F. of L. be therefore authorized to render such assistance in this respect as may be in their power, and further, that the officers of all national and international unions be likewise urged to assist in the efforts to secure the necessary allocation and permits from the Federal Radio Commission for station WCFL.

It is further recommended that in event these efforts fail, steps be taken to bring the entire matter to the attention of the Congress of the United States. It is understood that the station will continue to adhere strictly to the principles and policies of the A. F. of L.

(P. 254) Radio broadcasting presents new potentialities for publicity, so great as to challenge the imagination. It is a medium through which all sorts of propaganda may be carried directly into the privacy of the very homes of the people in a great

number of ways. The advertising methods now used in radio broadcasting are of such a character as to indicate that a new technique is being formed for the development of public opinion. Musical entertainments, stories and jokes, as well as speeches, are being used as a means of leading the thoughts of the listeners toward various objectives. There is grave danger that this great field of publicity may be placed under the control of a few corporations which will then be able to dictate what may or may not be broadcast and thus materially affect public opinion to suit the pleasure of such corporations. Steps must be taken to make certain that this great avenue of publicity will not be closed to organized labor.

(1929, pp. 103, 291) Unless Labor finds a way to get its message on the air, it will be excluded from what has come to be a method of communication that now rivals the press. Just as the Labor Movement must have the recognized right to own, publish and control its papers and magazines, limited in circulation only by the financial means of the trade unions and the willingness of the people to subscribe and read, so it must obtain and hold the right to own, operate and control its own broadcasting facilities, limited only by its financial and managerial ability to maintain the necessary stations and the willingness of the listeners to "tune in." Organized Labor, therefore, should be allotted at least one clear full-time air channel or wave-length, with the right to use high-power broadcasting apparatus. It is to secure this allotment and to establish this right for the use of the trade union movement that Station WCFL is endeavoring to secure the necessary time, wave-length and power rights. In this effort WCFL is receiving, and should continue to receive, the support of the A. F. of L. and the affiliated organizations.

For the same reason that the repre-

sentatives of the Labor Movement and its various divisions take advantage of opportunities to present the cause of Labor through the medium of the public press, they should seek opportunities to send the message of Organized Labor to radio listeners through whatever broadcasting station may be available for the purpose. Arrangements for broadcasting programs are not matters to be undertaken without committees to plan and carry them through. Your committee is in full accord with the warning that, if Organized Labor does not take the initiative to secure for itself proper time on the radio, Labor will be practically excluded from the field. In the establishment and maintenance of Station WCFL, the Chicago Federation of Labor has taken the initiative in the effort to secure full time on the air for Labor broadcasting purposes.

(P. 291) The A. F. of L. endorses the efforts of Broadcasting Station WCFL to secure the unlimited use of a radio frequency, with adequate power and time of operation, in order that it may serve the Labor Movement and the general public by the promulgation of the principles and policies and ideals of Organized Labor. Therefore we respectfully call the attention of the Congress of the United States, and the other responsible officials of our Government, to the facts hereinabove set out, and that we urge such action on their part as will protect the interests of the American people in the field of radio broadcasting.

(P. 293) The A. F. of L. protests against any effort to repeal or to weaken the anti-trust provisions of the present Radio Law of the U.S. and it petitions Congress to strengthen these anti-trust sections of the law and demand their enforcement by the Federal Radio Commission and the Department of Justice of the U.S.

(1931, p. 344) The possibilities of the medium of the radio in the field of adult education is unlimited. Perhaps

no event since the invention of the printing press has equalled the possibilities of the radio in education. Labor early recognized this new medium in the creation of WCFL in Chicago. But Labor also recognized and has utilized the facilities placed at its disposal from time to time by the national chains and the local stations.

The recent creation of the National Advisory Council for the Radio in Education is a significant trend in the adult education movement. The endeavor of this Council to secure a contact with Labor through the Workers' Education Bureau is but another indication of the recognition which the Bureau has won. The further offer of the Council to arrange a broadcast of the record of Labor's contribution to the public welfare in various fields of endeavor over a nationwide hookup should be a service of the first importance.

(P. 469) The A. F. of L. hereby petitions the Congress of the U.S. to appoint a joint committee of Senators and Representatives to investigate the Federal Radio Commission's allocations of channels, wave lengths, and radio facilities, and to inquire into the administration and interpretation of the radio laws of the U.S. by the Federal Radio Commission and recommend to the Congress of the U.S. appropriate legislation whereby Organized Labor will receive its proper share of the radio channels, wave lengths, and facilities equal to that of any other firm, company, corporation or organization.

(1934, p. 611) The E.C. is directed to prepare dramatization of Labor history, statements of the principles and purposes of the A. F. of L., organization addresses and other addresses dealing with the problems of Labor for electrical transcription so that these will be available to all broadcasting stations. Also to petition the Federal Communications Commission so that fifty (50) per cent of

all radio facilities will be allocated to organizations or to associations operating upon a non-profit basis and that should it become necessary to accomplish this purpose that adequate legislation be introduced in Congress.

(P. 617) The A. F. of L. unanimously approves the application of WCFL for an assignment by the Federal Communications Commission of a clear channel of 970 kilocycles, with unlimited time and with power equal to the maximum power assigned to any channel in the U. S. The convention also commended the courage, persistence and constructive, farsighted policy which led the Chicago Federation of Labor to establish station WCFL.

(1935, p. 795) Available information is conclusive that the ownership and control of radio broadcasting is rapidly passing into the hands of the daily newspaper publishers. There being but two avenues by which the great mass of our citizens can be reached, your committee believes that to permit a monopolized private control of either or both methods would constitute a serious menace to political democracy and the welfare of our people. Newspaper publishing and radio broadcasting are rapidly passing under a more centralized control. While the Constitution guarantees a free press it is observed only in maintaining freedom of expression for those who own and operate newspapers and those whose utterances the publishers desire to admit to their columns.

Radio and newspapers and all sources of public information should be freed from monopolistic control and operation. The President of the A. F. of L. is hereby instructed to investigate the subject and cause to be prepared and introduced in the Congress during its next session, legislation which will make effective the purpose declared in this report.

(1936, p. 131) Section 302 of the Radio Act of 1934, providing for di-

viding the United States into zones for licensing broadcasting stations, was repealed by Congress. The Radio Communications Commission is authorized to make such distribution of licenses, frequencies, hours of operation, and of power among the several states and communities as will be fair and equal. Owing to the fact that in some zones there were less than the number provided by the law, it was considered that it should be repealed. The change will be of great benefit to the listeners of WCFL broadcasts as it will give WCFL a 50,000 watt station to permit its service to reach the entire United States. The A. F. of L. supported the change.

(P. 489)) The A. F. of L. hereby petitions the Congress of the U.S. to pass the necessary legislation to assign or to have assigned the channel of 970 kilocycles as a cleared national channel with unlimited time and with power equal to the maximum power assigned to any channel in the U. S. to the owner or owners of the broadcasting station or stations approved by the recognized labor organizations which, in the opinion of the Commission are most representative of Labor interests of the U. S. and not to issue any license or licenses for the use of such frequency except with the written consent of such so recognized labor organization to any other person, association, corporation, organization or co-partnership. The E.C. is authorized and directed to take any and all steps necessary or advisable to effectuate the intent of this resolution and the action by this convention recommended in furtherance thereof.

(1938, p. 501) The A. F. of L. will do all in its power through its various national and international unions and other organizations to attract advertisers to Radio Station WCFL in Chicago. (1939, p. 495) Reaffirmed.

Labor Day—(1944, p. 535) Res. 58:

Whereas, Labor Day programs are

held in hundreds of cities throughout the country, and

Whereas, Labor Day committees often encounter difficulty in securing suitable guest speakers for the occasion, and

Whereas, A nationally known labor leader speaking on a radio network could be tuned in by many assembled Labor Day groups all over the country; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the City of New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20, 1944, go on record in favor of establishing a procedure of Labor Day radio broadcasts on a sectional or nation-wide basis at convenient hours of the day so that Labor Day assemblages throughout the country could tune in to listen to prominent speakers of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee is in accord with the purpose to secure the widest possible use of the radio in connection with its activities. Your committee calls attention to the widespread use which has already been made of the radio by the American Federation of Labor and by the officers of the affiliated International Unions and the Departments of the A. F. of L. It believes that still further use should be made of the radio, not only on Labor Day, but throughout the year. With this comment your committee believes no further action on the resolution is necessary.

Radio Advertising—(1933, pp. 111, 452) The 1932 convention referred resolution No. 53 for investigation. It provided for an investigation of radio advertising and if possible to a secure legislation prohibiting the long advertising lectures and speeches over the radio of the country.

A thorough investigation of this subject has been made. In the first place, the most persistent advertisers over the radio are the largest advertisers in the newspapers and maga-

zines. These include automobiles, cigars and cigarettes, tooth paste, ginger ale and many other articles.

The advertising broadcasts are necessarily accompanied by music. Actors and actresses furnish a program. Should advertising be eliminated or restricted to an extent that it would not be practical thousands of musicians, actors, and other employees would be thrown out of employment. If radio advertising was prohibited it would be necessary for the broadcasting stations to secure funds from some other source to carry on their broadcasts. In some countries where the broadcasting stations are controlled by the government a tax is placed upon receiving sets. Naturally, that would be the main source of revenue that would have to be raised in the U. S. if advertising was prohibited or restricted.

There are 12,000 full-time employees of the broadcasting stations of the U.S. This does not include the thousands of artists and musicians employed by program sponsors and by the networks. The annual payroll is approximately \$23,000,000. It is doubtful if radio advertisers have materially decreased newspaper or magazine advertising. It is true that many newspaper publishers in asking for reductions in wages use this as an argument.

New inventions cause many changes in old established industries. This, of course, raises objections from those displaced. But were it not for the telephones, graphophones, electricity, automobiles and radios there would be many more idle in the U.S.

Progress cannot be stopped. Inventions will continue in greater number than before. Labor's solution of this problem is reducing the hours in the workday and workweek at adequate wages. There is no other remedy and Labor uses every effort to organize the wage earners in order that they can secure a comfortable living and more leisure. If the five-day week and

six-hour day were in effect there would not be as many idle workers in the United States.

Raiding (also see: Unity in the Labor Movement—Internal Disputes Plan, Labor Unity Efforts (1942)

C.I.O. (1941, pp. 254, 627) The E.C. reported on the increase in raiding on the part of C.I.O. and included the following statement:

When the first step was taken to form the C.I.O., its leaders and sponsors proclaimed that the C.I.O. was launched for the purpose of organizing the workers in the mass-production and unorganized industries of the nation. Many of its leaders protested vehemently when they were charged with launching a dual movement for the purpose of raiding already established American Federation of Labor unions. Neither the facts nor the record made bear out the original declaration of the C.I.O. or the protests herein referred to as being made by its leaders. Instead, the C.I.O. has raided local unions established by national and international unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor in the building and construction trades, metal trades, and other fields. It has raided organizations directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor in miscellaneous industries. In its efforts to raid *bona fide* American Federation of Labor unions it has, through its representatives, pleaded with employers to recognize and employ members of the C.I.O. instead of the American Federation of Labor, and at a much lower rate of pay than was provided for in agreements negotiated between employers and American Federation of Labor unions. Such action is reprehensible, infamous, and violative of all the principles of the organized labor movement. It is bad enough when C.I.O. representatives raid *bona fide* American Federation of Labor unions, but it is infinitely worse when said representatives offer to supply

C.I.O. workers to employers at a lower rate of pay than American Federation of Labor members are receiving, in order to wipe out and destroy American Federation of Labor unions which have been firmly established as functioning, collective bargaining units for many years.

The American Federation of Labor is certain that the workers of the nation will refuse to approve, countenance or support the raiding policy of the dual movement and its offer to employers to supply men at a lower rate of pay than American Federation of Labor members are receiving if the employer will only discharge American Federation of Labor workers and employ C.I.O. members. . . .

The convention approved a resolution authorizing the A. F. of L. to institute a campaign of resistance to the union-raiding tactics of the C.I.O. by giving immediate assistance to any locality or organization that is subject of such an attack and that all state and city central bodies of the A. F. of L. should have standing committees for this purpose, and put forth a concerted drive to combat this situation wherever and whenever it appears.

The following statement was also unanimously adopted:

. . . it is unnecessary to do more than express profound regret that there should exist a dual organization to the A. F. of L. in this period of national emergency. There never has been a period when it was more essential that organized labor should be a united body, and the unjustified division which exists has unquestionably lowered the contribution which organized labor would otherwise have been giving to the nation

It is inescapable that when the present crisis has been past, that this division in the ranks of labor will even more acutely disturb and dislocate the relationships between management and labor. Because we must take the post-war period into consideration, it

is encouraging to find that the officers of the American Federation of Labor are continuing their policy of an open door, and their effort to reestablish a unification of the American trade union movement.

It is only necessary to remind the convention of the public statements made by the master spirit of the C.I.O. to indicate the outstanding reason why unity has not been previously established.

Because of the constant efforts made by the C.I.O. to raid our unions and their membership, and to set up dual International Unions to those within the fold of the American Federation of Labor, it is essential that our trade union movement protect itself against the efforts to destroy it; efforts which, unfortunately, in many instances have received the encouragement and assistance of individuals holding public office. As to the question of maintaining what we have and of increasing our membership, the helpful influence of our International Unions affects the membership locally as well as nationally.

The policy which has been carried out by the C. I. O. from the beginning, in many instances, is similar to that which has been applied by Adolph Hitler, promises and pledges to be broken when it seems advantageous. First, we were assured that the sole purpose of the C.I.O. was to carry on an educational campaign. We were then assured in an official statement issued by the head of the C.I.O. that in such organizing work as it would carry on, it would be confined solely to the field of the unorganized.

Hardly had this statement been made than the first organizing efforts made by the C.I.O. were raids upon the membership of existing International Unions, in many instances an effort to secure control of trade unions at that time under trade union agreements with their employers. The similarity to Hitler's tactics does not end

here, but the carefully planned program of the leaders of the C.I.O. led to campaigns first against one International Union, and then against another.

Had the original raiding policy been carried out generally against all of our affiliated International Unions, they would have united in developing a program of self-defense. But by making an effort first in one industry and then in another, they had hoped to create a feeling of security in the minds of other International Unions. First they directed their campaign against the metal trades. Then in turn they entered the field of the building trades, and recently directed their efforts against the transportation trades.

There is but one way to meet these tactics, and that is for the American Federation of Labor itself and its affiliated International Unions to give their collective support to every local union in the small communities as well as those in the industrial centers, so that the present effort to supplant the American trade union movement and establish this alleged "new order" can be overtime.

While your committee calls upon the affiliated International Unions to merge their forces for self-defense because of the attacks made upon us, your committee nevertheless urges the officers of the American Federation of Labor to continue their efforts to re-establish unity in the family of labor.

Railroad Consolidation—(1936, pp. 135, 465) While Congress was considering a bill to protect railroad employees in the plan to consolidate railroads, an agreement was reached between employees' organizations and railroad officials that would solve the problem. During the past sixteen years the number of railroad employees has decreased about 50 per cent. Merging of certain railroads would add to the number of railroad workers unemployed. The consolidations would

cause the removal of division points or their abandonment. These division points have been in existence for many years. Railroad workers have bought homes and established themselves permanently in them. The terrible suffering that would come from abolishing these division points had aroused the railroad workers and they had a measure introduced in Congress known as the Wheeler-Crosser bill. The bill provided that if the number of employees previously required be reduced as a result of the consolidation, provisions should be made to provide for those displaced in comparable employment, under no less favorable conditions of employment, or to provide a fair and just dismissal compensation which shall equal at least two-thirds of the earnings to be anticipated for one year of continued service until they were reemployed. For those eligible for retirement an adequate pension was to be provided.

Railroad Employees (Legis. control over negotiations) (1941, p. 403)

The convention considered the annual report of the Railroad Employees Department and adopted the following as part of the convention committee report:

The wages of railroad workers must now be raised to enable the men, in the face of the terrific rise in cost of living, to maintain the former purchasing power of their wages. The study shows that the rapidly rising profits of the roads fully justifies the demands of the workers.

The Executive Council therefore recommended that the American Federation of Labor give full support to the demand of the railroad workers for an immediate increase in pay.

Your Committee concurs in this recommendation and urges active support thereof.

Your committee would further submit to your consideration the fact that the machinery for the settlement of

disputes in the railroad industry serves well in that industry because (1) the workers are well organized, (2) the organized workers are in a position to determine the qualifications of the workers themselves for the various jobs, and (3) the workers of this industry have a long record of successful experience in working through a medium of legislative control—a medium which the workers themselves conceived and developed as being peculiarly fitted to their definite problems in their particular industry.

Your Committee would point out that this machinery serving well for this highly organized industry would not serve in other industries less organized and engaged in other forms of production.

Railroad Labor and the War (1942, p. 262)

At the conclusion of its annual report to the A. F. of L. convention, the Railway Employees Department made the following statement with regard to the important role which railroad workers made in the nation's war effort:

As has been already indicated, the railroad industry is doing a magnificent job in furnishing transportation service to the nation. In addition to caring for the domestic needs of the civilian population, this industry has been the life-blood of our war production, which has assumed such vast importance in modern warfare that victory depends on it. Moreover, the railroad industry has worked hand in hand with the armed forces, moving tremendous quantities of supplies and large numbers of men under the most trying circumstances. This is all the more remarkable when it is realized that the railroads have been required to carry the added burden brought about by the shortage of ships carrying intercoastal traffic and the shortage of rubber, which is diverting traffic from the highways.

Much has been said of the part railroad management has played in this achievement, but while their contribution is important and should be recognized, it should not be forgotten that without the skill, experience and cooperation of the railroad workers, it would not have been possible to "Keep 'em Rolling" to the extent necessary to meet all traffic requirements.

Railroad labor has contributed generously to this result. The mere fact that the railroad industry has only service to sell indicates clearly that such service is dependent primarily on the labor of railroad workers. Without in any way detracting from the excellent job railroad management is doing, the manner in which the railroad industry is meeting its responsibility of furnishing adequate transportation to the nation certainly speaks well for the good job railroad workers are doing. In other words, railroad workers are fully meeting their responsibility to the war effort.

In this connection it should be pointed out that, in addition to its responsibility to the public, railroad management also has a definite responsibility to its employees. During the last war, failure of the railroads to meet that responsibility to their employees resulted in lowered morale, and this was given as one of the reasons why our transportation system broke down, making it necessary for the Federal Government to take over the railroads. It is hoped, therefore, that railroad management will do everything possible to maintain high morale in the railroad industry to the end that adequate and efficient transportation service may continue to be provided.

Railroad Labor Legislation (1924, p. 51) Successive conventions of the A. F. of L. have unsparingly condemned the U.S. Railroad Labor Board created by the Esch-Cummins Act. Each year the conduct of the Board

and the operation of this law has amply justified each condemnation. During the past year the Labor Board has continued to increase irritation and discord in the human relations on the railroads and has continued its policy of violating all the traditions of the industry, of *bona fide* trade unionism and of American citizenship.

The labor organizations on the railroads, confronted with this intolerable situation, after mature consideration and study of the problem, through their recognized leaders and in cooperation with the A. F. of L., drafted a bill to abolish the Labor Board and the section of the statute under which it operates and to set up in its place a simple law, based upon the principles of voluntary collective bargaining and government aid in bringing about voluntary arbitration.

This Railway Labor Bill imposes a general duty upon the carriers and their employees "to exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements concerning wages and working conditions." The parties to any dispute are required to confer, and the Bill specifically safeguards such conferences by prohibiting either party from attempting to influence the other in the selection of its conference representatives.

Disputes over the application of existing agreements—called grievance disputes—which cannot be settled in such conferences, must be referred to the appropriate Board of Adjustment. Four such Boards of Adjustment are set up by the Bill, each to be composed equally of employees and carrier representatives, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from nominees submitted by the respective groups of workers, organizations and managers.

The bill prohibits changes in working conditions or wages until the machinery of the bill has been exhausted. Disputes over changes in existing agreements or the establishment of new rates of pay or working condi-

tions, which cannot be adjusted in conference, are not referred to the Boards of Adjustment. Such undecided disputes, together with any grievance disputes which cannot be decided by the proper Board of Adjustment, are to be settled through a Board of Mediation and Conciliation, composed of five impartial experts, appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. The aid of this Board may be invoked "by either party, or it may proffer its services on its own motion." If mediation proves unsuccessful, then the Board of Mediation and Conciliation must urge the parties to submit their differences to arbitration. The bill provides specifically that arbitration is to be purely voluntary. The Board of Arbitration is to be composed of individuals selected by the parties, the neutral arbitrator to be selected by agreement of the parties or by the Board of Mediation. If voluntary arbitration is agreed to, the parties likewise agree to accept the award of such a Board of Arbitration and this contract and the resulting award may be enforced in the courts.

Before the introduction of this bill, numerous conferences were held between the railroad labor organization executives and their counsel, and with the president of the A. F. of L. and other representatives of the A. F. of L. The officers of the railway organizations, including the Railroad Brotherhoods and the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L., before finally deciding upon the draft of the bill to be introduced in Congress, were solicitous of securing the judgment of the E.C. of the A. F. of L. with such suggestions as the E.C. might make in reference to it, and to secure our endorsement of the measure.

The bill was considered at length and in every detail by us, and after a lengthy discussion the bill was not only endorsed but cooperation pledged in every honorable effort to secure its enactment by Congress. Conferences were also held with the Secretary of

Commerce, and an effort was made but without success to obtain the co-operation of the railroad executives, in the preparation of just and adequate legislation.

On February 28, 1924, the Railway Labor Bill was introduced into the Senate (as S. 2646).

In the Senate the bill was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and a special subcommittee was promptly appointed to hold hearings on the bill. The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, dominated by reactionaries, granted no hearing, and it was made plain that it was their purpose to smother the bill by failing to report it out of committee.

On March 18, 1924, hearings on the bill were begun before the Senate subcommittee. The case for the bill was thoroughly presented by the president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and chairman of the Chief Executives Special Committee, and the counsel for the railway labor organizations and representatives of the A. F. of L. The carriers opposed the bill, and a large number of railroad executives and general counsel swarmed to Washington in an effort to prevent its passage. No report was made until May 19, when the bill was favorably reported with amendments to the full Committee on Interstate Commerce. The committee favorably reported the bill, with amendments, all of which with but one exception improved the bill. This report was presented to the Senate on June 6, too late for passage at the first session of Congress which adjourned June 7.

In order to get the bill out of the House committee and on the floor of the House for consideration, its friends took advantage of the new "Committee Discharge Rule." The petition filed under this rule was quickly signed by over 150 members of the House, and on May 5, the House

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce was discharged from further consideration of the bill. The opposition, led by the floor leader, then began a desperate parliamentary struggle to prevent a direct vote on the measures. These dilatory tactics were repeated each time the bill came up for consideration—on May 5, May 19, and June 2.

During this battle in the House, representatives of the A. F. of L. and of 20 organizations of railway and marine workers carried on a splendid campaign of education of members of both Houses winning increasing support of the bill. Other legislation favorable to the public interest was awaiting the consideration of the House, and rather than prevent its enactment by fighting out the filibuster with the opponents of the bill, the friends of the bill in the last week of Congress turned their attention to farm relief and other similar measures, and agreed to postpone a finished fight on the Howell-Barkley Bill until the session of Congress which convenes December 1, 1924. Under the House rules the bill has special privilege over all other bills on the calendar on the first and third Mondays of each month until passed. The bill also is in a favorable position for consideration by the Senate. The fact that the Progressives have demonstrated a majority power in the Senate and that in the House on 24 roll calls the proponents of the bill never fell below a majority, seems to assure the enactment of the Howell-Barkley Bill into law during the December session, upon a renewal of the vigorous fight made at the last session.

In order to prevent a real understanding of the bill and thus prevent its passage, the railroads have resorted to an extraordinary campaign of misrepresentation, and for furthering this an organization called the "American Economic Institute," has been established by the railroads

since the adjournment of Congress in June.

It is the intent and purpose of all of the forces of organized labor and of all friends desirous of maintaining the freedom of the workers and of promoting industrial peace, to carry on this fight insistently and vigorously for the abolition of the Railway Labor Board, and the enactment of the Howell-Barkley Bill.

(1925, p. 67) The report of last year described the efforts made by the railroad labor organizations supported by the A. F. of L. to abolish the Railroad Labor Board and to enact the Howell-Barkley Bill, to provide for settling railroad labor relations through conference agreements, board of adjustment decisions of grievances, government mediation, and voluntary arbitration when necessary. The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce reported the bill by a vote of 9 to 3 to the first session of the Sixty-eighth Congress. Its supporters had brought it on the floor of the House through the committee discharge rule and supported the bill during the ensuing filibuster of its opponents by a majority of over 20 roll calls. Such was the situation when Congress adjourned June 7, 1924.

Although there were pronouncements in three political party platforms upon which the three principal candidates sought public support in the presidential election of 1924 favoring the principle of voluntary adjustment of personnel relations of railroads, the Howell-Barkley Bill was not enacted by the Second Session of the Sixty-eighth Congress. There was no action on the Howell-Barkley Bill nor amendment of existing law. This inaction occurred despite the recommendation of the President for the amendment of the labor section of the Transportation Act.

Since the close of the Sixty-eighth Congress without action upon the Howell-Barkley Bill, various efforts have been made to bring about coop-

eration between those supporting the bill and public officials representing the administration, to agree upon a redraft of the Howell-Barkley Bill embodying such suggestions or amendments as have been offered and appear acceptable to the proponents of the bill. Certain efforts have also been made to bring about some cooperation between the organizations and the railroad executives looking toward the same end, but there have been no substantial developments. In view of the various efforts which have been made and given some publicity, we want to make it plain that the organizations supporting the Howell-Barkley Bill have given no consideration to any suggestions for a substantial change in the principles underlying the bill or the machinery proposed to translate those principles into legislative and administrative action. It is the purpose of the railroad unions that the Howell-Barkley Bill substantially in its present form (as modified by some acceptable amendments made in the Senate) will be offered for consideration in the Sixty-ninth Congress when it assembles.

(P. 68) Experience in the last year with the Railroad Labor Board has served to emphasize the futile and mischievous character of that body and further to justify the condemnation of the Transportation Act and of its creation—the Railroad Labor Board—which has been repeatedly voiced by the A. F. of L. The following cases are of interest:

In the spring of 1924 a committee of locomotive engineers and firemen representing their respective organizations on practically all the western railways met with a conference committee of managers in an attempt to negotiate a settlement of the employes' request for application of the New York Central wage increases to the western roads, these increases then being in effect on practically all the eastern roads. This group negotiation was terminated by the con-

ference committee of managers in May, 1924, whereupon the committee of employees endeavored to open negotiations with the separate carriers. The railways attempted to prevent individual carrier negotiation by bringing the matter to the Railroad Labor Board which thereupon attempted to assume jurisdiction of its own motion, although there was no controversy which would justify their action. To maintain their liberty of contract and to prevent the Railroad Labor Board from acting unlawfully in aid of the program of the railway managers to delay and hamper negotiations, the representatives of the employees refused to appear and testify before the board. The board then began two test cases to compel the union officials to appear and testify. Upon petition of the board, Judge Wilkerson, sitting in Chicago, summoned the president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, a resident of Cleveland, to appear before the court and when he denied the jurisdiction of the court in Chicago to entertain suit against him, a resident of Cleveland, Judge Wilkerson entered an order overruling his objections and commanding him to appear before the labor board and testify.

He appealed to the Supreme Court of the U.S., where the case was argued on March 17, 1925, by the General Counsel for the Railway Department of the A. F. of L. and of the unions involved, and on June 8, 1924, the court handed down the unanimous opinion reversing Judge Wilkerson and holding that the board could not compel a witness to testify before it by action in the District Court sitting in Chicago.

The board also filed a petition with Judge Wilkerson for an order on the local chairman for the engineers to appear before him. Being a resident of Chicago, the sole question in his case was as to the power of the labor board to compel testimony. It was the contention of his counsel that testi-

mony could not be compelled before a board whose functions are wholly advisory without depriving the witness of liberty and property without due process of law. Judge Wilkerson overruled these objections and ordered him to appear. His case has also been appealed and is pending in the Supreme Court of the U.S.

While this litigation was in progress, the board heard evidence from the railways alone and in the fall handed down a decision ordering the New York Central increases to be put in effect on the western roads but with such modifications of the rules as would deprive the men of all benefit from the ruling. Meanwhile the engineers' and firemen's organizations took a strike vote on the Southern Pacific lines. After the organizations were supported by an overwhelming vote in favor of a strike a conference was arranged and a settlement agreed upon with the Southern Pacific lines which was satisfactory to the organizations. This settlement included the granting of the New York Central increases without the detrimental changes in rules sought by the railroads. Following this settlement, road after road made similar terms with the organizations until the western wage movement finally culminated in the application of the New York Central increase to the entire West. In this wage movement, it will be noted that the Railroad Labor Board occupied an obstructive position entirely favorable to the desires of the railroads and hampered and delayed the employees in their efforts, but in the end the decision of the board was disregarded by both railroads and employees. The board was defeated in its efforts to bring the courts to its aid and once more demonstrated that it is worse than useless as an agency to promote peace and provide justice to railroad employees. It is of special significance to note that in the brief filed in behalf of the board by the U.S. attorney and special assistants to

the Attorney General, the position is taken that the public members of the board were not supposed to be neutral and that the chairman of the board, whose bias was made clearly evident, was not disqualified because of his lack of impartiality. Government counsel made the assertion, "He is not supposed to be any more neutral than are members of the labor and management groups." Thus, the fiction of "impartial arbitration" was exploded in the very house of its friends.

The Pennsylvania Railroad has successfully challenged the authority of the Railroad Labor Board. When the telegraphers of the Pennsylvania Railroad voted by 4256 to 318 for members of their national union to act as committeemen under the Pennsylvania Railroad's own company union plan, the railroad then discharged every committeeman who would not renounce his obligation to his organization. Although the Railroad Labor Board has fulminated against this indefensible action, the railroad has not changed its policy.

The shopmen's union also brought suit against the Pennsylvania Railroad to compel conferences in accordance with the apparent mandate of the Transportation Act. This case reached the Supreme Court, together with a similar case that was brought by the clerks, early in the present year and in March the court handed down an opinion to the effect that there was nothing compulsory in the Transportation Act, that railroads did not have to obey the Act if they did not want to, that they were not required to hold conferences with their employees either by the Act or by orders of the Railroad Labor Board. Thus again, the Transportation Act has been shown to be a useless piece of legislation for the promotion of industrial peace on the railroads.

Another instance of disregarded orders of the Railroad Labor Board is the case of the Chicago and Alton. The shopmen of this road practically

unanimously designated their national unions to represent them. The receivers acting under the authority of Judge Carpenter of the Federal District Court in Chicago refused to receive these representatives in conference. In the latter part of 1924 the employees presented a petition to the court asking that he order the receivers to comply with the express directions of Congress. This matter is still pending before Judge Carpenter.

(P. 354) Criticisms made by the A. F. of L. with regard to the Railroad Labor Board have been thoroughly justified by the experiences of the last year. The western engineers and firemen found it more convenient to exercise their economic power instead of following the tortuous and never-satisfactory course of appealing to the Railway Labor Board. By doing so, they were enabled to secure increases in wages without delay, while the labor board was defeated in its appeal to the courts to give it jurisdiction over railway organizations that were unwilling to submit their interests to its decision.

(1926, p. 64) Since the report of last year, the efforts of the railroad labor organizations, supported by the A. F. of L. to abolish the Railroad Labor Board and to secure legislation providing for the settlement of railroad labor disputes through conference, adjustment, mediation and voluntary arbitration have been successful. The present Railway Labor Act accomplishes these purposes.

This measure received the support before the congressional committees of a large majority of the railroads, but a minority of the carriers opposed it with increasing vigor as the prospect of its passage increased. The principal opposition to the bill came from the National Association of Manufacturers and allied or sympathetic business interests. Regardless of the form which their opposition took, which was in the nature of destructive amendments, it was clear

that the real basis for opposition lay in the antagonism of these groups to the encouragement of collective bargaining and the self-organization of the workers. All the standard railway labor organizations supported the bill, being assisted effectively and actively by the A. F. of L.

The "Railway Labor Act" is the official title of the law, which was known as the Watson-Parker Bill. The following summary of the bill was issued as a joint statement of counsel representing the railway executives and the railway labor organizations and therefore may be regarded as an impartial brief explanation of its provisions.

First: That it shall be the duty of the parties to exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements.

Second: Any and all disputes shall be first considered in conference between the parties directly interested.

Third: Adjustment boards shall be established by agreement, which shall be either between an individual carrier and its employees, or regional, or national. These adjustment boards will have jurisdiction over any disputes relating to grievances or to the interpretation or application of existing agreements, but will have no jurisdiction over changes in rates of pay, rules or working conditions. It is, however, provided that nothing in the Act shall be construed to prohibit an individual carrier and its employees from agreeing upon settlement of disputes through such machinery of contract and adjustment as they may mutually establish.

Fourth: A Board of Mediation is created, to consist of five members appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, with the duty to intervene, at the request of either party, or on its own motion, in any unsettled labor dispute—whether it be a grievance or a difference as to the interpretation or

application of agreements not decided in conference or by the appropriate adjustment board, or a dispute over changes in rates of pay, rules or working conditions not adjusted in conference between the parties. If it is unable to bring about an amicable adjustment between the parties it is required to make an effort to induce them to consent to arbitration.

Fifth: Boards of Arbitration are provided for, when both parties consent to arbitrate, also the method of selecting members of the boards and the arbitration procedure. Any award made by the arbitrators shall be filed in the appropriate district court of the United States and shall become a judgment of the court, binding upon the parties.

Sixth: In the possible event that a dispute between a carrier and its employees is not settled by any of the foregoing methods, provision is made that the Board of Mediation, if in its judgment the dispute threatens to substantially interrupt interstate commerce, shall notify the President, who is thereupon authorized, in his discretion, to create a board to investigate and report to the President within thirty days from the date of the creation of the board. It is also provided that after the creation of such a board and for thirty days after it has made its report to the President, no change, except by agreement, shall be made by the parties to the controversy in the conditions out of which the dispute arose.

The Railway Labor Act may not fulfill all the hopes of its sponsors, but undoubtedly its passage marks a great step forward in legislation regarding industrial relations. The Act is based on the theory of contract—on the belief that human relations are best regulated by free contract and that the force of government should be exerted primarily not to compel men to do what they do not wish to do, but to compel them to fulfill the

obligations which they have accepted voluntarily. The second section of the Act makes it the duty of employers and employes "to exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements." It makes it their duty to confer in cases of disagreement. It provides that representatives of the parties shall be chosen "without interference, influence or coercion, exercised by either party over the self-organization or designation of representative by the other." If, in accordance with the terms and the spirit of this Act, a fair and full opportunity is provided for the making and maintaining of agreements, a great improvement in industrial relations in the transportation industry should result with inevitable benefit to all parties concerned, employers, employes and the public.

(1930, pp. 116, 338) The decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission on the proposed merger of the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern, in which members of the commission conspicuous in their efforts to protect public interest dissented, puts squarely up to Congress the issue of defining public policy.

The policies proposed through this merger meant contraction of service, serious loss to many communities and shippers, loss of jobs and transfers of employees without compensation for loss of homes and other investments.

Discussion made plain the ruthless purposes which the merger would serve in order to take care of financial interests through reduction of expenses and inflation of values. As railroads represent an investment by the public and by employers who give their services and organize their living around their work, Labor believes that social considerations are equally as important as financial and that there should be balanced consideration given to all elements involved.

The movement for consolidation and unification was a natural response to

the development of competing types of carriers and need for economies. Development of business activity had not always followed lines anticipated by railroad construction. A number of railroad short lines after having served very necessary purposes had become a serious liability to their owners. However, it seems probable to some railroad experts that much of the agitation for consolidation has been artificially stimulated by financiers who saw a way of retrieving losses and possibly making good profits.

Proposals for consolidation and unification must by law be submitted to the Interstate Commerce Commission for approval. However, the railroads found in the new holding company organization a way to effect practical consolidation without going through the legal forms over which the Interstate Commerce Commission had control. Congress thus defied by the financiers and the railroads began an investigation into the holding companies. While the House Committee was holding hearings Senator Couzens introduced a joint resolution to stop all rail mergers.

After extended hearings and in view of facts presented by witnesses for the public, Labor, and railway executives, the resolution was amended to suspend the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to approve or authorize consolidations or acquisitions of control except in conformity with prescribed conditions to protect the interests of Labor and the public.

Many proposed efficiencies and economies resulting from consolidations and unifications are at Labor's expense. As the president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad told the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce: "It ought to be borne in mind that the savings which will come from consolidation are chiefly from two causes: one, probably from the reduced necessity for new capital." . . . "The other economies which can

be lumped in one item, are labor and material, less of both being needed, probably—particularly labor. In fact, the only way economies can be made to any extent in railroad service is by the use of fewer employees, and with that would always go the use of some less labor. Our figures show that the wages paid for labor constitute about 60 per cent of our total operating expenses, and material about 40 per cent. It is safe to say that of that material probably 50 per cent represents wages paid to labor, so that when a railroad reduces its operating expenses by a dollar, it is a safe thought that 80 per cent of that represents less wages being paid to somebody." . . . "We must recognize that in accomplishing these economies that seem to have been thought desirable in the public interest, they will be brought about largely by the employment of fewer men, and that certainly does present a problem in which the men have a right to be concerned. As has been stated, I have expressed my views on that on different occasions and I have said that I thought it would only be fair and right if Congress, in legislating on this whole matter, pursued action somewhat similar to that taken by the English Parliament in connection with their Amalgamation Act. In that Act, in round terms, it was provided that men who had been in the employ of the company for five years should not be displaced, and should not be reduced in rank or in compensation, and they should be worked around in such a way as might be until they should be taken care of."

Railroad unions recognizing the need for consolidation and unification, believe that Congress should enact additional substantive legislation defining policies for the guidance of the Interstate Commerce Commission so that the interests of the public and Labor should be conserved and giving the Interstate Commerce Commission control over all consolidations including the formation of holding com-

panies to achieve that purpose.

The Railroad Labor Executives Association maintains that consolidations should be approved only when the findings of the Commission indicate that "it will (a) promote better service to the public, or (b) economy in operation without deteriorating essential service and (c) that it will not substantially restrain or lessen competition and (d) that it will not be inconsistent with the public interest in any material respect."

(1934, pp. 77, 546) The Railway Labor Act was re-written by the last Congress. Under the new National Board of Mediation this measure is more far-reaching. A national Railroad Adjustment Board was also created to consist of 36 members, 18 of whom shall be selected by the carriers and 18 by such labor organizations of the employees, national in scope, which have been or may be organized in accordance with the provisions of the Act. One important clause in the Act is as follows:

Employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. The majority of any craft or class of employees shall have the right to determine who shall be the representatives of the craft or class for the purposes of this Act. No carrier, its officers or agents, shall deny or in any way question the right of its employees to join, organize, or assist in organizing the labor organization of their choice, and it shall be unlawful for any carrier to interfere in any way with the organization of its employees, or to use the funds of the carrier in maintaining or assisting or contributing to any labor organization, labor representative, or other agency of collective bargaining, or in performing any work therefor, or to influence or coerce employees in an effort to induce them to join or remain or not to join or remain members of any labor organization,

or to deduct from the wages of employees any dues, fees, assessments, or other contributions payable to labor organizations, or to collect or to assist in the collection of any such dues, fees, assessments, or other contributions.

The law also outlaws "yellow-dog" contracts. It provides that no carrier, its officers, or agents shall require any person seeking employment to sign any contract or agreement promising to join or not to join a labor organization. If any such contract was in existence prior to the date the law became effective, then the carrier is required to notify the employees that the contract is no longer binding on them in any way.

All labor disputes are to be referred to a National Board of Mediation which will endeavor to bring about adjustment. The purposes of the Act are to avoid any interruption to commerce; to provide for the complete independence of carriers and of employees in the matter of self-organization to carry out the purpose of the Act; to provide for the prompt and orderly settlement of all disputes concerning rates of pay, rules, or working conditions. The law became effective June 21, 1934.

Immediately after approval of the Act the President appointed members of the Board. The first act of the Board was to issue what the railroad employees designate as their "Magna Charta." It is known as Order No. 1 and every railroad must post a copy on every bulletin board and keep them posted so long as the law is on the statute books. Order No. 1 is as follows:

Pursuant to the provisions of Section 2, Eighth, Railway Labor Act, as amended (approved June 21, 1934), you are hereby advised that all disputes between (insert name of posting carrier here) and its employees will be handled in accordance with the requirements of the Railway Labor Act.

The following provisions of paragraphs Third, Fourth, and Fifth, Section 2, Railway Labor Act, are by law made a part of each contract of employment between this carrier and each of its employees, and shall be held binding regardless of any express or implied agreements to the contrary.

Section 2, Third. Representatives, for the purposes of this act, shall be designated by the respective parties without interference, influence, or coercion by either party over the designation of representatives by the other; and neither party shall in any way interfere with, influence, or coerce the other in its choice of representatives. Representatives of employees for the purposes of this Act need not be persons in the employ of the carrier, and no carrier shall, by interference, influence, or coercion seek in any manner to prevent the designation by its employees as their representatives of those who or which are not employees of the carrier.

Section 2, Fourth. Employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. The majority of any craft or class of employees shall have the right to determine who shall be the representatives of the craft or class for the purposes of this Act.

No carrier, its officers or agents, shall deny or in any way question the right of its employees to join, organize, or assist in organizing the labor organization of their choice, and it shall be unlawful for any carrier to interfere in any way with the organization of its employees, or to use the funds of the carrier in maintaining or assisting or contributing to any labor organization, labor representative, or other agency of collective bargaining, or in performing any work therefor, or to influence or coerce employees in an ef-

fort to induce them to join or remain or not to join or remain members of any labor organization, or to deduct from the wages of employes any dues, fees, assessments, or other contributions payable to labor organizations, or to collect or to assist in the collection of any such dues, fees, assessments, or other contributions:

Provided, That nothing in this Act shall be construed to prohibit a carrier from permitting an employe, individually, or local representatives of employes from conferring with management during working hours without loss of time, or to prohibit a carrier from furnishing free transportation to its employes while engaged in the business of a labor organization.

Section 2, Fifth. No carrier, its officers or agents shall require any person seeking employment to sign any contract or agreement promising to join or not to join a labor organization; and if any such contract has been enforced prior to the effective date of this Act, then such carrier shall notify the employes by an appropriate order that such contract has been discarded and is no longer binding on them in any way.

All officers of this carrier whose duties are affected by the foregoing are advised to take notice of and to comply with the provisions thereof.

(P. 162) During the past year the Railway Labor Executives Association, of which the organizations affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L. are members, was unusually active in the matter of legislation affecting railroad workers. The following matters, which constituted the legislative program of the Association, were introduced as bills early in the 2d Session of the 73d Congress: 1. Amendments to the Railway Labor Act, providing for right

to organize, prohibition of company unions, establishment of National Boards of Adjustment for the consideration of grievances. 2. Six-hour day without reduction in compensation. 3. Hours of Service Act, from 16 to 12 hours. 4. Amending Federal Employers' Liability Act. 5. Retirement insurance. 6. Limit on length of trains to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile or not more than 70 cars. 7. Full crew.

In addition a flagging bill sponsored by the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and a signal inspection bill sponsored by the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America were endorsed by the Railway Labor Executives' Association and introduced in this session of Congress.

Of the nine bills introduced, four received no consideration; these were the amendments to the Federal Employers' Liability Act, the full crew bill, the Hours of Service Act and the Signal Inspection Bill. Hearings were held on the flagging bill by the Senate Committee on Foreign and Interstate Commerce, while the six-hour day bill and the train limit bill were considered by both the Senate and House Committees on Foreign and Interstate Commerce. The amendments to the Railway Labor Act and the Retirement Insurance Bill were enacted into law.

It is interesting to observe that in addition to being the only labor legislation enacted in the last session of Congress, the Railway Labor Act as amended and the Retirement Insurance Act are unique in that the former embodies the most progressive thought with respect to the right of workers to organize and the method of settling disputes, while the latter is the first national industrial retirement insurance bill ever enacted. Both are a distinct contribution to our industrial legislation, and point the way for the employees in all of industry.

(1938, pp. 167, 551) While the unemployment insurance law was approved by the President June 25, 1938,

it does not become effective until July 1, 1939.

The law provides that a qualified employee should be paid benefits for each day of unemployment in excess of seven during any half month. The benefits payable to any such employee for each such day ranges from \$1.75 to \$3.00 per day, according to the wages he received.

The employer contributes 3 per cent of the amount of wages paid to the employees not in excess of \$300 for any calendar month and the employee contributes 3 per cent of his wages not in excess of \$300 per month. The contributions are paid to the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall maintain an account to be known as the "Railroad Unemployment Insurance Account." The law is administered by the Railroad Retirement Administration.

(1936, p. 112) The Federated Mechanical Trades have become involved in several suits involving the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act as amended, growing out of efforts to establish representation under the law. Most of these suits have been instituted by company unions in a desperate but futile effort to postpone their demise, while in other instances it has been necessary for the Railway Employees' Department to secure compliance with the Railway Labor Act through court action in cases where carriers have refused to recognize and deal with the organizations certified by the National Mediation Board, and with respect to the latter particularly, some important victories have been won.

On the Rock Island Railroad, the company union brought two suits in the U.S. District Court for the District of Kansas, one attacking the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act with respect to the provision prohibiting the check-off, and the other to prevent enforcement of the certification of the National Mediation

Board designating the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers as the duly elected representative of the power plant employees and shop laborers. Temporary injunctions were granted in both instances. While no action has as yet been forthcoming with respect to the representation case of the Firemen and Oilers, Judge D. J. Hopkins, on March 27, 1936, rendered a decision in the check-off case in which he upheld the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act and dismissed the company union's bill of complaint, but granted them ninety days in which to perfect an appeal to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

Unfortunately, these cases have been subjected to numerous and apparently unnecessary delays. It is hoped, however, that an early disposition of them will be made.

The Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, because of its open preference for the company union, has caused considerable controversy and has greatly prolonged the effort of the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated organizations to secure recognition and an agreement by apparently cooperating with its company union in instituting long and tedious litigation.

An election was conducted by the National Mediation Board among employees in the mechanical department following invocation of its services by the Railway Employees' Department; but, because of alleged intimidation and coercion on the part of the carrier, the observer for the Railway Employees' Department declined to sign the mediator's report of the election, and so advised the Board, asking that it withhold its certification pending an investigation.

As the result of extensive hearings, the Board on February 19, 1935, ordered that a new election be held. Before the mediators could proceed, however, the company union filed a petition in the Supreme Court of the Dis-

trict of Columbia on March 12, 1935, praying for an injunction to restrain the Board from holding another election and to certify the representatives shown to have been elected by the mediator's report. The carrier and the Railway Employees' Department were made party defendants, and it was prayed further that the company be compelled to deal with the company union, and that the department be restrained from interfering with his relationship. In filing its answer to the bill, the company admitted the allegations contained therein, and prayed that the injunction asked for by the company union be granted.

The case was heard by Justice O. R. Luhring, who, on April 25, 1935, rendered decision which in effect maintained the *status quo*, pending further hearings. The order for another election could not be carried out, but the organizations were permitted to carry on their organizing activities, while the company was required to deal with the company union pending the final decision of the court.

Further hearings were finally held before Chief Justice Alfred A. Wheat to whom the case was assigned. On December 24, 1935, he handed down his opinion in which he held that an injunction should be granted restraining the National Mediation Board from "holding a new election in lieu of the election held in September, 1934," and requiring them "to issue the appropriate certificate called for as a result of the election then held."

In accordance with the order of the court, the Board of February 8, 1936, issued its certification effective September 24, 1934, designating the Atlantic Coast Line Shopmen's Association as the representative of the six mechanical crafts and the power plant employees who were voted as one group. The Railway Employees' Department was certified as the representative of the coach cleaners and shop laborers.

Having waged an aggressive organizing campaign in the meantime, the Railway Employees' Department invoked the services of the National Mediation Board of March 16, 1936, in a new representation dispute involving the six mechanical trades employees and the power plant employees, inasmuch as Justice Wheat's restraining order prohibited an election only "in lieu of the election held in September, 1934"; but, as the mediator was about to conduct an election to determine representation, the company union filed another suit and was granted a temporary injunction restraining the Board from conducting the election pending hearings.

The Railway Employees' Department also sought to negotiate a memorandum agreement taking over the existing agreements for the coach cleaners and shop laborers, but the company refused to enter into such an agreement and, instead, filed a motion to show cause why the certification of the Board for these classes of employees should not be set aside because it was alleged that neither of the contesting organizations received a majority of eligible votes. Judge Peyton Gordon of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia granted a temporary injunction on April 3, 1936.

As the result of a suit filed by the Railway Employees' Department in the District Court of the United States for the Eastern Division of Virginia, following the refusal of the Virginian Railroad Company to recognize and treat with System Federation No. 40 of the Railway Employees Department, certified by the National Mediation Board as the duly elected representative of the Mechanical Trades employees on that railroad, a decision was handed down by Judge Luther B. Way on July 24, 1935, holding that the carrier was violating the Railway Labor Act in refusing to recognize System Federation No. 40 and the right of their employees to choose

representatives free of influence, coercion or intimidation. He stated that management had to confer with System Federation No. 40 and enjoined the carrier from threatening or coercing its employees, declaring that "the right of self-organization and representation in the matters of rates of pay, hours of labor and working conditions is a property right, the loss of which would result in irreparable damage to the complainants." With respect to the election conducted by the National Mediation Board, he also ruled that if a majority of the eligible voters participated in the election, a majority of those voting should decide the election, and on this basis upheld the certification of the Board for all crafts except the carmen, a majority of the eligible voters in this craft having failed to participate in the election.

The Virginian Railroad Company appealed this decision to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, which on June 18, 1936, rendered a unanimous opinion delivered by Judge Parker affirming the decision of the lower court.

A petition has been filed by the carrier for an appeal to the United States Supreme Court. Pending application for a *writ of certiorari*, the mandate of the court has been stayed for a period of sixty days.

A case very similar to the Virginian Case arose on the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railroad. As a result of an election, the National Mediation Board on November 22, 1935, certified the international organizations operating through the Railway Employees' Department as the representatives of the machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, electrical workers, the helpers and apprentices of the foregoing, power house employees and shop laborers employed by the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway; but the carrier refused to recognize the

certification of the Board for all crafts except the electrical workers, taking the position that the Board did not have the right to permit furloughed employees to vote and that a majority of all of the eligible voters was necessary for election. Prompted by the carriers' blunt refusal to grant recognition or to negotiate an agreement, the Railway Employees' Department filed a bill of complaint with the United States District Court for the Middle District of Tennessee, Nashville Division, on April 20, 1936, asking for an injunction to restrain the company from intimidating the employees in the matter of election of representatives and to require the carrier to deal with the representatives designated by the National Mediation Board.

On June 12, 1936, Judge John J. Gore rendered an opinion upholding the certification of the Board and granted an injunction requiring the carrier to deal with the representatives designated in the certification. He declined to issue an injunction, to prevent the carrier from intimidating or coercing the employees, however, on the grounds that there was no evidence of undue influence, etc., and, therefore, an injunction was not warranted; but he declared that if circumstances should subsequently require such an order, plaintiff could make application and it would be considered.

It is understood that the carrier will make an appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals.

Some important principles in the Railway Labor Act are involved in these cases, and, therefore, a determined effort is being made to bring them to a successful conclusion.

Railroad Retirement Act

(1934, pp. 75, 548) S. 3231, to provide a retirement system for railroad employees, to provide unemployment relief and for other purposes, became a law. The Act establishes a retirement system and it is made the duty

of all carriers and employees subject to this Act to perform and fulfill the obligations imposed thereby. The carriers affected are any express company, sleeping-car company, carrier by railroad, subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, and any company which is directly or indirectly owned or controlled by or under common control with any carrier by railroad and which operates any equipment or facilities or performs any service (other than trucking service) in connection with the transportation of passengers or property or the receipt, delivery, elevation, transfer in transit, refrigeration or icing storage, and handling of property transported by railroad, and any receiver, trustee, or other individual or body, judicial or otherwise, when in the possession of the business of any such "carrier."

Each employee having attained the age of sixty-five years, or having completed a service period of thirty years, shall be paid an annuity, to begin on a date specified in a written application, which date shall not be more than sixty days before the making of the application. No annuity shall begin less than six months after the effective date. Such annuity shall be based upon the service period of the employee and shall be the sum of the amounts determined by multiplying the number of years of service, not exceeding thirty years, by the following percentages of the monthly compensation; 2 per centum of the first \$50; $1\frac{1}{2}$ per centum of the next \$100; and 1 per centum of the compensation in excess of \$150. The "monthly compensation" shall be the average of the monthly compensation paid to the employee by the carrier, except that where applicable for service before the effective date the monthly compensation shall be the average of the monthly compensation for all pay-roll periods for which the employee has received compensation from any carrier out of eight consecutive

calendar years of such services ending December 31, 1931.

While retirement is compulsory, if the carrier and the employee agree, the time for retirement can be extended yearly but not beyond the age of seventy years. The Retirement Board which was created by the law will determine the contributions to be made by the carriers and the employees. Until the Board determines on a different percentage the employees will contribute 2 per centum, to be deducted from the wages of employees and paid into the Treasury of the United States.

The Railroad Retirement Board is composed of three members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The law provides that one member shall be appointed from recommendations made by representatives of the employees and one member from recommendations by representatives of the carriers and the third member without recommendations of either carriers or employees.

Lee M. Eddy from St. Louis, recommended by railroad Labor, was appointed to represent the railroad organizations.

The law became effective August 1, 1934. The first pensions will be paid in January, 1935. This will permit the raising of sufficient revenue to pay the pensions necessary.

The railroad companies are protesting the constitutionality of this law and have started court proceedings to have the Act declared unconstitutional.

(1935, pp. 138, 495) Near the closing day of Congress both Houses passed the Railroad Employees Pension Bill. Employees on railroads, express companies and sleeping car companies subject to the Interstate Commerce Act are to be the beneficiaries of this law. A tax of three and one-half per cent of the pay-rolls will be paid by the railroad corporations and three and one-half per cent of wages by

railroad employees. Employees are retired as follows:

When they reach the age of 65 on or after the date the bill was signed by the President regardless of their years of service; when they are 51 or more years old and have 30 years of service; when at any age they have completed 30 years of service and are retired by the carriers for mental or physical disability.

It is estimated that approximately 75,000 employees over 65 years of age were eligible for retirement when the President signed the bill. Other thousands, though not 65 years old, were eligible to retire because they had 30 or more years service. The retirement bill enacted by the 73rd Congress was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The new law was redrafted in order to meet the constitutional objections raised.

We regard this measure as of tremendous importance to Labor and of great benefit to all railroad employees. We urge that the constitutionality of this Act be defended in every proper and legal way.

(1936, p. 112) As provided in the Railroad Retirement Act, approved on August 29, 1935, a special commission composed of three members of the Senate, designated by the President of the Senate, three members of the House of Representatives, designated by the Speaker of the House, and three members designated by the President of the U.S., was authorized and directed to report through the President to Congress not later than January 1, 1936 "the results of a thorough investigation of all pertinent facts relating to a retirement annuity system applicable by law to carriers by railroad," and make "recommendations for legislation, if any, as it may deem necessary to give effect to its conclusions."

On December 31, 1935, the Railroad Retirement Investigation Commission reported that owing to the lack of suf-

ficient time it did not find it possible to make an investigation of the subjects referred to it as would enable it by January 1, 1936, to submit recommendations which would be of value to Congress, and hence the report was without recommendation.

While the Railroad Retirement Board proceeded with its task of compiling service records and otherwise preparing to grant pensions to those who were eligible and had applied, the carriers filed a bill of complaint in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, praying for an injunction against the Railroad Retirement Board, and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to prevent the enforcement of the Railroad Retirement and Tax Acts on the grounds that they were unconstitutional.

The case was heard by Justice Jennings Bailey, who on June 26, 1936, handed down his opinion which declared the Tax Act invalid but did not affect the validity of the Retirement Act, except that carriers could not be compelled to furnish the Retirement Board with service records of the employees. The decree was issued on June 30 enjoining the Treasury Department from collecting the excise tax from the carriers, and the Railroad Retirement Board from compelling the carriers to compile and furnish the service records of the employees, although it was clearly stated that the Board could compile this information from the carriers records at its own expense.

A careful study of the decision of the court revealed no legal obstacles to the payment of pensions under the Retirement Act, and after conferring with Treasury officials, the Board sent out the first pension checks on July 13, 1936, out of a fund of over forty-six million dollars appropriated by Congress and ear-marked in the Treasury for the payment of railroad pensions for a period of one year. Over a million dollars was also appropriated to

care for the running expenses of the Board until July 1, 1937, thus assuring that the law will be administered until the validity of the Tax Act, which is being appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States by the government, can be determined. In the event that Justice Bailey's decision is affirmed, the government's legal advisers are of the opinion that a Tax Act can be drafted to provide the needed funds without presenting the legal objections to the present Tax Act.

(1937, pp. 170, 319) After the Supreme Court had declared unconstitutional the Railroad Retirement Act of 1935, an agreement was reached between the labor organizations and the railroads. New legislation was introduced in Congress which was designed to meet the objections of the Supreme Court and the railroads agreed not to challenge the legislation in the courts. The law applies to any express company, sleeping car company or carrier by railroad subject to Part I of the Interstate Commerce Act.

The following individuals are eligible for annuities after they have ceased to render compensated service to any employer: Individuals 65 years of age or over; individuals 60 years of age or over who have completed 30 years of service or become totally and permanently disabled; individuals without regard to age who are totally and permanently disabled for regular employment and have completed 30 years of service.

The annuities shall be computed by multiplying the individual's years of service by the percentages of his monthly compensation. The maximum annuity shall be \$120 per month.

Each employee during the calendar years 1937-8-9 shall pay a tax of 2% per cent; 1940-1-2, 3 per cent; 1943-4-5, 3¼ per cent; 1946-7-8, 3½ per cent, and thereafter 3¾ per cent. The same rate of taxation applies to the employers.

The A. F. of L. congratulates the

officers and members of the railroad organizations upon the success which has attended their untiring efforts during a number of years for the enactment of retirement legislation for railroad workers. It has been a long struggle. It required the exercise of patience, discretion and good judgment. Labor has never witnessed a greater exhibition of skillful planning and handling of a piece of social justive legislation than was shown in this particular matter. All who participated in the drafting of the measure, in presenting it to Congress, and in pressing it for passage, are worthy of the highest praise and commendation. The officers and members of the A. F. of L. share the feeling of gratification and pleasure which all railway workers experienced over the passage of this most outstanding piece of social justice legislation.

(1939, p. 141) Two bills passed Congress and were signed by the President.

H.R. 2178 provides that the annuity of an employee retired under the provisions of the Act shall be composed of a sum equal to \$37.50 multiplied by the number of years of service, not to exceed thirty years, rendered on the Alaska Railroad or in the naval or military service of the U.S. in the tropics or Alaska.

It also applies to employees engaged in the construction of the Alaska Railroad between March 12, 1914, and July 1, 1923, plus the number of years' service, if any, rendered on the Isthmus of Panama. It also contains other important provisions.

H.R. 2642 provides for the order of precedence of beneficiaries.

Amendments—(1942, p. 260) Res. 117, which called for the establishment of a minimum of \$90 per month to retired railroad workers, was referred to the Executive Council "with instructions to confer with the standard organizations of railroad employees

and take such action as is deemed desirable”.

(1946, p. 604) The Committee notes with satisfaction and appreciation the splendid progress made by the Railroad Labor Organizations in improving their Social Security Acts. Many important improvements were made. Among these are the payment for time lost on account of sickness up to maximum of 130 days in any base year at a maximum of \$25.00 per week.

The unemployment insurance benefits were extended to 130 days per year and the maximum rate of benefit increased to \$25.00 per week.

Provisions were secured for the payment of disability annuities after ten years of service in the railroad industry in cases of total and permanent disability. Disability annuities are also payable to employees disabled for their regular employment after twenty years of service in the industry.

Survivor benefits for widows, parents and minor children at rates approximately 25 per cent higher than rates prevailing under the Social Security Act were obtained.

These improvements secured by the railroad organizations emphasizes the need for early and speedy improvements in the general Social Security Act.

Railroad Retirement Board—(1954, pp. 421, 491) Res. 134 protested against attempts being made to remove key persons in the Railroad Retirement Board employ from Civil Service status and concluded with the following resolves:

Now, therefore, be it resolved—That this Convention strongly condemn the proposal to remove such key administrative positions from the protection of the merit system of Civil Service and vigorously urges that the interests of railroad laboring men and women and their families not be subordinated to partisan political interests in the

administration and functioning of this agency which has been created for the purpose of protecting and safeguarding their security and welfare, and that the Civil Service Commission reject such unwarranted proposal of the Chairman and Industry Member of the Board; and

It is further resolved—That a copy of this resolution be transmitted forthwith to the President of the United States, the Chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committees of the United States Senate and of the House of Representatives, the Chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committees of the United States Senate and of the House of Representatives, and the Chairman and associate members of the United States Civil Service Commission.

Railroad Safety Appliances—(1937, pp. 171, 319) S. 29 to promote the safety of employees and travelers on railroads by requiring common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to install, inspect, test, repair and maintain block-signal systems, interlocking, automatic, train-stop, train-control, cab-signal devices and other appliances, methods and systems intended to promote the safety of railroad operation, passed both Houses.

The administration of the law will be under the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is a measure that has been urged by the railroad employees for many years.

Railroad Shopmen's Strike—(1925, p. 38) A magnificent stand in defense of a fundamental principle is the continuing strike of the railway shopmen against the Pennsylvania and Long Island Railroads. The strike began with the nation-wide movement in 1922, against intolerable conditions resulting from the activity of certain railroad executives to undermine the shopmen's union standards and so reduce wages and destroy working conditions. Although the strikes on all of the other railroads have been

settled, no adjustment could possibly be made with the Pennsylvania Company.

The Pennsylvania early declared against the principle of genuine collective bargaining and prepared a plan of company dominated employee representation, which it forced its employees to accept. The striking shopmen have consistently refused to accept this substitute and are continuing their demand for their right to representation of their own choosing. The Long Island Railroad which is operated as a property of the Pennsylvania, follows the Pennsylvania labor policy.

A remarkable focus upon the contrast between company unions and trade unions has resulted from the fact that the Baltimore and Ohio, which is in many respects a competing road, took the initiative to end the 1922 strike by entering into an agreement with the representatives of the shopmen's unions. Previous to the strike there had been conferences between the B. & O. executives and representatives of the shopmen's unions on stabilization of employment and cooperation to work out better shop practices and eliminate waste. A preamble providing for such cooperation was written into the 1923 agreement and has resulted in the most important development of union-management cooperation which has challenged world-wide attention. As a result, the B. & O. has been rendering constantly improved service at lower maintenance costs. On the other hand repair costs on the Pennsylvania have increased, its labor difficulties have grown apace, and a once superbly equipped and operated system is losing popular favor.

The Pennsylvania management has been so implacable in its opposition to trade unions, that discussion of underlying fundamentals and relative effectiveness of company unions as contrasted with trade unions has been stimulated in many circles.

To those trade unionists who are making the sacrifices necessary for the protest in the name of the whole trade union movement, the American labor movement owes a debt of gratitude. We appreciate the character and integrity of those who have not yielded in the struggle and we pledge them Labor's support in every possible way. We shall try to bring to the attention of all wage earners and our friends the issues involved in the struggle, so that they may know how best to support the striking shopmen in the most practical way.

Railroad Workers' Problems—(1931 p. 131) The transportation industry has become increasingly competitive in the past decade. As improved highway mileage increases and the number of motor vehicles rises, motor vehicle competition becomes significant. Pipe line development has been rapid, the revival of waterways and long distance transportation of power have affected freight movements.

However, railways are our great arterial transportation dependence and the problems of this industry are of consequence to all others. Between 1920 and 1929 the number of employees on the class I railways declined from 2,022,832 to 1,660,850. This number has been further reduced until now there are only 1,317,399 employed. The payroll declined from \$3,681,801,000 to \$2,896,566,000. The ton-mile revenue freight increased from 413,699,006,000 to 450,189,000,000; 361,000 fewer workers handled 36,480,000,000 more ton-mile revenue freight; the number of pounds of coal per 1,000 gross ton miles decreased from 162 in 1921 to 125 in 1929 and 121 in 1930. The net ton miles per freight car day increased from 389 in 1921 to 547 in 1929. Freight locomotive miles increased from 49.5 per freight locomotive day in 1921 to 65.1 in 1929. Passenger locomotive miles per locomotive day increased from 103.4 in 1921 to 120.3 in 1929. These figures are a

record of increased operating efficiency—fewer workers and higher productivity.

In 1930, freight traffic declined 14 per cent under 1929—net ton miles by 14 per cent and revenues 13.1 per cent. Passenger traffic declined 13.7 per cent. Total operating revenues declined 16 per cent—lower than in any preceding year back to 1919. Total operating expenses were 12.8 per cent lower than 1929 and below any preceding year back to 1917. The net operating income was \$885,000,000—a decline of \$390,000,000 or 30.6 per cent under 1929. The rate of return on railway property investment was 3.36—the lowest rate since 1921. Operating efficiency dropped slightly under 1929.

But the rate of progress on railroads has declined over the last decade. Between 1910 and 1920 the increase in freight ton miles was 62 per cent and the increase in passenger miles was 46 per cent. Between 1920 and 1929 the increase in freight ton miles was 8 per cent while the decrease in passenger miles was 34 per cent. As this change occurred in a period in which the volume of business increased, it is obvious that transportation has been going to other carriers. Three types of transportation have been cutting into the field of railroads; water transportation, motor carriers, and pipe lines.

Two long haul transportation agencies have increased their loads markedly during the recent past. In 1915 five millions of long tons passed through the Panama Canal; by 1929 the freight carried amounted to 30,000,000 long tons.

There are under way efforts to revive water transportation. With large appropriations for rivers and canals, and direct subsidies to government owned barge lines on the Mississippi and Warrior Rivers, water freight may be expected to increase. Water borne domestic commerce in the

United States increased as follows between 1920-29:

Gulf and coast ports from 114,557,241 tons to 251,174,333.

Great Lakes ports from 98,750,979 tons to 141,185,669.

Rivers, canals and connecting channels from 125,400,000 to 245,894,000 tons.

There has been recent rapid extension of pipe line carriers, the total reaching 86,000 miles by 1929—an increase of 62 per cent over 1920. Excluding natural gas, where the element of competition does not enter, these pipe lines carried approximately 250,000,000,000 barrels of oil, thereby reducing possible railway freight by 160,000,000,000 tons. Increasing use of oil has reduced the use of coal which in turn has cut into the coal tonnage carried by railroads.

The railway industry which represents an investment of approximately \$26,000,000,000 has been experiencing a decline in both its gross and net earnings due to the economic depression. This in addition to the serious problem of growing competition threatens serious financial difficulties. Over a decade passenger revenues have declined and while freight revenues have continued to increase growing competition threatens their source of income.

Two major proposals are under consideration: consolidation on railroads and an increase in freight rates.

Recognizing the economies to be secured through consolidation, the railway unions interposed the condition that plans for mergers should include provisions to care for the equities of those employees who would be affected by the changes. Railway employees organize their whole lives around their jobs and pour into it all their work capacities. Changes in the industry must take into consideration the consequences to these worker investments as well as to communities. We believe that mergers whether brought about

through holding companies or openly should be supervised by the Interstate Commerce Commission and that this consideration of the personal investment should apply equally.

Every industry that renders an essential service to society has a right to earn a fair return. We believe the development of competitive conditions in the transportation industry should be carefully watched and studied so that the best interests of the carriers and those served should be steadily maintained.

(P. 407) Every industry and division thereof which renders an essential and useful service to society should earn a fair return upon the real and actual investments made. It is self-evident that a bankrupt or insolvent industry cannot serve labor to its advantage nor benefit those having invested their surplus wealth. Indeed, labor under our present practices is made to suffer first instead of being called upon to sacrifice last.

We commend the railway workers for the wisdom and sound judgment displayed in studying the problems as affecting the workers of all divisions in the railway service, through concerted action and by co-operative methods. We likewise commend the E.C. for the service contributed to the support of the associated railway unions. We call upon the E.C., not alone to aid and assist the railway workers and their unions, but also those organized and employed in all other branches of the transportation industry. Should perchance future conflict or misunderstandings arise as to policies, methods or procedures to be followed by any of them, then the Council will undoubtedly endeavor to bring such unions into conference for consultation and agreement, thus protecting and advancing the best interests of all and thereby avoiding harmful and destructive consequences which would otherwise arise because of lack of understanding and coopera-

tion. The co-ordination of the forces of organized labor in a field that is so highly charged with competitive elements and factors is essential.

(1932, p. 103) The problems with which the Railway Employees Department has been faced in the last year are those of all industry; wage cuts, declining employment, and, on the other hand, increasing unemployment both technological and industrial. No stone has been left unturned in an attempt to alleviate these conditions by constantly advocating and demanding the maintenance of high wages, the shorter work-week and work-day, the protection of employes and their property in consolidations, and constructive legislation with respect to retirement insurance and injunctions.

It will be the purpose of this report to outline briefly the progress that has been made on the above matters during the past year.

Despite the wholesale cutting of wages in the manufacturing industries, the Railway Employees' Department with the cooperation of affiliated organizations was successful in maintaining the wage scales of their membership with but few exceptions until January 1932, when the railways requested a reduction in the wages of all railway employes on the plea that reduced traffic and insufficient earnings did not enable them to meet even their fixed charges.

This gave rise to a conference held in Chicago during January, 1932, at which wages and the stabilization of employment were discussed. A committee of nine railroad presidents represented the majority of Class 1 Railroads, while the Railway Labor Executives' Association represented the railway employees, both of which were given authority to negotiate matters before the conference to a conclusion.

The railway presidents made the following curt request: "Ten per cent to be deducted from each pay check for a period of one year. Basic wages

to remain as at present. This arrangement to terminate automatically twelve months after the plan becomes effective."

The Railway Labor Executives' Association, of which organizations affiliated with Railway Employee's Department are members, submitted a program to relieve unemployment and stabilize employment in which the following "Immediate Measures" were proposed:

1. Stabilize employment by assuring one year of employment to the necessary employees in every class. (This will increase the purchasing power of a payroll exceeding \$2,000,000,000 by releasing over 1,250,000 workers from fear of unemployment.)

- (a) This stabilization should include provisions for putting to work as many men as possible consistent with maintaining satisfactory conditions in the respective classes of employment.

- (b) The necessary stand-by forces should also be assured of a minimum amount of part-time employment.

2. Since the six-hour day is necessary and must be instituted to absorb the existing number of experienced employees without reduction of compensation, a commission should be created to determine the ways and means of applying this principle to the different classes of employees. Such a commission should be created by the nomination of an equal number of representatives of management and employees (including in the latter appropriate representatives of the principal classes of employment) with the designation of a chairman from its membership by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Any legislation necessary to establish the commission and to endow it with adequate authority to make a comprehensive study as a basis for a

report to be made within a definite period, should be sought by joint action, so far as possible, by the carriers and the employees.

3. Joint action should be undertaken between managements and employees to promote—

- (a) One billion dollar United States bond issue for grade crossing elimination on main traveled highways. One-half cost to be borne by government as improvement of interstate highways. One-half cost to be borne by railroads to be repaid by payment of interest and sinking fund payment to retire bonds in 50 years.

- (b) Regulation of motor transportation and freight forwarding companies, including provision for employment of furloughed railroad employees.

- (c) Protection of all interests in railroad consolidation.

- (d) Federal legislation to provide retirement insurance and elective workmen's compensation.

- (e) Establishment of an emergency employment bureau to prepare the way for the eventual establishment of a national placement bureau and to provide means for placing unemployed rail workers as additional opportunities of employment may develop.

- (f) Coordination of train crews and train lengths on the basis of economical, safe operation, including any desirable state or federal legislation.

4. In order to carry forward the foregoing program, a continuing cooperation between railroad managements and railroad employees is essential. This will require complete willingness and good faith of railroad managements in dealing with self-chosen representatives of railroad labor, and whole-hearted

compliance with the spirit and the letter of the Railway Labor Act.

The conference was terminated on January 31, 1932, after a month of negotiation, with the signing of an agreement effective as of February 1, 1932, to run for a year, providing for a 10% deduction in the wages of railroad employees and "an earnest and sympathetic effort" on the part of railroad managements "to maintain and increase railroad employment."

Notwithstanding the above agreement of the railway managements and their assurance that a large percentage of the employes' two hundred and fifteen million dollars contribution would be applied to the purchase of materials and to increase employment, employment has continued to decline steadily. There are now 700,000 railway workers unemployed and more than 500,000 working part time and not earning enough to support their families, according to a statement issued recently by the Railway Labor Executives Association. Quoting further from this statement:

When the railway employees agreed to a 10% deduction from their earnings they protested that "wage reductions are not the appropriate means to restore prosperity." They said: "We cannot believe that the public welfare is advanced by reducing the purchasing power of Labor." The tragic march of events has demonstrated that we were right. A national policy of reducing wages and leaving millions of unemployed to depend on charity, utilizing our vast financial resources largely to sustain fictitious security values, has failed utterly to check the downward course of the depression, to revive business, or even to maintain the stability of our great financial and industrial enterprises.

The railroads furnish a good example of the inevitable failure of this policy. We pointed out last

January that the labor cost of transportation had been steadily declining, that the rail employees today handled 50% more traffic and produced twice as much surplus revenue over labor cost as of twenty years ago. We showed from the official reports of the railroads that after payment of taxes the railroad net income of \$934,000,000 in the depression year of 1931, would pay 5% interest on the net railway capital of \$18,680,000,000. We pointed out that the financial embarrassment of the railways arose from their obligations to pay \$845,000,000 annually in fixed charges. No property which is mortgaged to such an extent can expect to meet its obligations during a grave depression in business.

In the light of experience we again insist that it is economically unsound and socially unjust to reduce the earnings of the railroad workers or of any industrial or agricultural workers in order that Labor may pay a dole to idle capital. Billions of dollars today are invested in idle property in railroad and industrial enterprises. Yet this idle capital is drawing interest which is squeezed out of the reduced wages of those workers who are still at least partially employed. The inevitable result of this unequal protection of property values and human values is to degrade the national standard of living and to increase the inequity in the division of the national income.

According to the latest information available, the railways are now seeking a 20% cut in the wages of railroad workers to become effective at the expiration of the present agreement on February 1, 1933.

To date a committee representing the railroads has attempted to facilitate conference with the Railway Labor Executives' Association representing the standard railroad

labor unions for the purpose of negotiating a wage scale to become effective after the expiration of the present agreement on February 1, 1933, but the railway labor executives declined the proposal and stated that having no authority to enter upon such a conference they would neither seek such authority nor encourage any efforts to inaugurate wage negotiations. Following this a committee of the Railway Labor Executives' Association saw the President of the United States and asked that the government step in to prevent the cut in the basic wage scale which the carriers are proposing. In a statement to the President they said:

We have supported and will continue to support and advocate the use of all of the resources of government to relieve unemployment distress and to aid and promote industrial activities which will increase employment. But when the government is making such efforts we submit that as a part of its policy there should be unyielding opposition to reduction of wages with all the evil consequences to which we have referred.

Failure in their efforts to secure conferences with railroad labor officials has prompted railroad officials to postpone all action including the serving of notices as provided under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act informing Labor of their intentions to cut wages 20% until October 6 when a national meeting of railroad presidents will be held to discuss policies with respect to wage reductions. Everything possible is being done to resist this cut and to restore wage rates to what they were prior to the signing of the agreement last January.

(P. 107) Every effort has been made by the Department in cooperation with other railroad organizations

to maintain and stabilize employment. To this end constructive measures have been proposed to management, the outstanding instance being the program that was presented to the committee of nine railroad presidents at the Chicago Conference, part of which is quoted elsewhere in this report. Although assurances have been given that employment would be "maintained and increased," as in the Chicago Agreement, employment has continued to decline. Part-time work has also been on the increase, due to efforts of the employees to distribute available work among the membership in order to give as many as possible an opportunity to earn an existence.

According to reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, there were 1,686,769 men (including executives and officials) employed by Class 1 railroads in the United States during the year 1929. In 1930, this number was reduced to 1,510,688 while in 1931 only 1,278,175 men were employed, showing reductions since 1929 of 10.4% and 24.2% respectively. Of the 1,108,691 men reported to be working in January of this year, when the Chicago Agreement was signed, only 1,047,483 men were employed in June, the last report available, a reduction of 5.5%, which clearly indicates that the employee representatives were absolutely right in predicting that "wage reductions are not the appropriate means to restore prosperity." At the present time, it may be fairly and conservatively estimated that there are over 700,000 railroad workers totally unemployed and 500,000 working part time. Even with the return of prosperous conditions, only 50% of those now unemployed may reasonably expect to find full time employment, due to displacement caused by technological changes in the industry.

The maintenance of equipment employes (including officials) suffered even more from unemployment. The Interstate Commerce Commission re-

ported 455,858 employes working in 1929, as compared to 344,033 in 1931, a decrease of 111,825 or 24.5%. Since January of this year, the number of employes was reduced from 304,211 to 273,015 reported in June, the last report available. This is a decrease of 31,196 or 10.3%. If the same rate of decrease has continued since June, and indications are that it more than has, there are approximately 257,000 men employed in the maintenance of equipment department of Class 1 railroads, which means that about 200,000 or 44% of those employed in 1929 have been thrown out of work. According to reports coming in from general chairmen, those men who are fortunate enough to be employed are working on the average of only four days per week.

Unemployment in the maintenance of equipment department is reflected in the increase in bad-order rolling-stock, and the decrease in maintenance of equipment expenses and compensation paid to maintenance of equipment forces.

According to figures compiled by the American Railway Association Car Service Division, the number of bad-order freight cars increased from 134,267, or 6.0% of those on line on January 1, 1929, to 187,666 cars, or 8.7% on January 1, 1932. By August 1, 1932, this number increased to 245,749, or 11.5%, as compared to 181,702 cars, or 8.3% on August 1, 1931, and 137,495 cars, or 6.2% on August 1, 1929. The number of bad-order locomotives (awaiting classified repairs) showed an even greater increase. On January 1, 1929, there were 4,380 locomotives in bad-order, or 7.5% of those on line, while on January 1, 1932, this number was increased to 6,990, or 13.0%. By August 1, 1932, there were 8,291 bad-order locomotives or 16.0% of those on line as compared to 5,913, or 10.9% on August 1, 1931, and 4,205, or 7.3% on the same date in 1929. Thus the number of bad-order freight cars in-

creased 78.7% and bad-order locomotives increased 97.2% since August 1, 1929, while the per cent unserviceable increased 85.5% and 199.2% respectively.

On the other hand, maintenance of equipment expenses and compensation paid to maintenance of equipment forces showed a tremendous decline, according to reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Maintenance of equipment expenses were reduced from \$1,211,342,962 in 1929 to \$829,433,029 in 1931, a decrease of \$381,887,933, or 31.5%. During the first six months of 1932, \$328,310,133 was expended for this purpose as compared with \$441,497,751 spent during the same period in 1931, and \$602,813,030 in 1929. This represents a decrease of \$113,187,618, or 25.6% since 1931, and \$274,502,877, or 45.6% since 1929. Likewise, compensation paid to maintenance of equipment employes declined from \$760,472,016 in 1929 to \$506,255,938 in 1931, which is a decrease of \$254,216,078, or 33.4%. During the first six months of 1932 only \$188,810,971 was paid on compensation as compared to \$272,888,780 paid during the first six months of 1931, and \$377,397,435 paid during the same period in 1929, which is a decrease of \$84,077,809, or 30.8% since 1931, and \$188,586,464 or 50.0% since 1929. The decrease in compensation is greater than the decrease in expenses, indicating that the greater portion of the reduction in expenses came out of the pay envelopes of the employes. Furthermore, the railways would do well to avail themselves of the opportunity to borrow funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in order to rehabilitate their unserviceable equipment and provide men with employment.

Like many other organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L., the Railway Employees' Department has constantly advocated the adoption of the shorter work-day and work-week as the only means of taking up the slack

in employment caused by the ever-improving technological changes in the railroad industry.

The efforts of the Railway Employees' Department to obtain a shorter work-period in order to alleviate unemployment date back several years. In 1930, in convention, a carefully worked out "Stabilization of Employment Program" was adopted in which, among other things, a reduction in hours of work was proposed (five-day week of 40 hours). In November, 1931, the Railway Labor Executives' Association, of which the presidents of organizations affiliated with the Department are members, held a conference with a committee of nine railroad presidents for the purpose of discussing a program of employment stabilization which was adopted by the association. The railway presidents had no authority to negotiate to a conclusion, so, another conference was held in January, 1932, at which time such authority was secured (Chicago conference). Among other things, the principle of the six-hour day was proposed as a means of relieving unemployment and stabilizing employment.

The committee of nine railroad presidents refused to accept the proposal, with the result that a resolution (Public Resolution No. 113, 72d Congress), authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate the application of the principle of the six-hour day, was introduced in Congress before the conference had ended. Shortly thereafter it was adopted and signed by the President. The commission was directed in the resolution "to investigate what would be the effect upon operation service, and expenses of applying the principle of the six-hour day in the employment of all classes and each particular class of railway employees because of such application," and to report their findings to Congress on or before December 15, 1932.

By way of summarizing the evi-

dence: the carriers and employees were quite generally agreed that the application of the principle of the six-hour day would not affect operation or services adversely. In fact, the employees were of the belief that the six-hour day would improve these factors, as well as increase employment. The only question seemed to be one of cost. The carriers' estimate of increased cost that would result from the application of the six-hour day was about 25%. Although information was not as readily available to the employees in this respect, estimates were made which were considerably lower than this—10% to 13%—which took into account many efficiencies and economies that could be introduced with the principle of the six-hour day that the carriers ignored in making their estimates.

The evidence is still being considered by the commission. Recently, the commission proposed to the railways that the six-hour day be tried in actual operation but they refused, which may or may not indicate somewhat the stature of the six-hour day in the railroad industry. Failure in this prompted the commission to issue a notice that further hearings would be held the latter part of September.

Although a report was looked for much sooner than this, in view of the alarming amount of unemployment in the railroad industry, it appears in the light of the above circumstances that none will be filed before December 15, the due date, at which time Congress will have the facts and will be able to act intelligently on the six-hour bill for the railway industry, introduced on July 14th in both the Senate and the House, known as Senate Bill S. 4980 and House Bill H.R. 12991.

In spite of the unprecedented unemployment already caused by technological improvements in the railroad industry, the railway managements are making a bad situation much worse by advocating and effect-

ing consolidations for the purpose of reducing expenses, which not only throw men out of work, but cause even more far-reaching disaster by removing railway service from communities, built around that industry, and as a result making the property of the workers and others residing in these communities worthless. The tragedy of losing a home after spending a life-time building it cannot be minimized.

One of the largest and most recent consolidations is now in process of completion in the East. The original Five-system Plan for the consolidation of Eastern roads submitted by the Interstate Commerce Commission on December 9, 1929, was amended at the suggestion of four large Eastern roads—Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, New York Central Railroad Company and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company—to provide for a Four-system Plan embracing these four railroads. Although approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission was given only tentatively pending the fulfilment of certain requirements the chief of which was the divesting by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company of their control of the New Haven & Boston and Maine Railways, it appears that the Interstate Commerce Commission is ready to yield on most points and little remains in the way of completing the merger except the possible intervention of Congress which is being demanded by the railroad employes and other interests, principally the shippers. But in order to avoid this possibility, the carriers involved are rushing things along in order to effect the consolidation before Congress reconvenes.

While the Four-system Plan was under investigation by the commission, the railway labor organizations filed a brief with the commission opposing the Four-system Plan on the ground "that the proposed consolida-

tions will not be in the public interest."

The present position of the railroad labor organizations with respect to consolidations remains unchanged. At a meeting of the Railway Labor Executives' Association held in Cleveland, August 23 and 24, it was decided "to oppose all further consolidations of railroads until additional legislation is passed by Congress protecting the public and the employees against increase of unemployment, property losses and the destruction of community interests through such consolidations. The heads of the railway labor organizations expressed their emphatic opinion that this was no time to advance programs for throwing more men out of work, depriving communities of railway service, and destroying property values, in the name of supposed economies of operation, which would furnish no tangible public benefits but serve only to increase speculators' profit in stock market operations. Counsel was directed to prepare a bill to increase the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission over railroad consolidations in order to give adequate protection to the interests of railway employees and the public."

The railway labor organizations were active in the fight for anti-injunction legislation during the last session of Congress. The meaning of this measure is most significant, particularly to the federated crafts by reason of their bitter experience during the shopmen's strike of 1922.

At the present time two bills are pending before Congress which propose to deal constructively with old age retirement and unemployment in the railroad industry. The first provides for a retirement insurance plan, while the second is the six-hour day bill (mentioned elsewhere in this report) which is designed to relieve the unemployment caused by technological improvements and consolidations.

which it is reasonable to assume will continue to be a permanent menace in any event unless relieved by a shorter work-day. The railway organizations plan to seek early action on these measures when Congress reconvenes in December.

(P. 373) The railroad labor organizations, of whom a substantial majority are affiliated with the A. F. of L., are to be complimented upon the able and intelligent manner in which they undertake to and do protect the interests of all workers in this great industry. The A. F. of L. and the 21 standard railroad labor organizations cooperate on all matters of mutual interest in the field of economics and political activities.

(1933, pp. 116, 453) As the result of a conference held in Chicago, Ill., in January, 1932, between a committee of nine railroad presidents representing the railroads, and the Railway Labor Executives' Association representing the employees, an agreement was signed, effective February 1, 1932, which provided for a 10 per cent deduction from the pay-check of each employe for a period of one year, basic wages to remain unchanged, the arrangement to terminate 12 months after the effective date of the agreement; and "an earnest and sympathetic effort" on the part of railroad managements "to maintain and increase railroad employment."

Notwithstanding the tremendous decline that took place in railroad employment during the summer of 1932, with its resultant loss in the earnings of employes, in addition to the 10 per cent deduction in wages that was being made from the pay-checks of those who were employed, reports appeared in the press announcing the intention of railroad managements to institute a movement having for its object a reduction of 20 per cent in basic rates of pay of railroad employes. No official notice, or any direct knowledge of the desire of the carriers to further

reduce wages was given the Railway Labor Executives' Association until September 20, when W. F. Thiehoff, general manager of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, invited the members of the association who were meeting at the time, to hold an informal conference with a committee of nine railroad officials, of which committee he was chairman.

At the meeting which was held in Washington, D. C., Mr. Thiehoff referred to reports which had been appearing in the press and stated that he and his associates had been selected as a committee to consider the wage question and had recommended that a movement be instituted to bring about a 20 per cent reduction in basic rates of pay and that such recommendation had been approved by the railroad presidents' conference. He stated further that the railroads were agreeable to handling the matter in a national conference, and indicated that his committee would like to have the Railway Labor Executives' Association secure authority to deal with the matter in that way. Mr. Thiehoff was advised that the Railway Labor Executives' Association was not in sympathy with his suggestion that a conference be arranged for the purpose of considering wage reductions, and could see no occasion for such a conference, but the suggestion would be taken under consideration and he would be advised later. In a letter to Mr. Thiehoff dated September 21, 1932, the same position was taken.

On September 22, the Railway Labor Executives' Association conferred with President Hoover and after pointing out the plight of the railroad workers as the result of unemployment and wage reductions, urged him to prevent any further reduction in the wages of railroad employes, because it would delay recovery. The following announcement by the Secretary of Labor appeared in the press on September 26:

In the matter of the railway

wage discussion now going on, the President last week expressed the view, both to the representatives of railway labor and to the leading railway presidents who have conferred with him, that he felt that it is desirable that this question should be deferred at the present time.

The present agreement does not expire until February 1, next. The President's view was that it might be well agreed to defer further discussion until the end of the year as the general economic situation would be much clearer at that time, and negotiations could be based on a better realization of the actual circumstances existing.

Meanwhile, Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and chairman of the committee of nine railroad presidents with whom the organizations negotiated in January, 1932, had informally suggested consideration of the matter of negotiating the question of extension of the agreement of January 31, 1932, beyond January 31, 1933. The Railway Labor Executives' Association gave consideration to the suggestion of the President of the B&O, and on October 1, 1932, replied that if notice of a desire to change existing wage contracts were not served by the carriers and if management made its suggested proposal to extend the Chicago Agreement of January 31, 1932 (providing for a ten per cent deduction from pay-checks), then the members of the association would proceed within the intervening period to ascertain (in accordance with the laws of the respective organizations) whether the membership desired to authorize participation after January 1, 1933, in a national conference for the purpose of negotiating to a conclusion with a committee duly authorized by carrier managements such a proposal of management to extend the Chicago Agreement of Jan-

uary 31, 1932, beyond February 1, 1933, for such a period, if any, as might seem warranted by conditions at the time of such negotiations.

As a result of a series of informal conferences held in Chicago from October 13-15, at the request of Mr. Thiehoff, between his committee of nine and the Railway Labor Executives' Association, it was agreed that the railways would withhold the service of any reduction in rates of pay pending negotiations, and that the Railway Labor Executives' Association would seek authority in accordance with the laws of their respective organizations to enter into negotiations about December 10, 1932, on the proposal that the existing agreement be extended beyond the expiration date of January 31, 1933.

After securing the necessary authority to negotiate, the Railway Labor Executives' Association met Mr. Thiehoff and his committee of railroad executives, which was similarly vested on December 12, 1932, and entered into negotiations which extended for almost two weeks. Numerous proposals and counter-proposals were made, until finally on December 21, 1932, an agreement was reached and signed by the members of both committees, extending the original agreement entered into on January 31, 1932, in the following manner:

It is agreed between the parties hereto that the said original agreement is hereby extended, so that up to and including October 31, 1933, ten per cent (10%) shall be deducted from each pay check of each of the said employees covered by this agreement; that basic rates of pay shall remain as under the original agreement; that this agreement shall terminate automatically October 31, 1933, and that neither party prior to June 15, 1933, will serve notice of a desire to change or extend this agreement, or of an intended change in basic rates of pay,

such change or extension to become effective on or after November 1, 1933; it being further agreed that in the event that such a notice should be served by any party hereto between June 15, 1933, and November 1, 1933, the proceedings thereunder shall be conducted pursuant to the provisions of the Railway Labor Act and such proceedings shall be conducted nationally in order that the matter may be handled to a conclusion as expeditiously as reasonably possible.

On June 17, 1933, the Conference Committee of Managers, through its chairman, W. F. Thiehoff, advised the Railway Labor Executives' Association that on June 15, notice was served on the general committees of all organizations, parties to the national agreement, dated December 21, 1932, advising them of the desire of the railroads to bring about a 22½ per cent reduction in basic rates of pay effective November 1, 1933. It was suggested that a conference be held on July 12, in Chicago, Ill., to discuss the matter.

Before any action was taken, the Honorable Joseph B. Eastman, Federal Coordinator of Railroads, summoned both parties to Washington and on June 20, 1933, requested that the existing deduction agreement be extended for a reasonable period as the Federal Government was advancing its recovery program designed to increase employment, wages and purchasing power, and if the railroads persisted in their intentions to seek further wage reductions, this program of the government would be seriously injured.

Both parties complied with the coordinator's request and signed an agreement on June 21, 1933, providing for an extension of the agreement signed on December 21, 1932, as follows:

That the agreement signed at Chicago, Illinois, the 21st day of

December, 1932, in behalf of the participating railroads and their employes, represented as therein set forth and who are further represented in the making of this agreement by the respective parties hereto, is hereby extended for a period of eight months from the expiration date thereof, so that up to and including June 30, 1934, ten (10) per cent shall be deducted from each pay check of each of the said employes covered by said agreement of December 21, 1932, and by this agreement; that basic rates of pay shall remain as under the agreement of January 31, 1932; that the extended agreement shall terminate automatically June 30, 1934, and that no party prior to February 15, 1934, will serve notice of a desire to change or extend this extended agreement, or of an intended change in basic rates of pay; such change or extension to become effective on or after July 1, 1934; it being further agreed that in event that such a notice should be served by any party hereto between February 15, 1934, and July 1, 1934, the proceedings thereunder shall be conducted pursuant to the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, and such proceedings shall be conducted nationally in order that the matter may be handled to a conclusion as expeditiously as reasonably possible.

As provided in the agreement, each organization approved the action of its chief executive by a vote of the membership according to the rules of the respective organization.

(Canadian Situation)

Notwithstanding the disposition that has been made of the wage question on railroads in the U.S., the Canadian railways have seen fit to persist in their efforts to further reduce the wages of their employes.

During and after the War, the wages of Canadian railroad workers

were adjusted in conformity with the adjustments made in the United States. Since 1923, however, the wages of Canadian railroad workers lagged with the result that by 1929, their rates were from five to seven per cent below rates established in the United States. In the fall of 1931, the Canadian railways made an attack on the wages of the running trades, followed by similar attacks on those of the mechanical crafts, clerks and others.

The Railway Labor Executives' Association adopted the following resolution on November 5, 1931, pledging their support to the Canadian employees: "In the Canadian wage question it is agreed that any one or more organizations whose members have been notified of proposed wage reductions shall on request of the chief executive or executives to the chairman of this association, have the full cooperation of this association on the same basis and program as agreed in dealing with the wage question in the U.S.

The engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen and telegraphers on September 15, received a request from the management for a voluntary 10 per cent deduction in wages to be effective for one year. After the necessary negotiations, this request was refused making it by its own terms a formal notice required under agreements "for the revision of such agreements to bring about a reduction of 10 per cent in the rate of pay specified therein," whereupon the carriers submitted the dispute to a Board of Conciliation and Investigation under the Industrial Disputes Act. The Board rendered its report to the Minister of Labor on November 30, 1931. The majority report upheld the railways in their request for a reduction in wages to take effect after November 15, 1931.

Based on this report, the railways submitted a proposal for a 10 per cent reduction in wages effective for one year from December 1, 1931, which the employees declined to accept, noti-

fying the management in the meantime that wages paid would be accepted only on account. As a result of the Chicago agreement, however, an agreement was reached between the employees and the carriers on February 4, 1932, providing for a 10 per cent deduction from pay checks, basic rates to remain unchanged, and the agreement to be effective from December 1, 1931, to January 31, 1933, but "if on or after December 1, 1932, business conditions have not so improved as to enable the railways to terminate the agreement on January 31, 1933, notice to that effect will be given to the representatives of the employees, upon which the parties to this agreement will confer further and agree to make every reasonable effort to bring the matter to a conclusion before January 31, 1933."

The next to be approached were the mechanical crafts who on March 5, 1932, were notified that the management desired to meet with them for the purpose of discussing the acceptance by the employees of a "reduction in compensation on the same basis as has already been made effective for other classes of employees on the Canadian Railways, as well as for all classes of railway employees in the U.S.

As in the U. S. the committee representing the employees requested that stabilization of employment as well as wages be discussed. The management refused to discuss employment until after the wage question was disposed of, so, under the circumstances, an agreement similar to that for the running trades was signed on March 24, 1932, effective for one year after April 1, 1932. The stabilization of employment was then taken up between committees representing the management and the employees on the various properties that were parties to the agreement. Similar agreements were signed by the other employees with whom the carriers had agreements in the past, each providing for a 10 per cent deduction to be effective for one year. It

is important to note that the agreements for the various groups of employees did not run simultaneously.

During the early part of this year, the Canadian railways made a second attack on the wages of their employees, demanding a 20 per cent reduction in basic rates of pay.

The engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen and telegraphers were informed on November 30, 1932, that the carriers would be unable after January 31, 1933, to discontinue the 10 per cent deduction and suggested further that at an early date they would be compelled to seek "a further reduction in compensation or a revision of rates of pay." The mechanical trades were similarly informed on February 20, 1933, as were all the other employees as the date of expiration of their deduction agreements approached.

On January 28, 1933, the carriers served formal notice on the running trades of their intent and desire to put into effect, on or after March 3, 1933, wages calculated at the rate of 20 per cent below the basic rates of pay specified in the schedule of wages and working conditions in effect prior to December 1, 1931. The employees expressed themselves as agreeable to an extension of the 10 per cent deduction agreement until December 31, 1933, or to a settlement similar to that reached in December, 1932, between the U.S. Railways and the Standard railroad labor organizations, but flatly refused to accept a 20 per cent reduction in wages. This prompted the carriers to apply for a Board of Conciliation under the Industrial Disputes Act.

Hearings were conducted by the board, which rendered its report to the Minister of Labor on April 25, 1933. The majority report recommended a 20 per cent deduction in wages, while the minority report stated that the 10 per cent deduction agreement effective December 1st, 1931, expired on January 31, 1933, that proper no-

tice to change existing basic rates had not been given and, therefore, the proposal of the carrier should not be approved.

On May 1, 1933, the carriers put into effect an arrangement whereby 20 percent is deducted from the pay check of each employee. Efforts have been made by the organizations to get management to rescind the order, but such efforts have proved futile with the result that at the present time a strike ballot is being taken to determine the attitude of the membership.

Under date of June 13, the carriers notified the mechanical crafts that effective July 16, the management desired that an additional 10 per cent be deducted from the pay checks of these employees, making a total deduction of 20 per cent. Similar requests were made of the clerks, maintenance of way employees, firemen and oilers, shop laborers and others. Negotiations on these requests are now in progress according to the latest information available, and although the time specified upon which the reduction should take effect has expired no change in wages will be made while negotiations are under way.

In view of the fact that the basic wage rates of Canadian railroad workers are lower than those of American workers, and that the Chicago agreement has been recently extended, the request of the Canadian railways for a 20 per cent deduction in wages is not justified particularly now when recovery is in progress. Everything possible is being done to get justice for the Canadian membership. Employment has continued to decline during the past year as was the case in all of industry, but in recent months there have been signs of improvement due principally to the efforts of the President of the U.S. to increase employment and purchasing power under his program for national recovery. The railroads are dependent on the rest of industry for traffic and, therefore, the

status of industry in general is reflected in railroad employment.

According to reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission 1,048,568 persons were employed on Class I Railroads and Switching and Terminal Companies in the United States during 1932, as compared to 1,278,175 in 1931 and 1,686,769 in 1929. This represents a reduction of 18.0 per cent under the employment of 1931 and 37.8 per cent below that for the year 1929. In March, 1933, according to the last report available, the number employed declined to 919,881 or 12.3 per cent below the average for 1932, and 16.1 per cent under the like month a year ago, when 1,096,506 workers were employed.

The maintenance forces suffered great losses from unemployment because of the retrenchment policy of the railroads during the past several years which has resulted in the accumulation of well over a year of deferred maintenance. The number of maintenance of equipment employes declined from 455,858 in 1929 to 344,033 in 1931. In 1932 the number employed was reduced to 282,971, or 17.7 per cent under that of 1931 and 37.9 per cent below the employment of 1929. Only 249,040 were employed in March, 1933, which is a reduction of 12.0 per cent under the average for 1932 and 18.9 per cent below the like month last year. The number of maintenance of way employes was even more greatly reduced. Of the 411,210 workers employed in 1929, only 275,486 were working on the average during 1931, and in 1932 this number was further reduced to 215,887 or 21.6 per cent below the employment in 1931 and 47.5 per cent under that of 1929. In March, 1933, the number employed declined to 175,453 or 18.7 per cent below the average employment during 1932, and 16.5 per cent under like month last year.

The decrease in the employment of the maintenance forces is clearly re-

flected in the bad order situation confronting the railroads as a result of their severe retrenchment policy during the past few years. According to figures compiled by the American Railway Association Car Service Division the number of bad order freight cars increased from 136,396 or 6.1 per cent of those on line in 1929, to 231,435 cars or 10.8 per cent of those on line in 1932. For the first half of 1933, the number of cars unserviceable increased to 277,859 or 13.3 per cent of those on line, while on June 1, according to the latest report available, there were 303,758 freight cars unserviceable or 14.7 per cent of those on line. Locomotives in bad order and in need of repairs in 1929 numbered 4,460 or 7.7 per cent of those on line. During the first half of 1933, the bad order locomotives increased to 10,376 or 20.3 per cent of those on line, and on June 1, there were 11,103 locomotives in bad order or 21.9 per cent of those on line. The number of freight cars in bad order increased 103.7 per cent from 1929 to 1933, while the number of locomotives in bad order increased 132.6 per cent during the same period.

The same is true with respect to road maintenance. Rails applied in replacements and betterments were decreased from 3,610,455 tons in 1929 to 2,673,674 tons in 1930 and 1,714,909 tons in 1931. In 1932 only 500,000 tons were used. Cross-ties laid in previously constructed track declined from 74,679,375 in 1929 to 63,353,826 in 1930 and 51,487,000 in 1931, while in 1932 only 40,000,000 ties were used. In 1932, 86.2 per cent less rail was applied and 46.4 per cent fewer ties were laid than in 1929.

It naturally follows that the maintenance expenses and the compensation paid to maintenance forces would be greatly reduced. Maintenance of equipment expenses was reduced from \$1,202,912,000 in 1929 to \$623,551,000 in 1932 or 48.2 per cent, while maintenance of way expenses declined from \$855,355,000 to \$354,921,000 or 58.5

per cent during the same period. Compensation paid to the maintenance of equipment forces declined from \$760,472,016 in 1929 to \$349,493,320 in 1932 or 54.0 per cent. The maintenance of way forces received \$468,025,254 in 1929 and only \$195,953,898 in 1932, which is a decrease of 58.1 per cent.

Thus a considerable amount of deferred maintenance has been accumulated as a result of the efforts of railroad management to reduce expenses, causing great losses in employment and wages. The significant thing to observe in these figures is the fact that the greater portion of the reduction in maintenance expenses came out of the pay envelope of these employees.

The increased industrial activity of the past few months has caused the railroad traffic to increase considerably, with the result that some men have been called back to work, according to the press and reports received by the Railway Employees' Department, in order to put the roads and equipment in good order so as to facilitate the handling of the present increase in traffic. It is hoped that this trend will continue.

(Shorter Workday and Workweek)

Through the efforts of the standard railway labor organizations, the Interstate Commerce Commission was ordered by a resolution of Congress (Public Resolution No. 113, Seventy-Second Congress, approved March 13, 1932) to investigate what would be the effect upon operation, service, and expenses of applying the principle of the 6-hour day in the employment of all classes and each particular class of railway employees because of such application. After extended hearings, the Commission rendered its report to Congress on December 6, 1932. It should be observed that this was purely a fact-finding body, and, therefore, no recommendations were made. The report of the Commission was as follows:

"Operation — There would be no

material effect, adverse or otherwise, upon operation of the several carriers, assuming that revenues would be sufficient to cover any added operating expense and still maintain credit.

"Service—There would be no material effect, adverse or otherwise, upon the service of the several carriers, subject to the same qualifications as shown above with respect to operation.

"Expenses—(a) Assuming the same volume of traffic and operations as in 1930, and assuming no reduction in the then-existing compensation for an 8-hour or other basic day's work, the initial effect would be to increase operating expenses of the carriers collectively, including the express and sleeping car companies, at the rate of approximately \$630,000,000 per year, or about 14.6 per cent of the operating expenses, and approximately 22.2 per cent of the payroll expenses in 1930. However, the compensation of steam railway, express, and sleeping car employees was on February 1, 1932, reduced 10 per cent by an agreement which expires on January 31, 1933. Various reductions in wages of electric railway employees have also been made. If the wage reductions are continued, the above estimate of \$630,000,000 would be reduced to something less than \$570,000,000 per year.

"(b) Assuming the same volume of traffic and operations as in 1930, and a reduction in the then-existing compensation pro rata to the reduction in the basic day's work, and excluding road, train and engine service from consideration, for reasons stated in the report, the initial effect would be to decrease operating expenses of the carriers collectively, including the express and sleeping-car companies, at the rate of approximately \$26,000,000 per year; or about 0.6 per cent of the operating expenses, and approximately 0.9 per cent of the payroll expenses in 1930. Allowing for the wage reductions above mentioned, this estimate would be reduced to something less than \$24,500,000 per year.

"(c) Using the same percentages of operating expense, and assuming the same volume of traffic and operations as in the 12 months ended with September, 1932, the initial effect would be an increase at the rate of approximately \$414,000,000 per year under the first assumption with reference to wages and a decrease at the rate of approximately \$20,000,000 per year under the second assumption. The estimates of \$414,000,000 and \$20,000,000 above given are probably both somewhat too high, if wage reductions are to be continued.

"(d) The increase in expenses at the outset under the first wage assumption would gradually be lessened and the decrease in expenses at the outset under the second wage assumption would gradually be increased as the result of experience with the proposed new arrangement and by technological developments.

"Upon either basis of compensation the application of the principle of a 6-hour day would render necessary between 300,000 and 350,000 additional carrier employes in a year such as 1930 and between 60,000 and 100,000 additional employes in a year of abnormal economic conditions such as now exist."

The object of the Commission's investigation was to provide Congress with the facts so as to provide a sound basis for action on the Pittman-Crosser bill, providing for the establishment of the principle of the six-hour day. The great amount of legislation before Congress prevented action on this bill before adjournment. At the special session of Congress the six-hour bill was re-introduced. . . . It developed that the Thirty-Hour-Week Bill took precedence before Congress, and, therefore, some consideration was given to the thought of amending this bill so as to include the six-hour bill of the railway labor organizations. After much consideration, however, an amendment

was introduced to the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933 (S. 1580 and H. R. 5500), but because of the possibility that such an amendment would prevent the passage of this important measure and in an attempt to cooperate with President Roosevelt in promoting his recovery program, the amendment was withdrawn. It is expected that another six-hour bill will be introduced in the next session of Congress.

The standard railway labor organizations also indorsed and supported the Thirty-Hour-Week Bill.

(Legislation) — During the past three years the Railway Labor Executives Association has consistently endeavored to promote legislation for the relief of unemployment and has proposed other kindred programs in the interest of railway employees particularly, and in the interest of all workers generally. It has been the consistent belief of the Association that the remedy for relief of the unfortunate conditions confronting this country was to be found in the increased purchasing power of the masses, and that unless this was brought about all other efforts to restore the country to its former prosperous condition would prove unavailing.

On March 16th of this year, when it was known that Congress would sit in special session the association in session in Washington, D. C., adopted a consolidated program which authorized its attorney, under the direction of the executive committee, to devote his energies in the promotion of the necessary legislation that would afford the relief desired.

On May 1st, 1933, there was introduced in the Senate and the House of Representatives of the U.S. a bill entitled "Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933," which had been prepared at the instance of the railroads with the aid and assistance of government advisors. This bill in its original form, permitted of consolida-

tion of lines, terminals and facilities, which it carried to the ultimate possible limits would have abolished an estimated total of 400,000 positions of railroad employees. It offered no protection in these employees in their rights to an opportunity to earn a livelihood or in relief from the destruction of their individual property values which they have given years to the building.

It provided no means of dealing with the chaotic condition of seniority rights which would be brought about by such consolidations.

It did not give adequate recognition to the rights of employees through proper representation by their chosen organizations.

In short, it contemplated further railroad economy of operation at the expense and in total disregard of the rights of the railroad employees.

The association prepared a number of amendments to the bill intended to protect the interests of the railroad employees against the adverse effects of the operation of the bill.

These amendments were presented to the Senate and House Committees on Interstate Commerce beginning on May 8, 1933.

The Senate Committee accepted most of the amendments and reported the bill, as amended, to the Senate, and it was adopted by the Senate on Saturday, May 27th.

In the House Committee differences arose which culminated in a joint conference with President Roosevelt on May 31, 1933.

At this conference President Roosevelt approved all the amendments with such minor changes in language as he felt necessary to clarify their meaning. The House Committee reported the bill out on Thursday, June 1st, with these amendments intact. The bill passed the House on Monday, June 5th, and it then went to a conference between the House and Senate Com-

mittees. The bill was finally passed by both Houses and signed by the President on June 16, 1933.

(1934, pp. 156, 545) During the past year the Railway Employees Department and its affiliated organizations together with the other standard railroad labor organizations have been very active in promoting the best interests of their membership and have succeeded among other things in getting a restoration of the 10 per cent wage deduction over a period of nine months, a new "Bill of Rights" in the amendments to the Railway Labor Act, and old age security in the Retirement Insurance Act, all of which have given their organizing activities a great impetus. Thousands of railroad workers have joined the ranks of the standard railroad labor organizations in order that they may participate in the gains already achieved as well as make their contribution to future improvements.

Wages—(1938, p. 441) A reduction in the already low wages of railroad employees is positively unjustified. Wage cuts on railroads open up the danger of wage cuts in all industries. The A. F. of L. pledges support to the railroad organizations in their resistance to the wage cuts. A committee will be appointed to cooperate with the railroad organizations.

(1943, p. 547) The following statement was submitted to the convention by the spokesman for the 14 international organizations of labor affiliated with the A. F. of L. with particular reference to that part of their membership employed in the railroad industry of our nation, embracing one million men and women who operate the nations railroads.

"... I think we will all agree that the nation's railroad workers have been doing a splendid job in meeting the demands of the nation in a period of war for mass transportation. With one or two exceptions little or no time has been lost in carrying on trans-

portation for the past quarter of a century, and particularly during the period of the war we have faithfully carried out, without the loss of a single hour's time, the pledge that the American Federation of Labor made to our President when we were plunged into the war.

"And so, railroad workers claim their just share of the splendid job that all working men have done to meet the needs of our nation in time of great peril. It is only because of that deep interest of this splendid group of men and women in the welfare of the nation that they now raise their voices about some policies pursued by some administrators of government that we feel are dangerous to the best interest of the nation itself.

"The handling of labor matters by representatives of the Federal Government is nothing new to railroad workers. Beginning with the enactment of the Erdman Act in 1888, some 55 years ago, railroad workers have been subject to federal law establishing procedure and determining labor relations in the railroad transportation industry. That is because of the tremendous importance of mass transportation to the nation itself. Transportation by railroad is the arterial supply system of our whole economic activity. The railroads are the assembly lines of all that we produce. We gather up the materials, take them to the factories, and then they are fabricated and we distribute them throughout the world to the points of consumption.

"And so the nation has interested itself in a continuous efficient, uninterrupted flow of rail transportation, as I say, for the last 55 years. At the present time and since 1926, railroad labor disputes have been adjusted under a federal law known as the Railway Labor Act. That law was the result of trial and error over a period of some 32 or 33 years preceding its

enactment. We feel, and I think it is generally agreed, that the Railway Labor Act is perfection in the orderly processes of maintaining satisfactory labor relations in a large industry essentially necessary to the welfare of the nation. That law provides an obligation, enforceable in the courts, of making and maintaining collective bargaining contracts and the settlement of disputes arising under such contracts through conference, negotiation, federal mediation, voluntary arbitration, and finally by the intervention of the President of the United States through an inquiry to be carried out by a Presidential Commission, so that the nation may be informed of the merits and the facts of any controversy that might threaten to interrupt the essential life's blood of our industrial machine. That law has worked well. It has assured and provided to the nation a continuous flow of these essential services, until just recently when some people who perhaps do not understand the difficulties of dealing with labor relations have undertaken to interfere with the orderly processes of that machinery.

"To state the situation concretely, briefly and directly, the railroad workers of this country, numbering in excess of a million, in September of 1942 served legal notice for upward revisions in their wage scales of 20 cents an hour, with a basic minimum of 70 cents an hour. In due course, conferences were held upon a nationwide scale, mediation ensued. Voluntary arbitration was not available because unacceptable. In due course the President of the United States intervened according to his statutory duty under Section 10 of the Railway Labor Act, and he appointed a commission of three to investigate the merits of the controversy over requested upward revision in wages.

"Two outstanding, eminent economists were appointed to membership on that Board and the third member

was an outstanding, reputable lawyer. The board began its public hearing in the federal court rooms in the city of Chicago on the first day of last March. Railroad workers and managers were summoned under Presidential powers to appear and give testimony under oath in regard to the merits of the controversy. Forty-four days of public hearing in the nature of a trial were consumed by that board in hearing the controversy, and 6,338 pages of testimony and argument were submitted at that hearing by the parties; 471 exhibits, many of them voluminous, were submitted in that case. Economists were employed by the unions, as well as the utilization of our own staff services. It might be said, conservatively, that we introduced two truckloads of statistical material exploring and examining the facts in all of the social and economic aspects of that case. An equally comprehensive presentation of material was made by the opposition.

"On the 7th day of May, the board went into executive session, and on the 24th day of May the Presidential Commission filed with the President of the United States a comprehensive report awarding to the railroad workers of the nation an increase in their basic wage rates of eight cents an hour, retroactive to February 1, 1943. It was provided in the recommendations of the commission to the President that the back pay or the retroactive pay would be paid in war bonds amounting to \$85,000,000 in order that it could not be said that any inflationary results might flow from the distribution of such sums to the workers of the nation. The total increase in wages, exclusive of the retroactive compensation, was \$205,000,000, which the railroad workers of the nation had won.

"In the report submitted to the President these learned and outstanding gentlemen, specialists in the field in which they were working, said that in their judgment the general increase

of eight cents an hour was the minimum non-inflationary increase that the nations railroad workers were entitled to receive, because thousands of them were suffering under sub-standard living wages; 120,000 received wages of 46 cents an hour or less; 544,000 received wages of 70 cents an hour or less, and 553,000 received wages above 70 cents an hour. The board said that in addition they were awarding the increase because these workers had established that they were suffering from a gross inequity developed in the calendar years of 1941 and 1942, or the period of the war, because railroad workers, operating under federal machinery, had not been able to progress as rapidly in the determination of their wage demands as other workers had progressed during that period of time, and the railroad workers of the nation had only succeeded in raising their basic wage levels on the average 10 cents an hour, while all other industrial workers of the nation, 30,000,000, had raised their basic wages, the straight time average hourly rate, during that period, on an average of 18.4 cents per hour. And if non-manufacturing industrial workers were excluded and only the manufacturing industrial workers were taken, they had raised their wages in the two calendar years just mentioned 21 cents an hour above the weighted straight time average hourly rate of 73½ cents per hour received by the one million plus of the nations railroad workers. The board concluded that if we were to go on with the orderly disposition of industrial controversies over wages and conditions of employment, such delay must not operate to the disadvantage of the workers of the nation.

"On the 27th day of May the President of our great nation appealed to your speaker to accept the decision of that board, because we were of the opinion it was inadequate and had so indicated our disappointment. But, as good citizens in a time of war, anxious

to do everything humanly possible to contribute our bit to the successful defense of the nation, we capitulated and accepted the request of the President and regarded the controversy as closed. We arranged a conference with the managers of the nations railroads for New York City on the 23rd of June, to execute formal contracts and make effective the changes in our wage schedules to implement the recommendation of the board and the expressed wishes of the President of the United States.

"And lo and behold, out of a clear sky on the morning of the 23rd day of June, at the time we were to assemble in the conference room to execute the contract, Judge Vinson issued an edict setting aside the eight-cent increase—no notice, no conference, no previous indication that any such action would be taken—very brief, terse, 350 words, declaring that the increase in wages granted the nations railroad workers was inflationary and should not become effective.

"Some four or five days following the 23rd of June Director Vinson issued an opinion in support of his decision, and in that opinion the director said that we could get no further increase in pay because we had received in December of 1941, 12 months prior to the enactment of the stabilization law and seven months before the promulgation of the Little Steel Formula, an increase of 15 per cent, and we were only hereafter entitled to enjoy an adjustment in sub-standard living wages, with an immediate tapering off of inter-related job classifications, and that by comparison with sound, tested bracket rates within our own industry—we could not compare our wage levels with other industries of the nation.

"Now we were engaged in a national dispute and every one of our industries are in the pot. Fifty years of collective bargaining has more or less standardized our wages and we

are unable, even though we are 21 cents an hour below all other industrial workers of the nation, to correct such gross inequities under the basic stabilization law of the nation.

"Well, that was bad enough, but that is only half the story. The railroad corporations of this country now are making the greatest profits they have ever made in the history of our nation. Last year, after the payment of all operating expenses and taxes, they wound up with a clear profit of a billion and a half dollars. Yet we are told that three and a half millions, representing the nations railroad workers and their families, rendering the most important service, loyally and patriotically and devotedly cannot enjoy part of their own creation to relieve the terrific pressure being exerted against them to make both ends meet in a rising war time economy; but if the money remains in the coffers of the railroad corporations it is non-inflationary; if it is distributed to the families of a million plus railroad workers it is inflationary.

"Well, I agree that it would be inflationary in one sense: it would inflate the stomachs of these poor workers of the nations railroads, and that is about all it would inflate.

"I dont know where we are going when we have one man who, without examining one scintilla of the evidence in the case, without reading one page of the testimony, without any notice, hearing or previous warning, out of his wisdom, notwithstanding a signed declaration of two eminent economists who heard the case, that the increase would be non-inflationary, presumes, by the stroke of a pen and the writing of a terse message, to hold that it would upset the national economy if the workers were permitted to enjoy an adjustment of a gross inequity that everybody admits.

"Now, my good friends, that is a dangerous method of dealing with the

workers of this nation, and that is a dangerous method of dealing with labor relations, and if it is persisted in it will destroy the last vestige of orderly determination of controversies between workers and management of industry.

"Can you imagine, after 55 years of historical developments, spending \$100,000 of our money and 44 days in public hearings, winning an impartial Presidential Commission's decision, that it is fair and in the best interests of the future stability of the nation's labor relations to handle the situation in that way?

"Well, we have been since the 23rd day of June holding conferences with everybody in Washington. We have appealed to the President, but so far we have not been able to get an adjustment of this controversy.

"Our situation is desperate, or I would not be here this morning. Our people are revolting against the organizations because they say that as leaders we are no damned good, we don't get results for them. CIO and the Mine Workers District 50 are promising the world with a fence around it. In their desperation they seek relief from any source. Thousands have left our industry. We are on the verge of a most chaotic condition in railroad transportation. Today we are short 100,000 workers to properly man the services of our industry. Our turnover is at a rate exceeding 100 per cent annually of the total working force.

"In the twelve months ending with June of 1943, the present year, according to the official report of the Railroad Retirement Board, we actually employed 1,340,000 new railroad workers not heretofore associated with or attached to the railroad industry to maintain a total working force of 1,350,000—10,000 less than a total 100 per cent turnover in our working force in 12 months.

"What have the managers been do-

ing in order to meet this desperate manpower situation occasioned by this upset in wage adjustment procedures and to bring a vital war industry into line with general wages paid in other industries of the nation? They have gone out and have hired schoolboys 14 and 15 years of age to run the nation's railroads. And right now the War Manpower Commission and railroad managers are putting on the pressure to let these children work in the industry after school hours. Heretofore, because of the hazardous nature of the industry, no person could get a job under 21 years of age without their guardians or their parents signing a release from all future liability in case of personal injury or death. Some states are permitting them to do it. I learned from our good friend, Commissioner Moriarty in the State of Massachusetts, that he has stood steadfast against the exploitation of school children below 18 years of age.

"But that is not half the story. Through the ingenuity of our managers and some sympathetic government representatives, they have gone south of the border, to a sub-standard living condition nation in relation to our own, and have imported thousands of Mexican Nationals under contract and put them to work on the nation's railroads at these starvation wages. That's bad, not because they are Mexicans, but because we go to a country having half the living standards that we enjoy, because we cannot get domestic labor to work for the starvation wages that one of America's outstanding industries is paying.

"Well, as I say, that's bad. But here is the prize package. Now Mr. Henry Stimson, our Honorable Secretary of War, has called upon the Manpower Commissioner, the Honorable Mr. McNutt, to issue the necessary regulations and instructions to permit the employment of prisoners of war on the nation's railroads. My God, my friends! Railroadng is a

most delicate operation. We carry on in the day and in the night. By split seconds our mechanism and our human working force must operate with the accuracy of a fine watch. It requires high type, responsible, devoted workers. Otherwise, if one operation goes amiss the whole machine brings disaster.

"We only need to look to what happened in Philadelphia, when the lives of 80 of our people were snuffed out.

"We are doing a heroic job with the old equipment that we have. We can't get any more, and in this year of 1943 we will handle double the total volume of railroad freight traffic that we handled in 1939 and we will do it this year with only 32 per cent more workers—a 100 per cent increase in production with a 32 per cent increase in working force—the greatest achievement by an old, established industry in the history of the nation.

"We can't go on. We can't operate the nation's railroads with school children, with Mexican Nationals who know nothing of our operations, and with prisoners of war. I can't get the reasoning of one who would turn loose a Nazi soldier, skilled in demolition practices under the Fuehrer, to run amuck on the nation's railroads. For security reasons I should not mention the possibility of destroying the lives of thousands of our people, and millions of dollars in property by just a slight readjustment of our intricate mechanisms.

"We have said that we will resist this—not in our own interests but in the interests of maintaining a steady flow of transportation to the nation and to our boys at the front.

"We have reached an impasse. We have gone through all the machinery for 13 months; we have spent \$100,000 of our money; we have won the decision of a Presidential Commission, and we are denied the opportunity to level off industrial wages generally—not completely but only partially.

"I agree with the report of the Resolutions Committee telling you here this morning and late yesterday that it is a most dangerous practice to permit the resolution of these controversies by the exercise of the power of one man who does not even hear the case, a man sheltered in the vacuum of an office, a man who does not understand, by previous training or by facts available the underlying, deep-seated fundamental principles dictating wage decisions.

"Our people are demanding that we put out a strike ballot. We are conscious of our national responsibilities. We shall do nothing that will in any way obstruct the nation's war effort. But, on the same consideration, we cry out loudly now against those methods that we resist on the battlefronts of the nation. We ask for the democratic process. We will abide while the nation's welfare is concerned, come what may, from the operation of those processes.

"I have taken more time than I intended, but we are suffering from one of the greatest injustices and one of the most arbitrary and capricious acts that has ever been perpetrated upon a large group of patriotic and loyal devoted citizens in a most vital industrial operation of the nation in a time of war. That explains why I take the time of the convention, because I can well appreciate that unless these conditions are rapidly adjusted, chaos impends in the machineries that have been developed for the determination of the wages of the working people of this nation that will seriously retard the best interests of the nation to carry on in the most efficient manner in this time of grave national concern."

Railroads, Dual Union (Utility Workers)—(1942, p. 597) The attention of the convention was directed to a dual union organizing railroad workers. Interested international unions were requested to combat this organ-

ization known as the Utility Workers and bring about its dissolution. Matter referred to the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L.

Railway Employees (Street and Electric) vs. Machinists—(see: Machinists)

Rationing (Price Control and) (see: Price Control)

Reaffiliation Rights—(1944, p. 534) Res. 45, unanimously adopted, follows:

Whereas—The International Typographical Union has reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor with all "rights heretofore possessed" by the International Typographical Union reaffirmed and reestablished as though no breach had taken place in the affiliation," and

Whereas—The same factors that caused the breach, and the agreement on the basis of reaffiliation (ratified by the 1943 Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the membership of the International Typographical Union) may apply to other unions not now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the above mentioned basis of reaffiliation stand as the basis of reaffiliation of any other international union which may desire to take advantage thereof.

Rearmament Problems—(1952, p. 102) In its report to the convention, the Executive Council included the following statements:

The very fact that the present crisis is not of a temporary character makes it all the more imperative that the rearmament effort of the democratic nations be pursued in such a way that the economy of the free world is not unduly disturbed and deranged. This danger must be especially avoided insofar as it affects the tasks of satisfying the essential needs of the population. Hungry, discontented or disaffected people cannot produce the fullest efficiency. Espe-

cially because this is a prolonged emergency, must the vital functions of a free society in the field of social progress and in the protection of human liberties be preserved and promoted.

It would be suicidal folly to assume that social progress as such could render superfluous or make unnecessary adequate rearmament by the democratic world. Social progress can certainly be of great aid in exposing and cutting the ground from under the demagogic Communist fifth column and strengthening the national morale in the free countries. But decent living standards, good working conditions and social progress are themselves no answer to the menace or protection against the power of the gigantic Soviet war machine.

There is no simple formula for, or easy solution of, the burdens of rearmament. These burdens are real. Nor is there any magic shortcut to the blessings of social progress. The issue we face is not one of guns versus butter or butter versus guns. Today, we do not have the freedom of choice. We must never forget that while it takes two to wage peace, it takes only one to wage war. That is the actual situation we face. We must face it without fear or illusions. Without any butter, it would be very hard for the democracies to assure adequate and efficient production of guns. On the other hand, without any guns to protect them, it would be impossible for the men, women, and children of the democracies to have and enjoy their symbolic butter in a world weighed down and harassed by the increasing threat of Russian aggression and Communist enslavement. Because of the very nature of this menace, the free world must find the necessary ways and means to assure itself both guns and butter.

The international free labor movement must face the complicated and difficult task of combining the un-

avoidable and absolutely urgent rearmament effort with the indispensable preservation of social progress. Toward this end, free labor must insist on an adequate voice and representation in the defense effort. Furthermore, there must be an equitable sharing of the burdens of the costly rearmament program. We must vigorously reject all reactionary moves to use the rearmament effort as a pretext for opposing further social progress or as an excuse for weakening or even wiping out the benefits of labor legislation and social security already attained.

European Democracies — (1952, p. 104) We cannot plead too strongly for greater rearmament efforts by the European democracies to the highest level that their economies will bear. In making this plea, we do not seek the slightest diminution of military effort or reduction of any other contribution by our own country toward the security of the free peoples, the prevention of war, and the preservation of world peace. We fully realize that the Western European nations themselves do not yet have sufficient strength or military forces and resources to beat back the Soviet armed forces, should they be hurled at democratic Europe. To deter and help assure the defeat of such Soviet madness, we propose that the strengthening of Western European military forces be accompanied by an increase in the number of United States fighting men stationed in free Europe.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements — (1943, pp. 85, 384) The convention adopted the following report:

As the reciprocal trade agreement laws permitting the President to reach trade agreements by negotiations with other nations were due to expire on June 12, 1943, H.J. Res. 111 (Public No. 66) was introduced on April 2, 1942. A statement was made

by the American Federation of Labor supporting the renewal of the trade agreements and the resolution passed the House on May 13, extending the President's authority to two years instead of three years as requested. The Senate finally agreed to the House Act on June 2 and the President approved it on June 7, 1943.

(1948, p. 166) E.C. reported support of proposal to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for three years as proposed by the President. Bill as finally enacted extended the Act for one year.

(P. 450) Convention unanimously adopted committee report and recommendations as follows:

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor support the principle of this Act. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements program offers a method for future looking toward the further freeing of international trade from restrictive barriers. However, in some instances the duty reductions already made have reached the point where further reductions would endanger the employment in particular industries exposed to competition from abroad.

In supporting the trade agreements program, we recognize the need of safeguarding American labor in some industries especially where wages are a relatively heavy factor in the cost of production against competition that threatens to undermine our labor standards. Then, too, we would urge that in the process of reaching Reciprocal Trade Agreements affecting the labor standards of our workers that Labor be accorded an appropriate and adequate opportunity of presentation and effectual representation.

(1949, pp. 210, 464) Previous position of the A. F. of L. reaffirmed by the E.C. and approved by convention.

(1950, p. 27) Res. 21 called for support of the reciprocal trade agree-

ments program of the government, and urged that it be pushed with vigor, unimpeded by partisan political obstacles and . . . special interests.

(P. 474) As was done on previous occasions, your committee recommends approval of the principle underlying reciprocal trade agreements.

The reciprocal trade agreements program offers a method toward freeing of international trade from restrictive barriers. However, in some instances the duty reductions already made have reached the point where further reductions would endanger the employment in particular industries exposed to competition from abroad.

In support of the trade agreements program, we recognize the need of safeguarding American labor in some industries especially where wages are a relatively heavy factor in the cost of production against competition that threatens to undermine our labor standards. Then, too, we would urge that in the process of reaching reciprocal trade agreements affecting the labor standards of our workers, Labor be accorded an appropriate and adequate opportunity of presentation and effectual representation.

(1951, p. 115) Imports in 1951 have been at the highest point in history and have averaged about a billion dollars per month. But for the shipment of arms and military equipment under the North Atlantic Treaty and of materials to help the European armament industry, our imports would continue to balance our exports. This balance of exports and imports is a desirable goal, but we must not overlook the dangers to our labor standards from competitive imports. In some instances the products that compete in our domestic market are manufactured abroad at costs far below our own because of the low wage payments prevailing in some countries. Such imports exert a heavy

pressure upon the wage structure of the industries that experience the competition.

While we welcome increased imports of non-competitive products (which represent about two-thirds of our total imports) we must insist that the imports that do compete shall compete on a fair basis. We seek competitive parity with imports in our own market.

(P. 527) The experience of a number of our affiliates which have been faced with a rising volume of competitive imports has been one of dissatisfaction with the administration of the Trade Agreements Act.

In extending this law, which was first placed on the statute books in 1934, Congress this time attached far-reaching amendments designed primarily to afford a remedy against injury to our own producers which might result from reduced tariff rates.

One of the amendments was a liberalization of the escape clause and a more explicit definition of injury as well as enumeration of the factors that must be taken into account in determining whether an injury has been incurred or whether it threatens.

Under the new law, a decline in employment or production (which may result from reduced hours of the established work schedule) must be considered as evidence of injury. This is a new provision and is the first time that employment and wages have been recognized by trade agreements law as economic elements that may be adversely affected by international competition.

The new law also reenacted the so-called "peril point" amendment, which calls for a finding by the Tariff Commission, before a new trade agreement is negotiated, of the level below which a duty should not be cut. This is a further safeguard against unnecessary injury from trade agreements.

Then, too, the new law provides a remedy against wage competition as a way of underselling domestic producers by foreign products. The American Federation of Labor cannot condone wage competition from abroad when we have made elimination of wage competition in this country a cardinal principle of our legislation. It would be folly to expose the labor standards we have guarded so jealously at home to the undermining effects of unfair competition from abroad.

Finally, Congress amended the trade agreement bill by requiring the abrogation of trade agreements with all Communist dominated countries and withdrawal of all trade agreement concessions accruing indirectly to those countries from our trade agreements with other countries through the operation of the most-favored nation clause.

We note with satisfaction the recent action of the State Department in carrying out this provision of the law, including the announcement of its determination to withdraw entirely from our trade agreement with Czechoslovakia.

Your committee also directs attention to the levying of a tax on imports based on foreign values in foreign currency converted into dollars. In many instances this basis of evaluation gives the foreign goods an additional price advantage over the products of our own workers. Then, too, we oppose efforts now being made to abolish the American selling price as a basis of valuation in the instances where it is now employed; indeed we urge extension of this principle of evaluation.

(1953, pp. 192, 500) In this portion of its report the Executive Council summarizes legislative developments in the first session of the 83rd Congress relating to tariff and trade legislation.

In the closing days of the session, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program, whose broad purposes have been supported by the American Federation of Labor from the outset, was extended until June 12, 1954. In the meantime, a special commission is to conduct a review of U.S. trade and tariff policies.

Your committee notes that this pending new study and review of the tariff and trade policies of the U.S. comes in the wake of several recent studies of this subject. An especially comprehensive study was recently conducted by the Presidential Trade Policy Board. It resulted in a report published last February known as the Bell Report. A special report was also issued last summer by a Special Presidential Committee on the subject of trade and exchange problems in the dollar and sterling areas. Pursuant to Senate Resolution 25, a Public Advisory Committee was appointed by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency to study foreign investments and foreign trade. All of these investigations are preliminary to the Congressional action on the trade agreement policy anticipated in the coming session.

Our trade policies should serve our national interests and help, rather than hinder, the continued expansion of production and employment, both at home and abroad. The foremost objectives of such policy should be the maintenance of full employment and the increase in real income. While we should continue our established policy aimed toward a steady expansion of economic activity and international trade, we must also insist on safeguards needed to prevent disruptive dislocation of employment at home.

(Pp. 404, 649) Res. 35:

Whereas—It never was the intention of the reciprocal trade treaty policy of the Federal Government to

permit foreign made products to be imported in this country under circumstances that will result in complete ruination of competitive American industry, and

Whereas—Such a situation has been and still is developing in the motorcycle industry as shown by the following facts: The United Kingdom, West Germany and Italy are shipping into this country motorcycles which sell for an average of 30 to 35% less than comparable American made products; this price differential results in part from the fact that the average wage rate in the automotive industry in the United Kingdom and other foreign countries is 63 cents an hour or less, while the average wage rate in motorcycle manufacturing in this country for workers who are members of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, A. F. of L., is \$2.13 per hour, plus generally superior working conditions and social benefits, and

Whereas—This price differential is also due in part to the devaluation of the value of the English pound by approximately 30%. Such price differential has resulted in the loss of 40% of sales of one company, Harley-Davidson Motor Company of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, during the current manufacturing season, which loss of sales is directly accounted for by the sales made in this country of the English and other foreign made motorcycles. Such loss of sales has also resulted in loss of jobs by 1500 American working men and women at the Harley-Davidson Company, and

Whereas—In addition to the unfair competitive advantage enjoyed by the imported English and other foreign made motorcycles, the British Empire except Canada, has made it impossible for American manufacturers to sell their products in the British Empire with the result that while such British made product is freely sold here to the ruination of the Ameri-

can working man, American made products of the same type are excluded from the British market, and

Whereas — The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the City of Green Bay, Wisconsin, during the week of August 17, 1953, went on record as being vigorously opposed to the granting of any tariff or import duty preferences which will permit continuation of the intolerable condition described above, and as supporting any reasonable changes in such import duty or import quota regulations which will permit American-made motorcycles to compete on a fair and equal basis with English and other foreign made motorcycles for American sales, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the delegates to the 72nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor meeting in St. Louis, Missouri, go on record concurring in the sentiments expressed in this resolution, and be it further

Resolved—That this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with a view that it investigate the possibility of working out a cooperative program between management and Labor in order to solve this problem.

Your committee considered jointly Resolutions No. 35 and No. 42 and No. 53 and No. 129, and expresses sympathy with the situation complained of and recommends reference of them to the officers of the A. F. of L. for study and consideration and to render every possible aid to the organizations concerned.

(1954, p. 142) The E.C. reported failure of passage of proposed legislation on reciprocal trade agreements, and concluded with the statement:

The American Federation of Labor has long favored a maximum of foreign trade that can be carried on without undermining our own wage structure and working conditions and with-

out causing unemployment in our own ranks. We continue to adhere to this position and call for proper vigilance in upholding these standards against foreign competition that derives its cost advantage from lower wages and inferior working conditions that may prevail abroad. We are therefore concerned with practical and workable administrative remedies that will assure correction of injurious competition without unnecessarily restricting imports. Protection should be extended only to the point needed to overcome unfairness of import competition. However, to that extent we must go if we are to preserve the standards to which we are dedicated.

(P. 584) The Executive Council has summarized developments which led to the adoption in the past session of Congress of a one-year extension of reciprocal trade legislation. Although the President's Commission on Foreign Economic Policy made broad recommendations for modification of tariff legislation, Congressional consideration was confined to the Commission's proposal for a three-year extension of the reciprocal trade program. After rejecting bills which would have all but killed the reciprocal trade program, the Congress compromised on a one-year extension of the Trade Agreements Act. The issue will therefore again be considered in the next session of Congress.

In furtherance of our basic policy of seeking to obtain expansion of international commerce and removal of barriers to world trade, our Federation should continue to support the reciprocal trade program. At the same time, every effort must be made to be certain that the nation's trade and tariff policies safeguard the employment opportunities of American workers and protect labor standards, both in our own country and abroad.

Records and Transcriptions, Tariff
on—(1952, pp. 378, 520) Res. 138:

Whereas—The import of transcriptions recorded and manufactured outside of the United States at lower labor costs and at sub-standard conditions and also in many cases by non-union performers is constantly on the increase, and

Whereas—American labor standards are measured by unfair competition from foreign imports, and

Whereas—These foreign made transcriptions compete with transcriptions made and used in this country and which use actors, singers and announcers who are members of the A. F. of L., and

Whereas—The use of these foreign made recordings in this country poses a serious problem of reduction in employment opportunities for A. F. of L. members, and

Whereas—Protective measures and a protective tariff are essential to protect the continued employment of A. F. of L. members, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 1952 A. F. of L. Convention go on record as urging the Congress and Executive of the United States to take immediate steps toward protective and remedial legislation to combat the inflow of foreign transcriptions recorded and manufactured outside of the United States (taking into consideration specific regulatory provisions to allow a certain limited importation of transcribed programs of international cultural exchange value).

Recreation—(1924, p. 80)—The A. F. of L. again desires to call attention to its report of last year and the resolutions adopted by the convention on the subject of constructive recreation in relation to the needs of working people but especially in relation to the children of America.

The report and resolutions both endorsed the Community Service of the Playground and Recreation Association of America which is striving to aid cities and towns everywhere to do their full duty in respect to the

establishment and proper administration of playgrounds, athletic fields and community centers for young and old.

Since the 1923 convention, 11 international and state labor bodies opened their convention doors to a speaker from that association who pointed out the national need of improvements and extension of community recreation provisions and the ways in which organized labor could help.

The convention again endorses this valuable movement and commends it as worthy of commanding the hearty cooperation of all our affiliated bodies.

In taking part in such work organized labor is recognizing the fundamental value of play in the right development of child life, physically, socially, aesthetically and in its training for sound citizenship. Through supervised recreation we can help to reduce the volume of disease, nervous breakdown and moral delinquency in the U.S., thereby in return cutting down the enormous costs of public care of the victims of these troubles.

In respect to the needs of the workers for wholesome recreation we call attention to the fact that so much of industry as carried on today within doors, requires the utilization of only the small muscles for the most part and consists of minute processes, all of which means that on the job the worker gets little sunshine and fresh air, little exercise of the major muscles of the body, the lungs and heart and that he derives meager, if any, creative satisfaction from his hours of daily toil.

The results of all this are revealed in the mortality statistics for the so-called degenerative diseases of heart, liver, stomach, nerves and kidneys. They are altogether too high and unnecessarily so.

Workers must take more recreation during the greater leisure which they have gained through the shorter work day. Here is their great opportunity to conserve and increase their health,

vitality and efficiency and at the same time get more joy out of life. They should make use of every community facility that exists in their cities and actively aid in their extension and perfection until all the people of all ages are served thereby.

(1925, p. 78) The last two conventions have endorsed the work of the Playground and Recreation Association of America and the E.C. in its May meeting endorsed in principle the program of fundamentals advocated by this association. This program and the whole problem and opportunity which leisure presents to wage earners were referred to the committee on education for study and future report.

Even first efforts to survey the scope of the problem and find sources of information and agencies concerned, reveal the ramifications involved and the fundamental importance of the undertaking. Recreation, or more properly, re-creation, is essential to completeness of life. Play is something more than a pastime—for the child it is a creative method by which one learns about things and people; for older persons it combines imagination, pleasure and the satisfaction of individual desires and aspiration. But for all ages play is necessary to balance and for re-creation, and play should make it possible for every individual to meet the threefold needs of his nature—physical, mental, and spiritual. Constructive use of leisure is preparation for creative work.

Our modern municipal life through both its work and its home environment makes necessary collective planning and endeavor to make available opportunities for recreation. The obviously primary steps are to provide school and municipal playgrounds and recreation centers. These should be provided both for present needs and with regard to probable future population, growth and city development. In addition to planning for the material

side, there must be centers through which recreation activities are organized and directed. This phase of the problem brings us to consideration of the primary elements of city life. Modern cities are demonstrations of our mechanical triumphs, material progress and quantity production. But they have lost unity of living and coherence of group life. Size forbids a community center in the real sense. Unless there is some way for people to do together the same things, think of the same things, or together to consider mutual problems, there can be no real spirit of community.

The problem divides into two main parts: One providing recreation opportunities that will counteract the effects of the modern city, and the other looking to future developments of community life.

With the rapidly increasing production of electric power and the perfecting of long-distance transmission technique so that distance is practically a negligible factor, a revolutionary development is initiated. Power and machine tools will be as available on the farm as in the town. The farm will apply the practices of a machine shop and the factory may be located in green meadows. We are in the beginning of a technical revolution that will work as far-reaching reorganization of society as did the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century.

In order to meet this transition in a constructive way we must have all of the facts of industrial and social life upon which to base recreation plans. For recreation in the largest sense concerns not only leisure hours, but the spirit and surroundings under which we live and work. There are groups and undertakings concerned with city planning, regional planning, garden cities, that are now developing policies and plans that will determine future developments.

Recreation is only one of the uses for which leisure may be utilized.

There are innumerable cultural opportunities which people of all groups desire and need. To realize our democratic ideals, we must provide equality for such opportunities for all. This involves planning the material side of municipal growth as well as for cultural institutions. Much of the municipal planning has been left to commercial interests. More recently we have seen the necessity of planning on a basis that comprehends the whole life of a region that possesses a unity of fundamental elements.

With material and industrial development should go the enrichment of the lives of the human agents. In addition to planning for efficient development, Labor is anxious that there should be thought for beauty of surroundings in living and industrial environment. We want our community life to have balance, fitness, purpose, and culture that can grow only out of intelligent control over the environment and forces of life. We realize that we need to conserve natural resources and beauty as the essential environment for civilized life which comprehends both work and leisure.

The E.C. has directed the committee on education to study this whole problem.

(P. 254) Playgrounds are essential, so that the children may have ample space in all communities, to spend their leisure time in a way that will help them build up their bodies, so that we may become a strong and healthy nation.

The Recreation and Playground Association of America was established for the purpose of aiding the different municipalities to create proper recreation facilities for the children and adults, and as this association is doing much good in promoting such work in this country, we recommend that the 45th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. go on record in endorsing the work that the Recreation and Playground Association is doing, and

instruct the E.C. to cooperate with said association, and have circular letters mailed to all affiliated central and federated bodies, advising them to cooperate with the recreation and playground movement to establish proper recreational facilities in their communities.

(1948, p. 243) Res. 34:

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor has recognized the need for a public relations program, and

Whereas—It is generally recognized that recreational programs are an important factor in any public relations program because they provide one of the best avenues of personal contact with the general public, as well as an opportunity to tell labor's story, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, in November, 1948, instruct its officers to explore the feasibility of developing a recreational program for its members and report to the next convention their findings as a part of its public relations program.

(P. 461) Convention approved the resolution and recommended that city central bodies and state federations be invited to submit their views and experiences to the officers of the A. F. of L.

(1949, pp. 43, 484) Res. 21:

Whereas—The present mechanized age and its increased leisure time demands comprehensive planning for recreation, and

Whereas—Organized recreation opportunities are essential to the individual and to society in the modern community, as are services in the health, education, welfare and related fields, and

Whereas—Recreational facilities, public and private, should be planned and distributed on a neighborhood, district, regional, state and nation-wide basis to provide maximum recreational

opportunities and services for all age groups without discrimination, and

Whereas—Adequate staffs of qualified personnel should be employed by each agency, organization or group responsible for recreational services so as to get maximum use of existing facilities, and

Whereas—The federal, state, county and city governments should enact appropriate legislation to make it possible for every community to plan, finance and administer an adequate public recreation program, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as urging the federal, state, county and city governments to expand their recreation programs by enacting legislation which will provide for the financing and carrying out of extensive planning; establishment of necessary commissions and departments; the training of personnel, and the coordination of all public and voluntary agencies and groups having recreation interests, resources or responsibilities.

(1952, pp. 255, 492) The A. F. of L. reported support for legislation designed to make available a portion of the revenue received from national forests for the maintenance and operation of recreational facilities. The convention authorized continued support for such proposals.

Red Cross and Labor—(1929, p. 107) As the agency upon which our government and our people rely for sympathetic, highly trained, effective aid and help in every national disaster where the health and lives of our citizenship are threatened the American Red Cross maintains a position in our body politic to which none other is comparable. Not only is its unique service nationally extended but in times of great world disaster it functions as an international source of succor and relief.

As a matter of official record we give herewith a resolution adopted by the delegates of Chapters of the American Red Cross at the final plenary session of the eighth convention on April 25, 1929:

"Whereas—The men and women who perform the nation's work in the factories, in the mines and in the manifold trades and industries support the services of the American National Red Cross locally, nationally and internationally through annual membership, and from time to time utilize the Red Cross as their agency for extending sympathy and substantial aid to their fellow men and women in all ranks of life stricken by disaster; and

"Whereas—The A. F. of L., the representative of organized labor of the nation, extends the invitation of the Red Cross at each Roll Call period to the great mass of working men and women and their families through the channels of organized labor; and

"Whereas—The A. F. of L. has assured the American Red Cross of its continued support; therefore, be it

"Resolved—That the delegates of Chapters of the American National Red Cross assembled in convention from all parts of the United States and its territories express to the A. F. of L. and to all its affiliated organizations and to the individual workers, its most heartfelt thanks for the moral and practical support which has been given to it and which it feels assured it may depend upon at all times."

Refugees, Displacement of American Workers by (also see: Immigration)

(1940, p. 492) The problems of American workers who were being displaced or denied employment as a result of the Refugee Migration Act was presented to the convention in a resolution which called on the Executive

Council of the A. F. of L. "to take this matter up with the Secretary of State for the purpose of seeking a cancellation of the . . . Act, or failing therein, to seek certain regulations that will prevent the employment of such refugees to the exclusion of American citizens." The resolution was referred to the E.C. for action.

Relief (also see: Prevailing Wage; Woodrum Amendment, W.P.A.)

Activities and Accomplishments—(1944, p. 276) American Federation of Labor organizations are cooperating with their respective Community Chests or National War Fund Committees and American Red Cross Chapters in more than a thousand communities throughout the land. Four hundred fifty-two central labor bodies have organized Labor League Committees with a total membership of 2,523 men and women officially designated by their central body.

Of this total, 1,902 committee members carry the responsibility of helping to organize and conduct fund-raising campaigns for their respective Community War Chests and American Red Cross Chapters. Hundreds of committee members, including some of those engaged in campaign activities, are organizing and helping to carry on Community Service programs, a new field for organized labor in which we attempt to develop the benefit of available community services in each community for the membership of our unions and all working people, and particularly to help solve the problems and meet the needs of demobilized veterans.

Greater respect and consideration for Labor's opinion, attitude and abilities are evidenced everywhere. From the public relations point of view the increased prestige and respect which have come to the American Federation of Labor as a result of its relief activities are not the least part of its achievements in this field. The Amer-

ican Federation of Labor's participation in community work has in many instances brought Labor for the first time into direct and friendly contact with elements to whom organized labor had previously been an almost unknown quantity. This first-hand knowledge and understanding of the aims and ideals of the A. F. of L., plus the widespread publicity that has been given to the League's work on behalf of the National War Fund and Community Chests, have been of immense value in helping to counteract the anti-Labor trend that has lately been evidenced in the reactionary press of the country.

Front-page articles in influential newspapers, advertisements of appreciation in Chest publications and daily papers, messages of appreciation on the radio, all reflect this general recognition of and respect for Labor's contribution to the welfare of the community. Further proof of Labor's new standing in the community can be found in the fact that there are already a number of significant instances where American Federation of Labor representatives have been elected chairmen of the community-wide campaigns, of budget committees, executive Committees, and boards of directors.

Support of Labor's war relief program by the Community War Chests of the country, and, since its formation, by the National War Fund, is part of the agreement of cooperation between these organizations and Labor's League for Human Rights that has recently been renewed for the third successive year. . . .

(P. 574) The report on Labor's relief activities reveals the very significant way in which unions have accepted responsibility for providing aid for fellow workers of invaded and bombed countries, assistance for refugees as well as help in rebuilding the free labor movement in the wake of armed forces. While we have repeat-

edly stated that Labor has a special stake in this war, our relief activities have given reality to that expression. Because workers have had full employment during this war, we have had incomes that enabled us to have the privilege of contributing generously to the victims of war as well as sharing in national responsibility to buy War Bonds. We have given out of our narrow reserves and given because we felt that human freedom is the most important thing in life.

Your committee recommends that the convention express its hearty approval of the wisdom and the constructive vision of our officials who have provided this channel for Labor to participate in the humanitarian activities which must follow war as well as contribute to the reconstruction of democratic institutions.

We recommend endorsement of the activities and urge our unions to continue generous contributions so that funds will be available to enable free trade unionists to revive their organization and renew their activities. As we have so often said free trade unions are essential to democracy and the revival of free unions in all countries can be our contribution to a free world.

(Disaster Victims)—(1953, pp. 443, 655). Res. 123:

Resolved—That the 72nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor request Congress to study and prepare a comprehensive legislative program to alleviate the misery of disaster victims and to grant aid to ravished areas devastated by tornados and other natural phenomena.

(Foreign Workers)—(1947, p. 187) Continuing our policy of aiding needy trade unionists, the American Federation of Labor has expended scores of thousands of dollars in providing food packages. Hungry and ailing workers on both sides of the "iron curtain" have thus been rescued from famine.

Through special voluntary contributions approximating \$60,000 made by nearly a score of American Federation of Labor affiliates, hundreds of food packages have been sent every month to German trade unionists who are in direst need and who have suffered for years in Hitler's concentration camps for their loyalty and devotion to free trade unionism and democracy. During the summer we also provided \$5,000 worth of food to the youth camps of the German free trade unions.

(Refugee)

(1954, p. 109) H.R. 8193, amending the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, passed Congress on August 16, 1954. Public Law 751, 83rd Congress.

The purpose of this Act is to make the existing allotments of special non-quota visas for Italian, Greek, and Dutch Nationals under the refugee or relative preference group according to current demand. It provides for exemption from the requirements of certificates of readmission in cases of eligible orphans; and permits refugees within the United States who would fear persecution on return to the country of birth, nationality and last residence as well as small groups of aliens brought from other American republics for internment to apply for adjustment of status prior to July 1, 1955.

Operations under the Refugee Relief Act were inaugurated on December 4, 1953, with the issuance of the first "relative preference" visas in Italy and Greece. The keen interest evidenced in the opportunity provided through this medium of the uniting of families is best described by its over-subscription. As of February 27, 1954, 2,815 approved "relative preference" petitions are already recorded for Greek beneficiaries, while such petitions approved for Italian nationals number 38,264.

This registered demand far exceeds the allotment of 2,000 for Greece and

15,000 for Italy under the "relative preference" provision of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. On the other hand, the allocations of 45,000 visas for Italian refugees and 15,000 for Greek refugees remain undersubscribed at this time.

Conversely, the demand for "relative preferences" under the Netherlands allotment of 2,000 is very small, only 385 approved petitions being recorded for such nationals. A bilateral arrangement to permit a greater apportionment of these numbers to Dutch refugees from Indonesia and from the 1953 flood disaster is contained in the bill.

It appears highly desirable to bring this situation into better balance and an arrangement to achieve bilateral availability of numbers for persons in the three ethnic groups would appear to accomplish this purpose.

(P. 542) The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 was enacted in order to meet the immediate problem of permitting refugees from the Iron Curtain countries, as well as immigrants from nations with surplus populations, to enter the United States. Although recognizing some of its deficiencies, the American Federation of Labor supported the enactment of this legislation in the hope that its enactment would provide a haven to thousands of refugees who have fled from the Communist terror.

Unfortunately, restrictive provisions in the Act and incredibly bad administration have made the law almost totally ineffective. While the Act authorized admission of 214,000 persons, only a trickle of refugees have so far found asylum in the United States.

If the worthwhile purposes of the Refugee Relief Act are to be achieved, it is essential that the law be amended as quickly as possible to assure that the full number of refugees authorized by the Act are actually admitted to this country.

(1955, p. 126) The E.C. reported on proposed amendments to the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. This section of the report closed with the following:

The American Federation of Labor has been deeply concerned by the tragic failure of this legislation to achieve the very important purposes it was intended to accomplish. In part, the fault lies with excessively timid and over-legalistic administration of the law. In part, it may be due to certain deficiencies in the law itself which have become apparent after two years' experience with it. But whatever the reasons for the lack of success of the program, it is extremely important that it be put back on the right track at the earliest possible moment. Correction of any defects in the law itself and in its administration as soon as possible is necessary in order to save tens of thousands of refugees who have fled from the Communist terror from extreme hardship and disillusionment and to convince the peoples of the Free World of the unwavering sincerity of purpose of our nation.

Principles (also see: Soc. Sec.)

(1932, pp. 37, 320) It is unreasonable to expect that any program for stabilization will prevent all unemployment in the immediate future. Whatever degree of benefits we may derive from stabilization we shall need to be prepared to relieve the unemployed for years to come. Since we know that the unemployed will be in want through no fault of theirs, it is negligent and unstatesmanlike not to have advance federal as well as local programs which can promptly be made effective.

(1) Advance planning of public works. Although the proposal to provide advance planning of public works against cyclical unemployment has been under discussion for years and met with general approval, we were

just as unprepared in the present emergency as in all previous crises. The federal agency to collect information on public works has not long been operative, but such information as was available was not promptly made the basis for action. The government has not yet developed the way to reduce the time-gap between authorization and actual construction which provides jobs. This was true even of the emergency program authorized in the last session of Congress. Although big problems are involved in getting construction projects under way, the administrative branch of the government should have the capacity and efficiency to make such public works programs serve the purpose of relief promptly. Men, women, and children have suffered from hunger and been forced to ask charity while projects providing work were delayed.

The lessons of this experience should be put to service by fixing the responsibility and development of the machinery for a program of public works to future periods of depression.

(2) Use of national credit for self-liquidating projects, for building homes for workers and other small income groups, for slum reclamation and similar undertakings. The federal government responsible for promoting national welfare should develop a program for borrowing on the national credit to finance such undertakings to provide jobs for those without sources of income, while at the same time increasing national wealth by providing the means for higher standards of living in the less advanced groups.

Planning the expansion and contraction of national credit should be a part of the whole undertaking of economic planning, based upon a reliable standard of economic and social soundness. The type of undertakings to be financed and details of construction work should be worked out in advance so as to further in balanced propor-

tions the promotion of national welfare.

The only cure for unemployment is employment. Every relief plan gains in soundness as it approximates normal conditions of incomes from the creation of wealth needed by society. When industry breaks down, emergency construction undertakings will stimulate recovery.

To meet the tragedy of unemployment in any way but giving work is failure. But in this, the greatest human crisis of our time organized society has failed miserably to meet human needs. No payments of relief can fill man's need for creative work or maintain the self-respect that comes from meeting one's own responsibilities. But if work cannot be provided, relief payments can at least ward off starvation.

In the crisis of the last two years, however, relief, whether public or private, has been totally inadequate to meet the unprecedented need—even to ward off starvation. Millions have been plunged into poverty and despair, and our cities and counties have not provided enough to keep them in health and prevent physical deterioration.

Reports of the Children's Bureau, showing relief given in 125 cities, indicate that in August, 1931, the average relief grant per family was \$17.49 per month and in August, 1932, \$19.19. Even the higher 1932 amount provides less than \$4.80 a week. This falls far short of the minimum allowance necessary for food alone. The U.S. Departments of Labor and Agriculture, after careful study, give \$7.50 to \$10 a week for a family of 5 (the average family) as the minimum emergency allowance for food which will preserve health; they note that even this emergency budget can only be continued for short periods without grave danger.

Our relief payments in the last year have provided on the average scarcely

half this minimum allowance for food, leaving nothing whatever for clothing, rent, heat, carfare, or any other essentials. Thousands of families have lived on this pittance for long periods, often more than a year.

Slow starvation is gradually undermining physical and mental soundness among millions of families upon whom we have counted as the backbone of our citizenry. Medical authorities assert that we have not yet begun to see the human wreckage from this depression; we will feel it for years to come.

We do not minimize the effort made by thousands of our citizens to secure money for relief, both public and private. Many have given generously of time, money, energy. The first 8 months of this year, public and private relief amounted to \$187,983,000 and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation added \$35,000,000 in loans to states up to September 30. This year's relief bill will probably be at least \$400,000,000 to \$500,000,000. The amount given this year was 76% above last year. In both years public agencies have furnished over two-thirds of the relief, the proportion for both years being 69% public, 31% private (first 8 months).

Workers' wage and salary loss this year has been \$25,000,000,000. Compared to this sum \$500,000,000 of relief (one fiftieth) seems small indeed.

The lesson of the present depression shows us that we must establish adequate relief machinery. This includes a program to keep work-hours adjusted to work-time needed, measures to prevent wage-losses, measures to create additional work, unemployment insurance, adequate public relief, including a force of trained persons to distribute it. We have made much progress in our relief machinery since 1929, but this year we have a more difficult and serious situation.

It is obvious that an increasing proportion of relief funds must come from

governmental appropriations. In view of the demands for reduction in governmental expenditures, it will take strong presentation of the social consequences involved and persistent and concerted pressure upon state legislatures and Congress to secure adequate appropriations. We urge union groups everywhere to take the initiative in pressing demands for the necessary relief appropriations. Appropriations should be generous in recognition of the rights of the persons concerned, and administration of the funds should be economical and intelligent, under local unified control in the hands of a trained personnel.

However generous public appropriations may be, they do not relieve private individuals from contributions in proportion to their resources. Over \$100,000,000 came from private contributions this year—an equal or larger amount is needed this coming winter and next year to relieve need. Those who have large fortunes which could not have been accumulated except under the conditions which this nation provides, should give generously as a debt due to the nation and as an investment for the maintenance of our present institutions.

Remington Rand—(1940, p. 534) As a result of labor conflict between trade unions and Remington-Rand, Inc., a resolution was introduced into the convention recommending that the corporation be placed on the "We Don't Patronize List" and that all A. F. of L. be so advised. The resolution was referred to the Executive Council "with the request that it take up the question involved in the resolution with the Remington Rand, Inc., and failing of adjustment, report of the attitude of this concern be made to the trade union movement in general."

Rent Control (also see: Housing, O.P.A.)

(1942, p. 213) Rent is the largest single item next to food in the cost of

living of American workers. When the workers' family budget is balanced, around 20 per cent of the family income should go for shelter so that enough food, clothing and other necessities could be purchased. Yet today in many cities and towns where war production is concentrated, workers' families are forced to pay as much as 50 to 60 per cent of their income for living accommodations which are often substandard and inadequate for decent living.

The passage of the Emergency Price Control Act in January, 1942, gave the Office of Price Administration statutory authority to control rents in war production areas. In many of these areas rent increases surged steadily upward through 1940 and 1941. Early in 1942 in a large number of these centers vacancies in rental dwellings were reduced to zero and rents were getting completely out of hand. It was no longer a question of rent control in a few defense areas; it was a question of national rent control. As the entire nation was being converted into a workshop for war production and war services, comprehensive nationwide action to stem rent profiteering became imperative. Yet the OPA's approach to rent control was hesitant and dilatory. By August 1, 1942, 395 defense rental areas were designated as subject to rent regulations. However, on that date only 96 areas had been surveyed and rent directors appointed to enforce rent ceilings.

The OPA was equally timid in establishing a uniform policy which would enforce fair rents and would cut down the rent growth sufficiently to do away with speculative increases. In most cases the rent ceilings were prescribed to equal the amount paid on March 1, 1942. In only a few areas rents were cut back to some date in 1941. The result was that in many instances drastic rent increases which had occurred in 1940 and 1941

were frozen under the OPA rent control orders.

Enforcement of rent ceilings carries the same penalties as are applied for the violation of price ceilings. Landlords violating the OPA rent regulations may be fined \$5,000, or imprisoned for one year. In addition tenants may directly sue landlords who do not comply with rent ceilings for at least \$50 damages and costs. OPA rent directors may also resort to court injunctions restraining landlords from charging excessive rents.

The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor has performed a notable service in keeping our local housing committees and central labor unions advised of the progress and developments in rent control. Detailed reports summarizing current rent surveys and vacancy surveys have been furnished our unions in all areas subject to rent control. Where organized pressure on the part of landlords and real estate interests was brought to bear to place rent administration on terms advantageous to the landlords and burdensome to the workers, the Housing Committee has been vigilant in preventing such pressures from taking effect.

In the areas in which lack of housing has resulted in desperately critical conditions, as was the case in Mobile, Ala.; Wichita, Kans.; Seattle, Wash.; San Diego, Calif.; Norfolk, Va.; and many other cities and towns, widespread attempt has been made to evade rent control by withdrawing homes and apartments from the rental market. In some of these areas a concerted effort was made by the landlords to evict tenants occupying their property on the ground that the property would no longer be available for rent as it was being offered for sale. By the first of September 500 threatened evictions were pending court decision in Mobile alone. To prevent this evasion of the law the

OPA Rent Control Division, after consultation with the OPA Labor Policy Committee, agreed to put into effect a regulation forbidding sale of all rental property in critical defense areas. This action, however, was not sufficient to solve the entire problem. In city after city landlords and realtors sought land reoccupancy of rental dwellings on the claim that the property was needed to accommodate members of their families and relatives. Steps are being taken to make impossible this and similar subterfuges and to provide for full enforcement of the rent control regulations. Because the enforcement of these regulations depend in such large measure on cooperation of the tenants themselves, Labor representation in all rent control offices in the field is sought by the A. F. of L. Housing Committee.

At the writing of this report no Labor representation is provided in the rent control administration of the OPA and the enforcement of the rent ceilings has been greatly impaired by the lack of inspectors necessary to insure compliance with rent ceilings.

(1943, p. 139) On June 1, 1943, federal rent control had been in force for one year. As rents normally constitute at least one-fifth of the living costs of a wage earner's family, stabilization of rents has been a vital part of cost of living control for the workers. While at first the OPA approached the problem of rent control timidly, the operation of the program during the past year has probably been more effective than any other OPA operation. By August 1, 1943, 458 defense rental areas had been designated. Of these, 372, with an estimated civilian population of nearly 80 million, have been made subject to federal rent control.

In the controlled areas rents have been generally stabilized at slightly below May, 1942, levels. In view of the drastic increase in rents which

took place between 1941 and 1942, in communities most affected by war production, the May, 1942, level was substantially higher than the rents prevailing before the war. It is recognized that in most cases the OPA rent ceilings have been set at levels which have been administratively feasible. It is clear, however, that the rents paid by most wage earners' families today are far in excess of rents charged at the time when operating costs to the landlord were substantially higher. In many communities before the war, landlords had to contend with a high rate of vacancies, greater occupancy losses, greater turnover and more active maintenance. Under war conditions the landlords are enjoying a far more favorable position. Occupancy is often at an all-time high, reaching 100 per cent in many communities. Rent delinquencies have diminished and in some areas have completely disappeared. While some operating expenses, including payrolls and fuel, have increased appreciably, these have been generally more than offset by economies made possible by the elimination of vacancies and reduction in services. Janitorial and custodial services have been curtailed and, most important of all, repairs, interior painting and decorating, have been sharply reduced.

In the administration of rent control the OPA has made an important contribution to the morale of many thousands of war workers and families of service men in the rent control areas by insuring new tenants security of their home occupancy. In the initial stages of rent control in Mobile, Alabama, and many other overcrowded areas, landlords forced tenants to vacate by selling their properties to outright owners. Where overcrowding made it impossible for workers to find other accommodations, purchase of rental properties was often forced upon the war workers. To prevent this circumvention of rent

control, the OPA, after consultation with the OPA Labor Policy Committee, amended its regulations requiring a 90-day notice in the case of any eviction. The amendment also prohibited the sale of the rental property in emergency areas except in the case of *bona fide* sales in which one-third of the purchase price must be paid in cash as a down payment. This provision has effectively prevented forced sales and sales made to circumvent rent control.

By limiting the application of this policy solely to areas where overcrowding has reached emergency proportions, the regulation did not in any way interfere with real estate transactions in communities in which conditions are more nearly normal. The regulation provides that where a landlord can show that equivalent accommodations are available for similar rent in the same community he may sell the property with no down-payment and with no restrictions.

There has been strong organized pressure on the part of real estate interests to do away with rent control. It was apparent that the OPA was willing to yield sufficiently to the pressure to reduce the 30 per cent down-payment requirement in the case of sales to 20 per cent. The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor has countered this drive for relaxation of the rent control program and has pressed for the extension of rent control and of its enforcement. In smaller communities in which much war production is concentrated, the absence of rent control has imposed a real hardship upon thousands of war workers. In such areas as Greater New York where substantial rent increases have occurred, the OPA has failed to establish a basis for rent control. In a number of communities the Housing Committee has assisted central labor unions in conducting rent surveys among members of affiliated unions,

thus helping to establish rent control protection for the workers.

(P. 554) The convention took the following action on the report of the E.C. on this subject:

As the Executive Council reports, rent control has been limited to defense areas and rents have been generally stabilized slightly below May 1942 levels. This means that the level set as feasible for administration has been more favorable to landlords than to tenants. However, the tenants are protected against unlimited advances.

Meanwhile, as the war continues, areas not classified as defense have no protection against rent increases, evictions, forced ownership and fictitious sales, etc. Local or state rent control may be needed to supplement the OPA rent control.

We urge action upon the suggestion of the Executive Council that central labor unions conduct rent surveys or get community cooperation for such surveys as a basis for a protective program.

(1944, p. 556) Res. 156:

Whereas—The Congress has passed a bill extending price and rent control until July 1, 1945, and the new Stabilization Act provides for the continuation of the rent control program; also the regulation of rents, and

Whereas—In the City of New York, the OPA is doing its best to carry out the instructions of Congress, and has established rent control which has prevented the increase of rents, and

Whereas—In the City of New York, commercial rent situation has become a serious problem to employers who employ thousands of workers in their plants in Greater New York, as the increase in rents has amounted to approximately 275 per cent in many instances, and

Whereas—A large number of our employers in Greater New York claim that if this is allowed to continue they will be forced to move their plants to

other cities or close down entirely, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, La., call upon Congress to include in the OPA rent regulations, commercial rent control.

(1948, p. 321) Res. 105 called upon Congress to extend and strengthen existing rent control legislation.

(P. 467) Committee report adopted as follows:

Your committee is in sympathy with the objectives of the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council, A. F. of L., so that interested union representatives can present their views to the council with respect to the enactment of proper legislation on the subject.

(1949, p. 228) The American Federation of Labor has vigorously maintained that until enough new houses are built to meet the most acute needs, stabilization of rents is extremely important. Therefore, organized labor has taken a determined stand to maintain and improve the federal rent control program. At its January 1949 meeting, the Executive Council emphasized the importance of rent control to all workers and called for the extension and improvement of existing rent control legislation.

Rent control was one of the first problems to receive the attention of the 81st Congress. It soon became evident that the real estate lobby would make an all-out drive to abolish all federal rent controls. However, despite tremendous pressures brought by the real estate interests, Congress finally passed a new rent control law, the Housing and Rent Act of 1949, which became effective on April 1, 1949. While this law contained some improvements over the previous legislation, the opponents of rent control were able to secure certain provisions which have resulted in

a serious weakening of the entire rent control program.

Since the enactment of the rent control law, the housing expediter, on his own initiative, has used its provisions to decontrol rents in scores of communities and to raise rents for thousands of tenants. To make matters worse, real estate interests in many communities have organized successful campaigns to abolish rent controls altogether by making use of the so-called "local option" provision. They have even been successful in removing federal rent controls in three states, Nebraska, Texas and Wisconsin.

Maintenance of rents at existing levels is important for hundreds of thousands of workers, particularly during this period of rising unemployment. The rent control program must be maintained and strengthened until new homes are built in sufficient volume to make federal rent controls no longer necessary.

(P. 475) Although the law which passed Congress this year was, in several respects, stronger than previous rent control statutes, it did contain the pernicious "local option" provision under which rent control has been completely removed from hundreds of communities across the nation.

In a number of cases, this has meant extreme hardship to families of trade union members. In the City of Dallas, for example, after decontrol, rents rose up to 380% above former levels.

This committee does not wish the system of rent controls to remain in effect any longer than is absolutely necessary. However, until the supply of low-price housing units can be equalized with the demand, effective rent control must be maintained so that families will not be faced with exorbitant increases in rent.

(1950, pp. 211, 388) The weakening of the rent control law intensified

the housing problem for many workers and their families. If the law is not immediately strengthened, there may be much more disastrous effects during the coming period when the housing shortage may become much more acute.

In recent months, rent controls have become less effective. In part, this has been due to a very liberal policy on the part of the housing expediter in granting rent increases to landlords. Thus, during the period from April 1949 through March 1950, the housing expediter permitted 915,074 increases averaging \$6.77 or 18 per cent. However, this was not the most serious evidence of deterioration of the rent control program. The major problem was that through a provision in the 1949 rent control law allowing for local option by governing bodies of states and communities, federal rent controls were entirely removed from six states and about 300 communities. In only two states, New York and Wisconsin, were federal rent controls replaced by state controls. While the New York law provided for more effective rent controls than the federal law, the Wisconsin law was very weak.

Rent increases in decontrolled communities were widespread and steep. This was indicated by a survey made by the Department of Labor of 14 typical communities where federal rent controls were removed. The Labor Department found that rents in these communities increased from 12 to nearly 40 per cent affecting from 17 to 64 per cent of the tenants. In fact, confirmation of the serious effects of decontrol came from the National Association of Real Estate Boards, an organization which has been bitterly opposed to rent control. The NAREB received reports from 100 decontrolled cities in 30 states indicating that rents increased for more than half of all the tenants in these communities and that the average in-

crease for those tenants whose rents were raised was 22 per cent.

In the face of this unmistakable evidence of the terrific hardships caused by weakened rent controls and outright decontrol, a strong movement developed under the leadership of the real estate lobby to end all rent controls when the 1949 Act expired on June 30, 1950. The Housing Committee of the A. F. of L. fought this movement with every resource it could command. It sought to obtain legislation which would at least extend the existing inadequate rent control law for another year and if possible strengthen it.

Despite the efforts of the real estate group to obtain the outright abolition of rent controls, a compromise rent control bill passed both Houses of Congress. This bill extended the existing rent control law until December 31, 1950, and contained a provision that federal rent controls would be in force after that date only in those communities which either by a resolution of their governing bodies or by popular referendum declared "that a shortage of rental housing accommodations exists which requires the continuance of rent control." This provision in the rent control law makes it imperative for every union affiliated with A. F. of L. to be on the alert in its community to make sure that the necessary steps are taken to permit the continuation of rent control after the end of 1950 if it is still needed.

(Pp. 49, 387) Res. 78 called attention to housing problems posed by defense mobilization as follows:

Whereas—The President has already announced restrictions on residential construction as the first economic measure in the defense mobilization program, and

Whereas—The major effects of these restrictions will be (1) to cut back by at least 25 per cent during the next six months the vitally needed

low-rent public housing program for low-income families, and (2) to increase required down payments on privately built housing under the FHA and VA programs, thus making it more difficult for ordinary families without large accumulated savings to secure any new housing, and

Whereas—There is still a large unmet housing need, particularly for low and middle-income families, and this shortage can be expected to become worse as housing volume decreases as a result of the new restrictions, and

Whereas—There have been no restrictions announced yet on the production of luxury goods and other commodities for which the need is not as great as it is for housing, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as urging that in view of the continued shortage of housing and the fact that there is no substitute for it, restrictions be placed on residential construction only where they are absolutely necessary and that wherever possible restrictions be placed first on competing non-essential production and construction before any further cutbacks are made on residential construction, and be it further

Resolved—That we hereby urge that if further restrictions on housing are necessary, whatever residential construction is permitted should contribute to the maximum possible extent to meet the housing needs of low and middle income families and we specifically urge further that there be no further cutbacks in the low-rent public housing program and that there should be renewed pressure in the 82nd Congress for enactment of the cooperative housing program for middle-income families, and be it further

Resolved—That if workers are required to move to certain defense

areas, we hereby urge that there be adequate community facilities as well as decent housing accommodations for them in such expanded communities, and be it further

Resolved—That in view of the fact that curtailed housing construction will result in an intensification of the present housing shortage, we hereby urge that the Congress review its previous action on rent control and that the present rent control law be continued beyond December 31, 1950, and that it be amended to permit the re-control of rents in any decontrolled community where housing shortages become more acute.

(1951, p. 96) As early as August, 1950, the Executive Council urged immediate amendment of the rent control law to permit recontrol of decontrolled communities and to strengthen controls where they still existed. The American Federation of Labor regards an effective rent control program as a very necessary part of the over-all anti-inflation program. In line with this policy, the A. F. of L. proposed that the following rent control program be included in the amendments to the Defense Production Act which Congress was considering in June, 1951.

1. Place the rent control program on a "for the duration" basis.

2. Establish rent controls immediately in all areas around military installations.

3. Authorize rent controls where needed over all types of dwelling units, including new houses and conversions. This will involve recontrol of many areas which have been decontrolled and the establishment of controls in some defense areas where they have never previously been imposed.

4. Provide strong eviction controls and effective enforcement procedures, including triple damages for overcharges and illegal evictions.

5. Enforce mandatory reduction of rents where there are reductions in services.

6. To prevent price rises due to inflated commercial rents, extend rent control to cover business establishments.

7. Adopt appropriate safeguards to protect living standards of building service workers.

The rent control sections of the Defense Production Act, as enacted on July 31, 1951, were considerably weaker than the A. F. of L. recommendations.

(P. 439) Under this section of the Executive Council's Report it is pointed out that the housing problems of workers were made more difficult during the past year by the continued weakening of the federal rent control program. The real estate interests throughout the country were pushing through decontrol of local communities and taking advantage of the so-called "local option" clause of the rent control law. By July, 1951, rent control had been removed in 1,200 communities throughout the country through the "local option" method.

As early as August, 1950, the Executive Council urged immediate amendment of the rent control law to permit recontrol of decontrolled communities and to strengthen controls where they still existed. The A. F. of L. regards an effective rent control program as a very necessary part of the overall anti-inflation program.

The rent control sections of the Defense Production Act as enacted on June 30th were considerably weaker than those recommended by the A. F. of L. The council's report highlights the following four points:

1. The rent control program would be extended until June 30, 1952, instead of for the duration of the defense emergency as the A. F. of L. recommended.

2. The so-called "local option" system would be continued but it would be considerably modified. Rent controls could be established whether or not controls had ever previously ex-

isted in the area in localities certified as "critical defense areas" by the Secretary of Defense and the Director of Defense Mobilization, acting jointly. An area would still have the right to remove rent controls by the "local option" method but it could be re-controlled after thirty days if it was designated a "critical defense area." Moreover, once an area was designated a "critical defense area" the government would have the right to control all housing accommodations in the area, including those which heretofore have been exempt from rent control. The amendments further provide that in any area designated as a "critical defense area" credit controls on housing must be relaxed.

3. While states and localities would be permitted to maintain local rent control programs, the Federal Government would have the right to establish controls in any state or locality which had its own rent control program if rents in that area increased by more than the U.S. average as indicated by the BLS cost of living index for a period of six months.

4. Most serious of all, the amendments provide for an across the board 20 per cent increase over the June 30, 1947 level in rents in controlled areas less increases obtained by the landlords since that date. The American Federation of Labor had recommended that rent increases be allowed only where landlords had actual increases in costs.

(P. 287) Res. 33 called upon the A. F. of L. to seek passage of an adequate national rent control law.

(P. 561) Convention adopted the resolution with the reservation that no rent control should act as a bar to reasonable wage increases for all employees in building and other service.

Reorganization of Government Departments (also see: Labor Department, Government Employees)

(1924, p. 74) In the early days of his administration the late President

of the U.S. appointed a committee to investigate and report on the possibilities of reorganizing government departments so as to make for greater efficiency and economy. The committee held but few meetings and the chairman wrote a report without much consultation with other members of the committee, which consisted of three Senators and three members of the House of Representatives. No action was taken by either House.

(P. 265) We are not concerned so much with the reorganization of governmental departments. We are concerned deeply and keenly in the maintenance and the full development of the Department of Labor. Indeed we urge that greater encouragement and support be given this department of our national government because its problems and its functions concern the human welfare and the personal well being of those who do the nation's toil, the greatest factors in our nation's life—the wage earners—the common people of our land.

(1932, pp. 63, 362) The A. F. of L. is especially interested in the repeated legislative proposals which have been put forth to reorganize government departments. Our interest in this matter is based very largely upon our deep concern over the effect which such proposed actions would have on the Department of Labor. We have constantly endeavored to bring about the establishment of all the divisions and bureaus touching Labor, labor matters and labor activities, into the Department of Labor. This was the specific purpose the A. F. of L. had in mind when it originally proposed the creation of the Department of Labor with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet.

It is the purpose of the A. F. of L. to give special attention and consideration to any and all plans which may be proposed for the reorganization of government departments. We will strenuously oppose any and all

attempts to transfer to other departments of what we regard as divisions of the Department of Labor having to do with labor matters, labor activities and labor social activities in which organized labor is especially interested. In taking this position we are not influenced by any fixed opinion of opposition to any practical economic measure which may be devised for the consolidation of government bureaus and in the reorganization of government departments.

(1937, pp. 163, 318) Several bills to reorganize the various governmental activities were introduced in the first session of the 75th Congress.

S. 2970 authorizes the President to bring about a reorganization of the 133 departments and agencies of the Executive branch. The President is given the duty and power, subject to certain limitations, to transfer, regroup, coordinate, consolidate, reorganize or abolish administrative agencies. This authority is limited to a period of three years.

All Executive Orders regarding reorganization must be submitted to Congress when in session and do not become effective until sixty days thereafter. The President is authorized to extend the classified Civil Service to any office or position in the government with a single administrator substituted for the present Civil Service Board of three members.

The audits of the financial transactions of the government are invested in an independent Auditor General who will be responsible only to Congress. A Joint Committee on Public Accounts is to be set up by Congress to hold the executive officers to a more effective accountability.

The bill provides for a new department to be known as the "Department of Welfare." The title of the Department of the Interior is changed to "Conservation." The existing Na-

tional Resources Committee is renamed the "National Resources Planning Board," which is to be an arm of the President in budget and personnel management.

H.R. 8202 providing for the reorganization of agencies of the government and to establish the Department of Welfare passed the House August 13, but undoubtedly the Senate bill will be substituted for it in the next session of Congress.

(1938, pp. 170, 550) The first session of the 75th Congress passed a bill providing for the reorganization of 133 government activities. Among them were the Civil Service Commission and the United States Employees' Compensation Commission.

The Senate passed a bill, S. 3331, which provided that the law creating the non-partisan Civil Service Commission should be repealed and one administrator appointed to carry out the Civil Service laws. The government employees objected strenuously to the change in the Civil Service Commission because it would become a political instead of a non-partisan branch of the government.

It is also provided that the United States Employees' Compensation Commission should be placed in some other activity of the government. This would move the commission from its independent status and place it under political control. Both bills were finally recommitted to the Select Committee on Government Organization which had held extensive hearings on the question of reorganization.

(1939, pp. 141, 521) Shortly after Congress convened President Roosevelt requested Congress to pass a bill empowering him to reorganize some government activities. A similar request was made in the 75th Congress. A bill was introduced but failed to pass.

H.R. 4425 was introduced which provided that the President should investigate the organization of all

agencies of the government and shall determine what changes therein are necessary to accomplish the reduction of expenditures, increase the efficiency of the operation of the government and reduce the number of agencies by consolidating those having similar functions under similar heads.

Besides, he was to abolish such agencies as may not be necessary to the efficient conduct of the government and eliminate overlapping and duplication of effort. The bill was approved by the President April 3, 1939, and the provisions were immediately carried out taking effect July 1.

A number of activities were placed in the executive offices of the President. The Federal Security Agency was created which is composed of the Social Security Board, the U.S. Employment Service, the Office of Education and all other functions of the Secretary of Interior relating to the administration of the Office of Education, Public Health Service, National Youth Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps.

To the Federal Works Agency was transferred the Public Roads Administration, Public Buildings Administration, United States Housing Authority, Public Works Administration, Works Progress Administration and all their records, property and funds.

To the Federal Loan Agency were transferred the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Electric Home and Farm Authority, Reconstruction Finance Corporation Mortgage Company, Disaster Loan Corporation, Federal National Mortgage Association, Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, Housing Administration and Export and Import Bank of Washington.

When the bill was being prepared in the House it was understood that the U.S. Employees Compensation Commission would be transferred to

the Department of Labor. However, the E.C. made a vigorous protest believing that the commission should be kept independent. The committee writing the bill acceded to our request.

(1940, pp. 78-79, 405) The Reorganization Act of 1939 authorized the President to submit to Congress plans for reorganizing, with certain exceptions, various governmental departments, bureaus and agencies so as to: (1) reduce expenditures, (2) increase efficiency, (3) consolidate agencies according to major purposes, (4) reduce the number of agencies by consolidating those having similar functions and by abolishing such as may not be necessary, (5) eliminate overlapping and duplication of effort.

The reorganization plans submitted by the President take effect 60 days from the date of submission unless a majority in the House and Senate adopt a resolution expressing disapproval.

Reports upon this subject were made to the last convention. The fourth reorganization order provided, among other things, for a transfer of the Civil Aeronautics Authority and its functions, the office of the Administrator of Civil Aeronautics and its Air Safety Board to the Department of Commerce. This transfer was bitterly opposed by the Air Line Pilots Association, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. The air pilots, among other objections, pointed to the remarkable safety record established under the independent functioning of these agencies. The Executive Council backed the pilots in their contention but while the House adopted a resolution opposing Reorganization Plan No. IV, the Senate resolution of disapproval failed by a vote of 34 to 46.

The fifth plan provided for a transfer of the Immigration and Naturalization Service from the Department of Labor to the Department of Jus-

tice. Because of apprehension of fifth-column activities and the general belief that the Department of Justice was best qualified to check on disloyal alien residents of the United States there was little opposition to this transfer and it became effective on June 14, 1940.

(1946, p. 205) In 1945 the Congress passed and the President signed Public No. 263 of the 79th Congress, an Act permitting the President to reorganize the government departments and agencies with a proviso that reorganization plans submitted by the President would become effective unless both Houses of Congress disapproved within 60 days.

On May 16, 1946, the President submitted three plans to the Congress.

We disapproved Plans 2 and 3, but approved Plan 1 because the latter set up a Central Housing Agency.

Plan 2 was objected to because it abolished the United States Employees Compensation Commission which was set up by law as a bi-partisan agency whose members were confirmed by the Senate, and transferred its functions to the Director of the Federal Security Agency and permitted him to appoint a board of three to which his decisions might be appealed.

It also transferred certain agencies from the Department of Labor to the Director.

Plan 2 continued the Coast Guard's wartime control of the United States Steamboat Inspection Service.

All our maritime organizations, including the Longshoremen, joined the A. F. of L. in opposition to this plan as seamen were continually being placed in double jeopardy for minor offences.

All of the plans were defeated by the House of Representatives by approximately four to one.

Plan 1 was defeated by the Senate and the others approved, so all plans became effective.

Bills were immediately introduced in both Houses of Congress reinstating the United States Employees Compensation Commission and the Senate passed the bill (S. 2456) on July 29, 1946.

A delegation immediately waited upon the Speaker but he declined to permit the bill to be considered by the House of Representatives.

(P. 468) The convention unanimously adopted the recommendations of its committee on the above subject as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council reports the submission of three reorganization plans to the Congress by the President. These plans were numbered, 1, 2 and 3. Plans 2 and 3 were opposed by the A. F. of L. and other affiliates, and Plan 1 was supported. Because both Houses did not disapprove the plans within sixty days after submission all three became effective. On July 29, 1946 the Senate passed a bill reestablishing the Employees Compensation Commission as an independent bi-partisan agency, but although a delegation called upon the Speaker he declined to permit the bill to be considered by the House of Representatives.

Reparations (Dismantling of Plants and Factories in Germany) (1948, p. 81)—The American Federation of Labor was the only labor voice raised against the indiscriminate dismantling of plants for reparations. There was general acceptance by the German unions that factories serving war efforts should be dismantled, but workers could not understand why dismantling should include all plant-connected buildings and barracks at a time of an extreme housing shortage. In a few cases, Military Government did order an easing of the dismantling to provide time for the gradual reemployment of thousands of workers whose jobs would have been affected.

Representation (Labor) on Government Boards

(1936, p. 561) More and more labor is becoming a subject for Federal and State legislation. It is evident that the wage earners will receive, or be subjected to still further legislative consideration. When legislation has been enacted, the most important consideration becomes its administration. The personnel or administrators, the substance of their understanding and practical experience, largely determines the effectiveness of the law.

An unsatisfactory law may be given much value if its administration is in the hands of intelligent, well-informed men with a practical experience in the every day and the practical affairs of men. A perfect law, if such were possible, could be rendered largely ineffective if its administration was guided by men, no matter how high their integrity, intelligence and scholastic attainments, if they were without practical experience through personal contact with the affairs and the relationship of men in commerce and industry.

There are in the states and in the Federal Government, many commissions, bureaus, boards, and other bodies officially created by law or executive order, for the purpose of administering specific legislation. Your committee views with grave misgivings, the absence of experienced trade unionists upon those commissions, boards and other legally created bodies appointed for the administration of laws relating to Labor's welfare. In the matter of commissions, bureaus or other bodies existing for the purpose of administering laws dealing with various forms of industrial and agricultural activity, administrative authority is certain to appoint members of such bodies who truly represent the interests of those affected by the law. In the United States it is notorious that labor finds it most difficult and frequently impossible to secure the ap-

pointment of responsible and experienced men of labor.

The convention declares that it will not support legislation creating any administrative body to supervise and apply any legislation affecting labor, unless such legislation provides that labor shall have direct representation upon such administrative bodies.

State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies should insist upon the application of this policy, and refuse to cooperate with any state and city administration which fails to place responsible labor representatives upon every board or commission having to do with the administration of legislation affecting labor.

The Executive Council is instructed to take up with the President of the United States the subject of adequate labor representation upon every Federal board, commission, or other body created for the purpose of administering legislation affecting labor directly or indirectly.

This convention declares itself as insisting that the day has arrived when labor will no longer remain silent or inactive when administrative bodies having the responsibility of administering legislation affecting Labor are without Labor men in their personnel.

(P. 566) The A. F. of L. declares that it is of the opinion that organized labor is entitled to representation on the Federal Reserve Board and subordinate Federal Reserve agencies and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, equal to that accorded to Agriculture and Industry, and that such agencies shall require as a condition of eligibility for credit or other financial assistance, unless such monies are to be used in any enterprise or business that has to do with the employment of labor, that the borrower shall not conduct its business activities in a manner antagonistic to the national labor policy set forth in the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

(Public Members)—(1944, p. 531):

Whereas, it is most desirable that labor, which has modified many meritorious rules and working conditions in an effort to expedite victory, should not be called upon to make unnecessary sacrifices which would prove a menace to the future of its members who are now serving with the armed forces as well as those now producing those things essential to victory, and

Whereas, The present make-up of boards and commissions dealing with industrial matters is such that quite generally they are composed of representatives of workers, management, and a third group named the public, which third group while probably well intentioned has been quite generally without experience in industrial affairs, yet more closely associated with the employer group than with labor, thus making it extremely difficult and sometimes impossible to get justice from such boards, and

Whereas, These boards and commissions almost invariably exercise the functions of arbitration boards, in all set-ups of which it is conceded that the two parties of major interest should choose the third party which is assumed to be neutral, but which in the cases complained of are apparently not, although referred to as the public, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor, in session assembled in this 64th annual convention, that we record ourselves as unalterably convinced that the manner of naming third parties to such governmental boards, etc., accounts for much of the dissatisfaction among workers caused by unjust decisions, and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon all affiliated organizations and the officers of this Federation to use all the means at their command to rectify the conditions herein complained of, and to secure more just and equitable representation on these boards

("Basic Principles")—(1946, pp. 63, 609) Included in a comprehen-

sive report on the U.N. was a subsection titled "Basic Principles of Representation":

From this sketchy and incomplete record of the work of United Nations agencies, it is obvious that its decisions and work in international fields will vitally affect developments and agencies in our own nation. It is also obvious that if we would retain democratic institutions in our own country we must extend principles of democratic representation to our interests and activities in the international field. For example, our Government has proposed an International Conference on Trade and Employment which looks forward to the establishment of a permanent agency in this field. If these non-government agencies which control free enterprise in this country do not have proportional representation in the international agency their authority at home may be minimized.

These principles of representation include:

1. The right of an organization to select its representative or to name a panel from which selection is made.
2. The right to such representation in connection with agencies dealing with matters affecting our welfare.
3. The right to advisory relationship in connection with agencies dealing with matters affecting our welfare but where regulations provide or make possible only government representation.
4. The right to free access of information needed for representative service.
5. Congress should require Administrative agencies of the Federal Government to observe such rights of representation in making official appointments.

The problem of union representation has become increasingly important and difficult with the wide fields given to government agencies

for administration. Administrative procedure affords new opportunities for dictation unless those affected by the administration have representation in the determination of basic policies and procedures and the functions of such representatives are clearly defined.

(p. 609) Increasing need for the counsel of representatives of non-governmental functional interests makes timely the formulation of basic principles for guidance in consultative relationships. Consultative relationships have developed around the administration of law and in decisions on policies. Consultative and advisory relationships have become important internationally as well as nationally.

We urge insistence upon conformity with these principles by all A. F. of L. representatives.

Policy Making Boards—(1950, pp. 238, 428)

To carry out the democratic ideals which our nation holds, Labor must be adequately represented on all policy making and administrative advisory boards affecting Labor, at the local, state, and national levels.

It will be observed that in discussing each of the education and training programs in this report, emphasis has been placed on the urgent need of labor representation on all policy making and administrative advisory boards.

(P. 528) In this section of its report the Executive Council recommends that labor be represented on all policy making boards of local, state and national governments. Your committee approves this important recommendation and at the same time urges local, state, national and international labor bodies to have representatives, whenever possible, on policy making boards and on advisory committees. While it is true that representation is often denied to labor organizations, it is also true that labor groups are negligent about sending representatives when they are invited to do so. A fight-

ing, aggressive labor movement should participate at every opportunity in the democratic process and demand proper recognition on all policy making boards of government at all levels.

Civic Affairs—(1951, p. 412:

We recommend also that in every instance the recognition of our members as general community-civic leaders be emphasized. When public appointments are made, it is far too often that persons who have served the general public interest through the trade union movement are almost automatically excluded, except on special occasions, purely as "Labor People." True we are proud to fight for recognition of Labor's rights and privileges, but having been active in these fights should better qualify us to represent the people in many general public services at home and abroad: in and out of the more restricted Labor activities.

Defense Agencies—(P. 308) Res. 86 requested A. F. of L. and officers to use influence to see that A. F. of L. representation and participation on defense boards be more adequate.

(p. 654) This resolution is concerned with the need for obtaining effective A. F. of L. representation throughout the defense program.

The importance of this resolution cannot be over-estimated. If the defense program is to be successful, Labor must be accorded full participation in the formation and execution of policies at all levels throughout the many government defense agencies.

This committee wishes to stress one particular aspect of this problem. Organized Labor has now won the right to at least basic representation in the defense program. Our task now is to suggest the names of capable and energetic individuals from the ranks of Labor to help administer the program.

Assignment with a defense agency represents the highest type of service to organized labor and the American

Federation of Labor. Each international union has a special responsibility for making available for these defense assignments particularly well-qualified and capable individuals.

In recommending that this resolution be adopted, the committee wishes to suggest a slight change in wording so that the resolution would read as follows:

Whereas, A great number of government defense agencies have been established to handle the various defense problems, including production, economic stabilization, manpower, wage stabilization and price control, and

Whereas, The best interests of working people can be served only if organized labor and the American Federation of Labor is adequately represented on these agencies, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor use its full influence to make certain that it be adequately represented in the government agencies throughout the defense program.

Research (Union) (1944, p. 140)

The post-war period will be characterized by two dominating forces: the effort to achieve full employment and revolutionary technical changes as new progress in industrial chemistry and other applied sciences is put into production.

The first—full employment—will require active and informed cooperation of workers and management based on the facts of local employment, unemployment, existing production and potential production by locality, by industries and for the nation. There will be needed technically trained persons who understand how to measure efforts and interpret measurements. Technicians should report to union executives responsible to the union wage earners.

The union also needs the advice of persons who can keep them forewarned of production and technological changes that they must meet.

When such changes are certain and imminent the union needs to provide its members with such educational and training opportunities as will fit them to do the new work.

We commend to national and international unions provisions for meeting their fact-finding needs, either through their own staff or by joint arrangement with other unions or with the Federation.

In arranging for research services, it is important to have all arrangements on the principle that research is a service to the union and to its officers. Research provides information on facts and conditions which help the union and its officials to determine policies. The control and the policy-making must be retained by the union and delegated only to elected officials.

It is inevitable that unions will increasingly use research services and hence it is important that more persons have opportunity to train for this specialized field or opportunities for "training on the job." We could encourage interrelationships between research workers and American Federation of Labor unions.

(p. 585) The war which America is now waging, and the peace which shall follow, is in large measure Labor's war and Labor's peace. Labor's stake in the war and in the peace is the greatest, for the workers constitute the mass of mankind. This pivotal position between war and peace now imposed upon organized labor, as the Executive Council states, requires active and informal cooperation of workers and management. Such cooperation must necessarily be based upon factual knowledge. The post-war goal of full production and humane utilization of technological advances requires technically trained persons, who, with factual knowledge, can interpret the present in the light of the past, and the future in the light of the present. Research services alone can supply the Federation and its officers with the

necessary factual knowledge and background upon which they can continue to base their union policies which must continue to be directed to the promotion of the common good.

We concur, then, with the Executive Council, on the necessity for the increasing use of research services, as well as the necessity for the augmentation of Labor's personnel in this specialized field. Such personnel should be instituted and encouraged on a local, national and international basis.

We further recommend that the Federation office in Washington be considered as the nominal headquarters of research. The research foundation of the various national and international unions should send duplicate copies of their findings to the Federation office. In this way duplication of studies can be avoided; different regions can be best served; and the continual unified advancement of the American Federation of Labor on a national scale can be made more secure.

Resettlement Administration (1936, p. 639)—The A. F. of L. will support legislation for the adoption and continuation of the program of the Resettlement Administration as it has been developed during the past eighteen months; and to oppose legislation which would reduce this program into a mere lending of funds to individual farmers for the purchase of individual farms, without planned coordination, without technical assistance and without the establishment of community and cooperation activities.

Resources (National), Protection Urged (see also: Public Domain)

(1953, pp. 172, 590)—This portion of the Executive Council report deals with the "giveaway" program of public resources and with the restrictions of appropriations needed for the development of conservation, flood control and power projects which would be of immense benefit to the citizens of the United States. Details of legisla-

tion on these matters, together with A. F. of L. action on them is fully explained in the report of the Executive Council. Among these items reported on are: Forest, Water, Soil Conservation; Natural Gas Act Amendment; Hydro-Electric Power; Hell's Canyon Dam; Ice Harbor Dam; TVA Appropriations, and Disposal of Defense Rubber Plants.

It is the recommendation of your committee that the American Federation of Labor continue its active interest for the protection of the rights of the American citizen in matters affecting conservation and development of natural resources in the best public interests.

(1954, p. 530) The EC Report contained a special section on activities of officers of the Federation to protect our natural resources and the public domain. The convention committee presented a report on this section of the EC Report which was unanimously adopted:

Your committee commends the officers of the Federation for their unceasing efforts to protect our natural resources and the public domain. We urge they continue to protect the natural forests and the public grazing lands. We further urge that the officers and the National Legislative Committee maintain a close watch on all legislation affecting the development of our water resources.

We note that the fight to erect a multiple purpose dam at Hell's Canyon is still continuing and urge continued support by the Federation for this project.

Your committee believes there is nothing more serious confronting this republic than the conservation of natural resources. With the tremendous expansion of the population a great deal of thought should be given to this problem so that we will not become another China with many starving when we have so many natural resources that can be developed to

take care of the increasing population.

There are many square miles of land between the Mississippi and the Pacific wholly unproductive now and we are going to have to put that land in production to take care of future generations. In some parts of the country where the water supply is diminishing, citizens are fighting the establishment of new industry due to this shortage, while in those areas many rivers and their tributaries are dumping billions of gallons of water into the ocean.

We believe in private enterprise but there are some things which private enterprise cannot do.

The altruistic program of the A. F. of L. on conservation is thoroughly approved and steps should be taken to guard against any giveaway program on this very vital issue of conservation of the public domain and natural resources.

Retirement (Civil Service) (also see: Government Employees)

(Retirement for Ex-Service Officers)—(1928, p. 83) A bill making eligible for retirement under certain conditions officers and former officers of the army, navy or marine corps, other than officers of the regular army, navy or marine corps, who incurred physical disability in line of duty while in the service of the U.S. during the World War, passed both Houses but was vetoed by the President. It was passed over the President's veto. Labor supported this bill.

Riders to Legislative Measures Opposed—(1952, pp. 22, 67, 68, 242, 243, 456) Res. 2:

Whereas—We believe the principles of democracy are best served when each piece of legislation before Congress is considered on its own merits, and

Whereas—The increasing practice of attaching riders to appropriation

and other bills has as its primary purpose the evasion of separate consideration, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor condemns the practice by certain members of Congress of attaching riders to appropriation and other bills as undemocratic.

The convention expressed sympathy with the purpose of the resolution and recommended that the officers of the A. F. of L. ascertain what can be done to discourage the use of this sharp legislative practice.

Right to Organize—(1930, pp. 77, 356) It is a common law right of every free citizen to choose his calling and while following that calling to manage his resources so as to promote his best interests. This common law right is inherent in every wage earner as in every salaried person, every investor of capital, and every manager of a business enterprise.

The resources of a wage earner are life, health, physical and mental energy, personality, and the profits he makes on his work. The specific methods that anybody may use to advance his interests and make progress in living will depend upon the conditions under which he lives and works.

This is an age of specialization, interdependence of interests and purposes. No man can live unto himself alone and no man can do business with himself alone. We live in associated groups and we work in associated groups, the interplay of whose functions is necessary for undertaking upon which all are more or less dependent for supplies and service. When society and business are organized upon a basis of associated activity to supply the needs of individuals, it is obvious that progress for all groups must come through associations for definite purposes and organized activity to accomplish the purposes of the associations. Accordingly, we find the American Bar Asso-

ciation, American Medical Association, the American University Professors Association, American Library Association, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, the Business and Professional Women's Association, the United States Steel Corporation, the Metal Trades Association, the American Cotton Manufacturing Association, the American Management Association, the A. F. of L. and its 104 affiliated national and international trade unions. All these organizations have in common the fundamental purpose of promoting the business and professional interests of their members. Most of them are recognized as highly respected institutions, with commendable and praiseworthy purposes. The right of individuals to join the association which is organized to promote their professional or trade interests is neither questioned nor challenged.

In sharp contrast to this general acceptance of right to belong to associations and advance interests through them, is the attitude of many employers and courts toward the right of producing workers to join trade unions for the purpose of advancing their economic, social and political interests through trade unions. Some not only do not concede the right of their employees to join unions and to conduct their business through union channels but cruel as it may seem they discharge them when they exercise such a right. The issue resolves itself into the right of the individual employee to select a delegate or counsel to make his work agreement instead of either foregoing his right to a contract or attempting by himself to negotiate a satisfactory agreement with his employer. Obviously the individual employee would be at a very great disadvantage in attempting to negotiate a contract. Rarely in these days is the employer the owner. The large employers are corporations, owned by hundreds of thousands, who hold stock, and managed by a salaried

group responsible to officials and directors usually chosen by large stockholders. Management is the employer. The employer would, of course, delegate his part to some representative, probably the employment bureau, which in the case of a large plant would be completely overwhelmed and unable to take care of its normal functions. Again there would probably be that delegation of a function which is denied workers.

Thus Labor is confronted with a situation in which one functional business group denies another the right to those same business methods which it itself is using and using to its strategic advantage to force compliance with its will. This arbitrary attitude and denial of the common law right to contract puts employer-employee relations on a despotic basis and forces a conflict in situations.

Some more progressive industrial undertakings that are alert to make use of the best management policies, recognize the advantage of having an organized producing group to cooperate in reducing wastes in producing and turning out the highest quality of product at the lowest production costs. They realize there must be agreement upon objectives and unity of purpose throughout the plant organization in order to get the best results. Some such employers have the wisdom to utilize the union agency which wage earners have created for associated activity; others are afraid of the power of such organization and set up their own "employee" organization which they can control. This fear on the part of employers which dominates many industrial policies and methods, has its roots in great concern lest they lose arbitrary control over distribution of the returns from products produced by the joint efforts of all who man the plant.

Tradition and established practice make producing employees a lower paid group than other existing groups. Only those persons in a position to

insist upon just and equitable work contracts have been able to participate commensurately in the increased return from production. Their interests are well taken care of; they have status in the industry; their employment and incomes are regular. Workers denied the right to use the agency that can take care of their interests have no status in the industry. They have low wages and as a rule irregular employment, insecurity of income. Low wages mean these workers and their dependents cannot lay aside savings to provide for the emergencies of life and that when unemployment comes, they must get credit from retail dealers or apply to charity.

Labor maintains that no industry has a right to employ producing workers that cannot provide efficient management which can make profits, pay high salaries and wages. No industrial establishment has a right to pay excessively high salaries and bonuses to its executives and not provide securities and high annual incomes to all on its payroll. No industrial establishment has a right to employ men and women and utilize their life vigor, and then irresponsibly turn these employees adrift to get their living at the risk of the business world or at the expense of the general public. Many an establishment which turns its wage earners out to be supported by retailers or the public is declaring its usual dividends and has absolutely no claim to subventions of this nature.

The fear that rides industrial managements should not be permitted to deny wage earners their inherent right as free citizens and their common law rights.

Nor is it enough to acknowledge the right of the wage earner to join his union, if he is denied the right to make effective use of organized channels and collective methods which the trade union affords. In our Southern organizing campaign some employers

have inflicted the greatest cruelty upon employees who exercised their right to join a trade union. These union workmen have been arbitrarily dismissed; that is, their opportunity to earn a living was taken from them because they did what they had a legal right to do. To deny workmen the chance to learn a living because they wish to exercise their right to make progress is to limit the opportunities for constructive development.

Industries cannot maintain prosperity unless there are buyers for their products. When industries increase output without at the same time increasing consumer buying power, they are taking a sure way to prepare for their own undoing.

Organization of wage earners is essential to orderly sustained progress. To make progress there must be definite plans for accomplishing these purposes. Planning must be controlled by a philosophy of what life is and what living can be. Through their organized channels, wage earners can control the development of their future, working in cooperation with the constructive organized groups with which they are associated.

By representing wage earners in negotiating work agreements, trade unions can bring to each separate problem informing experience in the whole industry—national and international. Union representatives who participate in such negotiations, have the advantage of familiarity with such procedure and with the issues and facts to be presented and considered. They can with expedition focus attention upon the important issues and thus help out industrial relations on a sound basis. Union representatives have that independence and that authority that are necessary for service as counsel for Labor.

When a contract under which work is to be done is negotiated jointly, Labor has a definite status in the industry. The foundation has been laid

on which can be erected machinery for adjusting differences of opinion for the promotion of understanding and the creation of machinery for cooperation in solving the problems of work that arise daily, in finding the most efficient ways of doing the work and in creating good will for the undertaking and its products.

While common law assures Labor the right to make progress, neither common nor substantive law has kept pace with the spirit of the times not adjusted itself to the modern economic environment in which wage earners spend their work lives. Labor does not have the opportunity to exercise its rights. Our problem is to assure that opportunity to all. Opportunity lies in effective legal and economic right to organize and make use of union procedures.

Law must consider three fundamental factors: men, institutions, and environment.

The driving forces in human beings are unchanging. We simply call them different names in different periods. Institutions are the machinery through which society is carried on. They influence environment and change with environment. Interplay of forces, and cause and effect are fundamental facts in historic progress and should be fundamental consideration in formulating new laws and customs.

Each wage earner now has all the rights which any wage earner needed in the early nineteenth century, but neither substantive law nor its interpretation by the courts takes into account that the wage earner has real rights only as a member of an organized group of fellow wage earners. As the organization and environment of work have completely changed, the methods of exercising identical rights must change also. It is essential that equal opportunity be kept open to all citizens and all groups that condition prosperity.

In an age of associated endeavor prosperity does not lie in the domi-

nance of a group but in sustained progress by all. Coordinated advancement for all is what Labor seeks to promote. We are just as opposed to control by the wealthy few as we are to a dictatorship of the proletariat. We propose intelligent cooperation through organized groups in furtherance of constructive principles. To assure Labor the right and the opportunity to follow this program legal and economic obstacles must be removed.

A major obstacle is abuse of the injunction in industrial disputes. We do not dispute the jurisdiction of equity because of its value as a protection against irreparable losses when there is no remedy at law. We object to abuse of procedure and misapplication of injunctions because of the court's misunderstanding of the rights of wage earners and their exercise under present economic organization and environment. We believe that the bill drafted by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, would remedy many of the practices that have robbed us of opportunity to exercise our rights.

This draft measure would declare as public policy the right of wage earners to organize and exercise organization rights. It declares illegal contracts by which employers force employees to give up organization rights which are enumerated. It forbids injunctions restricting the exercise of organization rights. It prescribed procedure in issuing injunctions. It provides rules for injunction cases.

This legislation is needed to establish for wage earners collectively the rights they have as individuals and to give them an opportunity to make progress as an organized group.

We have made constructive injunction legislation the paramount issue in our legislative campaign. Favorable action upon our proposal is of fundamental importance to wage

earnings and to the general public, for it involves justice in daily work.

Legislation can provide the opportunity for organizing activities and for the strengthening of the trade union movement. General organization of wage earners into trade unions will have a dynamic effect on national development. The serious problem that confronts us is how to stabilize prosperity.

Technical progress has enabled us to increase wealth at a faster rate than we have been able to work out methods for its equitable distribution. We have been producing larger outputs which have greatly increased the incomes of a minority. Here we have a primary error in our machinery for balance. Balanced or progressive equilibrium is essential to sustained progress. Mass purchasing power (largely incomes of wage earners) has not kept pace with mass production.

"Right-to-Work" Legislation—(1953, pp. 204, 638) The E.C. submitted a report on the status of right-to-work legislation in the several states. The following report of the convention committee considering this subject was unanimously approved:

Of all types of state legislation, the various "Right-to-Work" laws, directed against Labor and destroying union security, represent the greatest danger to organized labor and to the standards of living of all workers. Only in the past few weeks has the State of Alabama been added to the list of those states which have adopted this pernicious legislation.

All state federations of labor must oppose such legislation with renewed vigor. In many states, organized labor, by pointing out the anti-union character of this legislation, has successfully prevented the passage of proposed "Right-to-Work" laws. We will not rest, however, until the existing anti-union statutes prohibiting any type of union security contracts

have been eradicated from the law-books of the 14 states which now have this legislation.

(Pp. 411, 650):

Whereas—Under the doctrine of states' rights, laws deceptively entitled "right to work," fostered and promoted by reactionary anti-labor interests, were enacted January 1, 1953, by 13 states, including Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, Colorado, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts and Wisconsin (Maine, Massachusetts, New Mexico, Delaware, Louisiana and New Hampshire have repealed them), that outlaw all forms of union security clauses, including closed shop, union shop, preferential hiring, maintenance of membership and exclusive bargaining rights, for the purpose of curbing and reducing the membership and bargaining power of trade unions, if not to destroy them, and

Whereas—This growing and sinister "right to work" campaign harks back to the old open shop movement of the 20's, which had as its purpose, the destruction of trade unionism, backed by the manufacturers' associations, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, builders' associations, so-called "citizens' associations" and even business farmers organizations, which came up with the sugar-coated named of the American Plan, calculated to serve as a decoy duck to the well-meaning but misguided workers, imposing upon them the yellow dog contract, management dominated industrial councils, employee plans of representation, just another name for company unions, court injunctions against strikes that the bosses used to beat down *bona fide* collective bargaining through recognized standard trade unions and the principle of self-organization and the designation of representatives by, of and for wage earners, without interference, coercion or intimidation, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this Seventy-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in St. Louis, Missouri, September, 1953, go on record as condemning the "right to work" laws as a menace to trade unions and the American way of life, since by weakening the trade union movement which fights for and achieves high wage levels, they reduce the purchasing power of the great masses of the wage earners which is the foundation of our expanding American economy.

(P. 650) Convention referred subject to officers of the A. F. of L. for guidance and study and such action as their findings may warrant.

(1954, p. 520) Seven resolutions, substantially the same, were submitted to the convention for action. They were considered jointly by the convention committee which reported the following resolutions, subsequently unanimously approved:

Whereas—So-called "right to work" laws now cover one-third of this nation, having been adopted in the following 17 states: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, N. Carolina, N. Dakota, S. Carolina, S. Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and

Whereas—This represents an increase of four states in the last 18 months which have succumbed to the drive on the part of reactionary anti-union interests to put this vicious anti-American legislation into effect in a sufficient number of states, so it will, in practical effect, become the law of the land, even without Congressional action, and

Whereas—These so-called "right to work" laws are deliberately misnamed for the purpose of deceiving the people, degrading the employment standards of the workers and primarily as a device in opposition to organized labor in the attempt to discharge membership in trade unions; and

Whereas—Five other states—Colorado, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts and Wisconsin—have laws that restrict union security, and the legislatures in other states not yet affected have considered such legislation, and

Whereas—It is quite apparent that large national anti-labor groups are pushing a systematic program of attacking organized labor through the various state legislatures, and have already succeeded in crippling the effectiveness of the trade union movement in those states which have passed "right to work" laws, and

Whereas—"Right to work" laws have been properly branded as "right to scab" laws, because they prevent unions from negotiating any form of union security, guarantee the right of free riders to work in unionized shops, and ultimately break down union conditions, and

Whereas—The powerful anti-labor organizations that are spearheading this campaign in the state legislatures have taken on the trade union movement in those states where organized labor is weak, and these groups have already been so successful on the state level that they are virtually decimating the labor movement through these tactics and are succeeding in an insidious national plan to destroy organized labor by means of the state legislatures, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor launch at the earliest possible opportunity a full-scale drive to obtain repeal of all so-called "right to work" laws and to block enactment of any further laws of this type, and be it further

Resolved—That in order to implement this resolution, the American Federation of Labor take the following action:

1. Undertake an immediate study of the existing legislation and keep abreast of efforts of various state legislatures to enact such legislation.

2. Consider the calling of a special conference of state and local union officials to mobilize the full support of all affiliated groups for this campaign, and

3. Launch a full-scale campaign in each state to prevent enactment of such legislation, or to fight for its repeal by action of the respective legislatures or by referendum vote of the people.

4. Make a special effort to secure repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law which gives these state laws priority over federal labor relations legislation.

Rio Grande Valley Development Project, Proposed—(1952, pp. 26, 463) Res. 15:

Whereas — It is the policy of the United States Government to assist undeveloped countries throughout the world in developing their natural and human resources, and

Whereas—There is a large undeveloped area in the Rio Grande Valley of the United States and the Republic of Mexico which, if properly developed, could improve the standards of living for the poverty stricken people in both countries, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention instruct its officers to call this matter to the attention of the proper authorities and urge that surveys be made and a joint project be worked out between the United States and Mexican Governments to develop the Rio Grande Valley basin.

Ritter (Anti-Picketing) Legal Case —(1942, p. 94) The Texas State Federation of Labor requested legal aid and assistance in an important case which was appealed from the Texas courts to the United States Supreme Court.

The Texas courts issued an injunction prohibiting members of the locals of the carpenters and painters unions from peacefully picketing the restaurant of a man by the name of Ritter, who had engaged a non-union contrac-

tor to erect another building for him a mile and a half away from his restaurant business. Before the building contract was let by Ritters, the unions had requested him to employ a union contractor, which he refused to do.

In a five-to-four decision the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the Texas courts. The majority opinion, written by Justice Frankfurter, held that the injunction was justified because the restaurant was not involved in the labor dispute. Justice Frankfurter, in effect, said that although Ritter was employing a non-union contractor and his building was being erected by non-union workers, yet his restaurant business or any other business conducted by him was immune from ordinary and peaceful union pressure. He declared that the non-union contractor was the real adversary of the union, and that Ritter was a "neutral" in the controversy.

This is a most unfortunate decision because under this doctrine, as pointed out by Justice Reed in his dissent, the unions could not have picketed Ritter even though he was erecting an addition to his present restaurant. . . .

It is hoped that the logic and accurate legal reasoning of the dissenting opinions will in short time persuade a majority of the court to renounce the indefensible *Ritter* doctrine.

Rochdale Consumers Plan—(1947, p. 206) In a section of its report on Consumer Cooperatives and Credit Unions, the E.C. stated: For the past 30 years the American Federation of Labor has repeatedly endorsed genuine Rochdale consumers' cooperation. In this form of cooperation, control is always in the hands of a democratic organization of consumers.

Roosevelt, F. D. (New Deal Blanket Endorsement Withheld) — (1939, p. 442) Res. 27 requested a blanket en-

dorsement for the "New Deal" and to President Roosevelt. The resolution and convention action thereon follow:

Resolved—That the Connecticut Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, expresses its confidence in the principles and ideals of President Roosevelt's New Deal Administration, and expresses the hope that the President will press forward toward his enlightened, liberal, and humanitarian objectives. While the New Deal and Labor are not one, no previous Administration has been as friendly to Labor, and Labor must support the New Deal and oppose the conservatives of both parties who, in the last session of Congress combined to defeat New Deal measures and thus injure such groups as the unemployed, men, women and children who work for sub-standard wages in shop, field, and factory; the business men whose profits depend upon greater buying power; and the underprivileged who live in the slums; be it further

Resolved—This convention take notice of the fact that similar A. F. of L. conventions in such states as Ohio, Iowa, Missouri, and Tennessee, have already spoken out vigorously and without hesitation on these crucial issues of 1940; be it therefore finally

Resolved—That this convention, for the reasons given above, recommend to the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it give its full support to the New Deal and to President Roosevelt, and that our delegate to that convention be hereby instructed to present to the convention, and vote for, the sentiments contained in this resolution.

This resolution calls for a blanket endorsement of what is popularly known as the "New Deal" without defining what is covered by the term "New Deal."

In addition, it calls for the condemnation of the members of the political party in power who failed to support all so-called "New Deal" meas-

ures, and for the same condemnation of members of the minority party who had done likewise.

The actions of previous conventions on certain legislative measures, the action of special conferences called by the American Federation of Labor, and recommendations made in connection with certain measures by the American Federation of Labor, make it impossible for your committee to recommend any blanket endorsement as called for by the resolution.

The resolution does not distinguish between Congressional and Administrative action, neither does it distinguish between actions of the Administration, and of bureaus, boards and commissions.

The Houston Convention of the A. F. of L. instructed the Executive Council to energetically work to prevent the confirmation of Donald Wakefield Smith as a member of the National Labor Relations Board.

The American Federation of Labor was actively opposed to the enactment of the first Reorganization Bill.

The American Federation of Labor was actively and energetically opposed to the legislative measure which destroyed the prevailing wage which had previously protected Labor.

The Houston Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a unanimous vote, insisted upon amendments to the Wagner Act, not in any opposition to the basic provisions of the Act, but because of its biased administration.

On the other hand, your committee is fully conscious of the many legislative and executive acts which have proven most beneficial to Labor, some of them, such as Social Security, providing a necessary protection to Labor which should have been enacted many years ago.

Your committee, however, has cited several instances where the American Federation of Labor in its efforts to

protect Labor's rights and welfare, has been forced to oppose legislation understood to have been originated by the "New Deal." We have avoided any cataloguing of those "New Deal" measures which we have favored and which we have opposed.

Your committee is further of the opinion that members of Congress cannot be arbitrarily divided into "New Deal" and anti-New Deal, for a number of those who have been our outstanding champions over many years, and who have supported the majority of "New Deal" measures, have also at times opposed some measures which were recognized as "New Deal."

For these and many other reasons, your committee regrets the introduction of the resolution. It is obvious that a political construction would be placed upon the rejection of the resolution, and equally so upon its adoption.

The hearty support which the trade union movement has given to a large number of "New Deal" measures should not lead this convention to give its blanket endorsement of all legislation which has been proposed or enacted by the so-called "New Deal," neither should our opposition to certain "New Deal" legislative and administrative acts permit us to voice condemnation of the "New Deal."

(1940, p. 312) In a letter addressed to the convention, the President expressed regret at inability to attend convention in person due to war emergency, but sent a message to be read. In part this message said:

"Now we have come to a period which demands intense and sustained cooperation so that our beloved Republic can present, in any emergency which might be forced upon us, the solid, imposing front of a great and united democracy. In order to do this successfully all of us are called upon to work together in a common purpose

and for the common good that these United States shall stand forever free and that the institutions, we as a free people enjoy, shall ever be preserved. To this end Labor can make its contribution along with the rest of the American people. I am confident that this contribution will be generously and gladly given without reservation.

Labor will lend its aid in planning for full efficiency of industrial production, in planning for selection, training and placement of new workers, in planning for full labor supply, in maintaining the social gains of recent Labor and social legislation, in maintaining sound and uninterrupted work in the defense industries and in promoting sound employer-worker relationship at a time like this when the steady flow of production may be our greatest need. Sacrifice may be necessary in the future for every one. Responsible action and self-discipline, physical and moral fitness are now required of all of us as our part in the defense of our country and democracy.

Among the things which Labor will contribute, is, I venture to suggest, an unselfish, a far-sighted and a patriotic effort to bring about a just and an honorable peace within the now divided labor movement. Labor leaders, with the interest of the nation at heart, and the advantage of their followers in mind, can, I am sure, find the way to reach such a peace.

Peace may not be easy to achieve and the intricate problems involved may not be easy to solve. But when men of honor and good intentions sit down together they can work out a solution which will restore the much needed harmony either by unity or by a sensible working arrangement."

(P. 314) In reply a telegram was addressed to President Roosevelt pledging full support of A. F. of L. in defense plans and policies as follows:

"New Orleans, La.
November 18, 1940.

To the President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

"Please accept the profound thanks of all those in attendance at our convention for your most inspiring message. Be assured of the full support of the membership of the American Federation of Labor in the execution of the government's defense plans and policies. You can rely upon us to give freely of our skill, training service and labor to America in order to safeguard and protect our common heritage of freedom, liberty and democracy and in the realization of the common objectives set forth in the fifth paragraph of your appealing communication wherein you state 'Labor will lend its aid in planning for full efficiency of industrial production, in planning for selection, training and placement of new workers, in planning for full labor supply, in maintaining the social gains of recent Labor and social legislation, in maintaining sound and uninterrupted work in the defense industries and in promoting sound employer-worker relationship at a time like this when the steady flow of production may be our greatest need. Sacrifice may be necessary in the future for everyone. Responsible action and self-discipline, physical and moral fitness are now required of all of us as our part in the defense of our country and democracy.'

"We deeply appreciate the suggestion you make that 'an unselfish, a farsighted and a patriotic effort be made to bring about a just and honorable peace with the now divided labor movement.' Fortunately we can officially make answer to your suggestion in a most definite and sincere way. The Executive Council included in its report to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federa-

tion of Labor the following recommendation, 'The Executive Council fully understands the need of unity and solidarity within the ranks of Labor. It entertains a full and deep appreciation, as well as a complete understanding of the value of united action and of the mobilization of the full strength, power and influence of the workers of the nation into one united American labor movement. The Executive Council is firmly of the opinion that Labor in America can be solidified and united through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. In order to accomplish this purpose and realize this objective, the Executive Council reports to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it has endeavored to re-establish unity within the labor movement through conferences with representatives of the C.I.O. and has endeavored to bring about a settlement of existing differences during the past year. The committee representing the American Federation of Labor stands ready and willing to meet with a committee representing the C.I.O. for the purpose of negotiating a settlement, anywhere, any time, any place.'

"Your suggestion, therefore, that when men of honor and good intentions sit down together they can work out a solution which will restore the much needed harmony either by unity or by a sensible working arrangement is coincidental with this recommendation of the Executive Council to the convention now in session.

"I am confident the convention will concur in the recommendations of the Executive Council by officially authorizing the committee representing the American Federation of Labor to meet with a committee representing the C.I.O. around the conference table for the purpose of negotiating an honorable peace and the re-establishment of unity and solidarity within the ranks of Labor.

"I repeat, Mr. President, that these assurances will be carried out in good faith and with all sincerity whenever opportunity for the American Federation of Labor to do so presents itself.

WILLIAM GREEN, *President*,
American Federation of Labor."

(Birthday Holiday)—(1947, p. 660)
Res. 117, referred to the E.C.:

Whereas—When the history of the trade union movement in our nation is written, a very prominent place will be given to one whose far-sightedness and whose spirit of fairness, and whose consciousness of the needs of mankind, have left an indelible mark upon the development of our country, and

Whereas—The organized labor movement is very conscious of the contributions made by the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the welfare of his country, and

Whereas—His life vibrated with the heartening warmth and brilliant glow of humanity, which reflected so wholeheartedly upon the masses of our people, and more especially upon those who toiled, so that they might live, and

Whereas—It is essentially important that the organized labor movement should strive to give to humanity a lasting reminder that the ideals and spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt are deathless, and

Whereas—It is eminently fitting that the initiative to create this lasting reminder should come from the labor movement, to whom President Roosevelt's leadership and achievements have meant so much, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this great convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention, go on record urging Congress to declare the birthday of our late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, as a national legal holiday.

(1952, pp. 25, 462) Res. 11:

Whereas—The greatest strides that were made by the American labor movement were made during the term of office of our late President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and

Whereas—He did, during his term of office, maintain his interest in the welfare of the working men and working women of this nation, and

Whereas—It would be fitting to set aside one day of each year to memorialize his many good deeds, therefore, be it

Resolved — That January 30, the day our late President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was born, be set aside as a national holiday, and be it further

Resolved—That the Seventy-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor take appropriate action to sponsor legislation that would result in the naming of our late President, Franklin D. Roosevelt's birthday, January 30, as a national holiday

Roosevelt Memorial Association (Honors President Green)—(1930, p. 338) During the past year the Roosevelt Memorial Association selected the president of the A. F. of L. as one of the three citizens of the United States who contributed distinguished service to social progress. The outstanding service of President Green to industrial peace in the past year was cited by the association as the basis for the award.

This distinguished honor to the president of the A. F. of L. is a recognition of the economic statesmanship which President Green has contributed to the whole field of industrial relations. This high token of appreciation of the spokesman of the American labor movement is in effect an endorsement of the constructive policies and principles of the American trade union movement and our conception of the mutuality of national progress.

The A. F. of L. is a great economic institution whose purpose is orderly progress for wage earners that they may keep abreast social and economic progress of all other groups. Because President Green has been most effective and convincing in maintaining Labor's principle of constructive progress, he has been selected for a great personal honor which at the same time brings honor to the organization of which he is president.

We propose therefore that the convention of the A. F. of L. express its gratification at the honor conferred upon President Green and our appreciation of an award that in such a notable way focuses attention upon the principles for which our organization stands—the methods and policies of constructive progress.

Rural Mail Service—(1932, p. 239) There have been proposals from a number of sources that the rural mail delivery service be placed on a contract basis to the distinct disadvantage of 40,000 rural letter carriers whose wage and working standards, as well as their civil service status, would be destroyed. Furthermore, the so-called star route service, which is on a contract basis, is being steadily expanded to encroach upon and to duplicate in many instances the work of the rural delivery service.

The A. F. of L. instructs the E.C. to give all necessary cooperation to the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers in carrying out its program to protect the rural carriers and the rural service against all destructive encroachments.

(1934, pp. 75, 397) Part of the reduced compensation for rural letter carriers was restored in the last session of Congress. The equipment allowance was increased from 4 cents to 5 cents, with the proviso that such allowance should not be changed except pursuant to law enacted hereafter by Congress. A previous reduction had

been made by executive order. The salary of carriers on the rural routes of thirty miles, six days a week, was fixed at \$1,800; on routes less than thirty miles, \$60.00 per mile per annum for each mile or major fraction thereof. Carriers assigned to routes served six days a week shall receive \$20.00 per mile per annum on routes in excess of thirty miles. Those on routes served three days a week shall receive \$10 per mile per annum where the route is in excess of thirty miles. No consolidation of rural routes shall be made otherwise than on account of the resignation, death, retirement, or dismissal on charges of carriers in the rural mail delivery service.

The president of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers, visited Washington and appeared before the Post-Office Committee of the House of Representatives in favor of better conditions for the rural letter carriers. Representatives of the A. F. of L. aided in securing the changes made.

The Postmaster-General announced after his appointment in March 1933 that there were over 40,000 rural letter carriers and that the intention was to reduce the number to 30,000. There are at present 38,000 rural letter carriers. This number is being reduced approximately 100 per week.

(1938, p. 564) The A. F. of L. endorses the proposed legislation that no Rural Mail Carrier shall be required to work more than eight hours per day, five days per week and that no rural carrier shall be reduced in pay because of adjustment of route. Also endorses proposed legislation that no Rural Mail Carrier be transferred from one city to another against his wishes in order to consolidate rural routes.

(1939, p. 425) S. 1663 and House Bill H.R. 4588 are now pending in Congress providing an 8-hour limit workday except in an emergency, with pay for overtime; a 5-day week; the basic salary paid by the

time required to complete duty instead of by the present unfair mileage system; no reduction in basic salary for any carrier now in service, and a 6 cents per mile day equipment maintenance according to the length of the route. Now there is no limit as to hours rural carriers can be required to work and a large number are now required to work hours far in excess of 40 hours per week within 6 days. The E.C. is directed to assist and further this legislation to have it passed during the present Congress.

(P. 425) The E.C. is directed to assist and endeavor to have enacted legislation that will be before the next session of Congress, which will provide for appointment of rural carrier substitutes from a Civil Service roster, which will later entitle them to appointment as a regular carrier according to seniority when a vacancy exists at the post office to which they are assigned.

Russia, Boycott (also see: German Boycott—1939; Communism) — (1939, pp. 225, 523) The convention unanimously approved the recommendations of the E.C. in reaffirming previous declarations favoring boycott of German goods and German services, and further stated: "... and for the same reasons, that the boycott be equally applied to all Russian manufactured goods and services, and that it further be applied to all other countries joining with Russia and Germany in the present conflict between the totalitarian governments and the great parliamentary nations of Europe."

(1926, p. 262) Resolutions favoring the recognition of the Russian government were unanimously defeated. The convention declared:

There has been no essential change in either the character or the operations of that regime since we last had the question under consideration. It remains a regime of enslavement, a regime determined to bring about

world revolution if and when possible. Through the Red Internationale, which is controlled by the Communist Party of Russia, the soviet regime has continued its efforts to undermine and destroy the democratic labor movement of the U.S. Its lack of progress in that direction is due, not to any lack of determination on its part, but to the strength and deep conviction of the membership of the American trade union movement. If it is not the assassin standing over the prostrate body of freedom and democracy, it is always the would-be assassin, and we can be no less opposed to the one than to the other.

We are not interested in the commercial aspect of the question, agreeing fully with President Coolidge in holding that American principles are not to be bartered. Nor is the question changed by whatever may be the change—and there has so far been little—in the economic condition of the people of Russia. A regime of enslavement which for a purpose sees fit to feed its slaves well at times is no less a regime of slavery and no less repugnant and hateful in the sight of those who cherish liberty.

We extend our profound sympathy to the masses of the people of Russia, oppressed as they are, terrorized as they are whenever terrorism suits the purposes of the fiendish regime under which they exist, awed as they are at all times by a Red army which constitutes the most powerful and dangerous military machine in the world, and hopeless as they seem to be of any immediate release from their economic, moral, political and spiritual enslavement.

We regard the Soviet regime in Russia as the most unscrupulous, most antisocial, most menacing institution in the world today. Between it and our form of political and social organization there can be no compromise of any kind. We repeat the call to American trade unionists to stand true to

their faith, to be militant in their defense of the principles of freedom and justice for which our movement stands and upon which our democracy rests its foundation walls.

Finally, we call attention to the recent declaration of our E.C. in which it was well said that our movement not only cannot join in any mission to investigate conditions in Russia, but deems any such mission wholly unnecessary. We desire to record our approval of that declaration and to add in this report the conviction that no trade unionist should permit himself to participate in any such adventure. Ample information is at hand and is constantly available concerning every particular which enters into our calculations in arriving at a decision on our course of action.

(P. 276) The president said: It seems to me proper and fitting that upon this very outstanding and important question the President of the A. F. of L. should say a few words and express his opinion relative thereto. There is no doubt in my mind regarding the attitude of the great majority of the delegates in this convention toward this report. We know that it will be adopted by a most decisive and overwhelming vote, but there are one or two things to which I would like to attract your attention.

It seems that at each convention of the A. F. of L. we are called upon to pass judgment upon the question involved in this committee's report, and this notwithstanding the fact that it is the well known settled policy of the great hosts of labor as represented in the A. F. of L. that it will not lend its approval to any proposal to recognize the existing government in Russia until it first quits making war upon the A. F. of L.

We have no objection to the kind of government the Russian people may set up or that they may support. We grant the peoples of every nation throughout the world the right of

self-government. If the people of Russia believe in Communism and the Communistic philosophy, if they believe in the rule of autocracy and a dictatorship, then we accord the people of that great country the right to live under that form of government; but we object most seriously to the attempt that is methodically and systematically being made, in season and out of season, to crowd down the throats of the liberty loving people of America the Russian philosophy, and that it what we protest against.

It seems that the trade union movement of our country has been selected as the object of attack; it seems that our movement has been selected principally by those who control the Communist Party in Russia as the instrumentality and the vehicle through which they seek to establish their form of government here.

May I read to you the declaration of the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale located at Moscow. It is as follows: "It is of extreme importance to the life and growth of the Communist Party that its members as a whole realize better the necessity of more offensive work in the labor unions, the capture of leadership of the labor unions. The capture of leadership of the labor union masses is vitally necessary, not only for the Communist Party at this time but also for the ultimate victory of the revolutionary struggle. The capture of the labor unions is our first and foremost task. For this purpose the Communist Party advocates that every Communist be a union member to organize a Communist faction in every union, to expose the officials of every union—"whatever that means"—to make fights in elections for officers of unions and delegates to conventions."

In conformity with that specific instruction the representative of one branch of the Communist Party in America sent a letter broadcast

throughout the land just prior to this convention instructing their members to elect delegates to this convention, not trade unionists, but to elect Communist members of the left wing. The servant heard his master's voice, and in conformity with the autocracy set up in Russia the echo was here and he spoke, carrying out those specific instructions.

"At all conventions to introduce systematic and well prepared campaigns against officers." There isn't an officer of a responsible trade union in this convention that has not felt the effect of this poisonous propaganda. In every convention of practically every union affiliated with our movement these men are there with their poison undermining the standing, the character and good name of the officers of the A. F. of L. They seem to assume that if they can destroy confidence in the officers of our union, if those surreptitious attacks will succeed they will destroy the magnificent union itself.

"To arouse the masses to take up strikes and wage movements and to then skillfully utilize such movements for political ends. To oppose the amalgamation of labor banks and labor insurance, to make use of independent, dual and rival unions, to promote general discord and hatred and contempt for the existing order of things, especially among the foreign born." We have had some evidence of this in the City of New York.

A Communist elected or appointed to any official position in a union is under strict control of the Communist organization and the immediate instructions of the party faction in the union. The Communists also have an elaborate plan for establishing shop nuclei or committees to work in similar lines in shops not organized; in fact, the whole Communist Party is now organized as a shop nucleus. Only unemployed Communists can be-

long to the Communist Party unless they belong also to a shop nucleus.

Are we to be deceived? Are we as wise, experienced men with our eyes wide open to accept the sophistry of men and nurse to our bosom until it is warmed into life a reptile that would sink its fangs into our body and destroy us forever? That is what the trade union movement must decide and that is what it must face.

A short time ago a celebration was held in honor of the great apostle of Communism, Mr. Lenin. These meetings were held in the City of New York on the second anniversary of the death of Lenin. The press reports that one of the speakers was Charles Krombein. He was the chairman, and he declared that though Lenin was dead his spirit still lived and that an offensive instead of a merely defensive agitation was being started against capitalism. William C. Weinstone, general secretary of the Workers Communist Party of New York, also urged those present to establish a Soviet government in the United States. They understand their instructions. He condemned the present labor leaders for urging employers and employes to get together, declaring that a civil war of the classes was the only way by which the end could be accomplished.

The audience arose when Benjamin Gitlow entered the hall and when he came forward to speak Gitlow described Wall Street as "The home of the most arrogant, capitalistic system of all." He told of the work being done to gain control of the trade unions. M. J. Olgin, Communist author, speaking in Russian, said that Lenin's ideals were better realized today than they were when he lived. Other speakers told of what is being done among the children and of the movement to get recognition of Soviet Russia by the U.S. All the speakers appealed for support of workers in "bringing the day when the red flag will be the

national emblem and the White House would be painted red."

Here is a report of Mr. Tomskey, who, I understand, is very important in what they call the trade union movement of Russia. In arguing for the centralization of power in the Central Committee in Russia, he said:

"We must also repeat what we have said more than once. All directives and orders of the All-Union Congresses—a section of the Party—and of the All-Central Soviet Trade Unions and of the All-Russian Central Soviet of Trade Unions, as the organ directing from Congress to Congress and working under the direct control of the Central Committee of the Party, under its sleepless observation, must be obligatory for realization locally. In conclusion, I consider it my duty to recall that the international work, like all work of the All-Russian Central Soviet of Trade Unions, including the international, has been carried on under the direct control of our Central Committee of the Party."

There is no doubt about this work being carried on radiating from Moscow out into all the world, a direct attempt to control our trade unions and through that control to substitute the philosophy of Communism with its class warfare and its violence, for the philosophy of the trade union movement as we understood it since its foundation.

I repeat again that if Russia wants to be Russia, if it wishes to be Communistic, if it wishes to live under a dictatorship and an autocratic form of government where freedom and liberty are neither practiced nor the words known, then, so let it be with Russia; but let it be within the confines of their own nation, and until they change their policy of vicious propaganda among our trade unions I am of the opinion that the trade union movement of America will vigorously oppose the recognition of that

government by the government of the U.S.

This is our movement; we have come along the pathway of progress through all these many years; we know from experience what the record is. It is our philosophy, it is a part of our souls, our lives, it is something more than perfunctory membership in an organization. The trade unionist feels his organization, he feels it so deeply that he cannot command language that would adequately express his feelings. His devotion to this cause is great and many have given their lives in defense of it. And are we, to whom have been given the Ark of the Covenant, are we, the ones who maintain in our possession the virtues of our movement, to risk it now for sure destruction if those who would destroy it have their way by welcoming into our midst a stream of poison that would destroy our whole movement.

It was Abraham Lincoln who said in the most striking sentence that human ears have ever listened to, "You can fool some of the people all the time, you can fool all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time." And so I say, paraphrasing that statement, that there may be those who can fool some of our trade unionists all of the time, who can fool some of them part of the time, but who cannot fool all of them all of the time.

And so, my friends, we are face to face with a momentous decision. I have respect for the judgment of those who differ with me, but it seems to me when the very life of our movement is at stake that there should be no difference of opinion regarding the course we should pursue. I am heartily in favor of the committee's report and I hope it will be adopted by such a decisive vote that there will be no doubt in the minds of the American people and the people throughout the world where the American Federation of Labor stands.

Relations With (also see: Communism, Foreign Policy)—(1947, p. 465)

The report of the convention committee was unanimously adopted as follows:

The tragic plight of mankind is glaringly revealed in the speed with which it is travelling toward another global conflagration. Two score millions are still under arms, while the world hungers for every grain of food, every cent of cash and every ounce of energy for productive work. Here are millions taken out of industry. They should instead be engaged in rebuilding the economy and raising the standard of living and purchasing power of the people. The Soviet regime which has been loudest in accusing demobilized America and other nations of war-mongering maintains a fully-equipped army of four millions—more than in 1939, before Germany and Japan were crushed. It continues to mobilize hundreds of thousands of youths in their 'teens for labor services in its gigantic war machine. And this despite the fact that with Nazi Germany and Nipponese imperialism smashed, no nation threatens or can endanger Russia's security today. Nor has the Soviet's adamant refusal to accept any international control and inspection of atomic weapons served the cause of world peace.

The Russian dictatorship bears the heaviest responsibility for the prevailing dangerous international tensions. Its spokesmen in the UN have paralyzed every attempt to develop it into an effective instrument of world peace.

Its Fifth Columnists, the Communists in the various countries, have under instructions and guidance from the Kremlin been working tirelessly to hinder and halt economic restoration, to paralyze and prevent post-war reconstruction, to provoke destructive social conflict, and promote economic collapse and chaos! These are the real aims of the newly reconstituted Comintern. While the primary aim

of the United States is to promote reconstruction and prevent chaos, the primary aim of the Russian government is to prevent reconstruction and promote chaos.

The Soviet propagandists have, in the worst Goebbels-like fashion, slandered and vilified the American people who have been pouring out billions to help save millions from famine on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The Soviet government-owned press and its servile agents and tools in every land are feverishly howling for an economic collapse in the United States. "In the name of their so-called higher democracy, the Soviet dictators have been disfranchising and destroying not the Nazis and Fascists but the most loyal democratic elements in the Russian satellite states. The brutal rape of Hungarian democracy and the cold-blooded "legal" murder of the world-renowned democratic leader Petkov in Bulgaria are part of the international Communist pattern to exterminate all individuals devoted to democratic ideals as well as democracy itself. In fact, the Soviet rulers are relying, in large measure, on Nazi totalitarians to serve their own brand of totalitarianism.

Despite the fact that the Soviet dictatorship has been treating the United States as if it were already at war against the American people, American labor and the American people as a whole have only respect and friendly feelings for the Russian people. We distinguish between the Russian people and the war-breeding dictatorship which runs their country and denies them all rights and liberties and frantically seeks to extend its slave system to more nations. We are confident that the Russian people, like ourselves, want only a chance to work under decent conditions as free men in a peaceful world, and we look forward to the day when they will enjoy the blessings of a free people. The Bolshevik bureaucracy seeks to isolate

their victimized subjects from other peoples and to insulate them against the ideas and ideals of democracy. At the same time, it desperately drives to infect the rest of the world with the destructive doctrines and degrading dogmas of their town type of totalitarianism.

Under the cover of bogus blocs and counterfeit coalitions and "united fronts" the Communists have already snuffed out the independence of several small defenseless nations. The Russian dictatorship is today menacing the national existence of the people of Austria and China.

It is false to estimate the present world crisis as a conflict between East and West. In reality it is a struggle between these sections of Europe and the world that are still free and those dictators and their puppets who seek to consolidate their enslaved areas and drive more nations into totalitarian captivity. In this struggle for liberty and human dignity, the American people have a vital stake. A world engulfed by totalitarian slavery cannot long have islets of freedom—no matter how large such islets may appear on the map.

The Executive Council's Report emphasizes the need to understand the foreign situation and to adopt clear-cut policies to promote the purposes of democracy. Since that report was written documents released from Paris, Moscow, and from Belgrade have made plain the hostile intent of the Moscow POLITBURO and its deliberate purpose to block recovery in Western Europe. The new Information Bureau is obviously the Comintern under a new name as the instrumentality by which the Communist Party can directly coordinate its activities in an attempt to influence foreign policies of other countries. The Bureau is to fight the Marshall Plan and so-called U.S. imperialism. The effect of this has been to polarize the world into two groups—those believ-

ing in individual rights and those believing the central government should dominate individuals. Cooperation between Soviet countries and Western countries is no longer possible for the Soviets officially make it plain that their purpose is aggression and the ruin of democracies.

It is plain that unless the U.S.S.R. is shorn of its veto power, it will deadlock and disrupt the United Nations. We therefore urge upon our Government that it do its utmost to secure favorable action on two proposals made by Secretary Marshall; that the General Assembly set up a continuous agency and that the veto be limited. The A. F. of L. believes it should be abolished to make possible majority rule.

We believe that economic recovery within Europe must be buttressed by an increasing degree of cooperation covering Western European countries similar to the Inter-American Defense Treaty. Such agreements are provided for in the United Nations Charter and afford practical channels for organizing the necessary military protection.

In this world in which there is little peace, we must maintain our objectives and our institutions. Peace has to be real before we can safely disarm.

The American people are not seeking to impose their way of life, their freedom, or any economic or political system on other nations. But all enemies of liberty and peace had better realize that the American people will never allow any power or combination of powers and puppets to impose their slave system on the United States. We likewise resent and oppose any other power or combination of powers imposing their system on any other people.

(Appeasement Opposed)—(1949, p. 435) The following policy statement with regard to appeasement of Soviet Russia was contained in an adopted

committee report on the general world situation:

The atomic explosion by imperialist Russia has violently contracted the peaceful world. We firmly warn against any attempts to revive a policy of appeasement of Soviet imperialism at this critical juncture. The Russian dictatorship had refused to make any concessions or the slightest compromise for lasting peace when it was militarily weaker. There is nothing in the lives or activities of the Communist oligarchy to warrant any conclusion that it will be more cooperative and peaceful when it has at its disposal more powerful and destructive weapons. In its foreign as well as in its domestic affairs, the present Russian government has been increasingly pursuing policies based on zoology rather than sociology—the ethics and practices of the jungle rather than those of peaceful civilized society.

More than ever before, must the freedom-loving peoples, therefore, draw closer together. The American people, who now constitute the strongest bulwark of democracy and the primary obstacle in the path of totalitarian Soviet world conquest, must gird themselves for still greater efforts to insure their security and liberty and to help build a more prosperous, peaceful and free world.

In Communist Russia and its totalitarian empire, the democratic world faces a robotized monolithic despotism stretching from Berlin to beyond the Yangtse. This red tyranny is further buttressed by a vigorous fifth column operating in all free countries under various names, colors and covers. In the latter we face a band of fanatics who have no loyalty to their democratic homelands. Here are zealous "revolutionary" traitors who do not necessarily operate for money but for a tyrannical, dogmatic movement which is far more dangerous to the humanitarian ideals and interests, to freedom of conscience, and to the well-

being of all mankind. Here is an anti-social movement whose political "principles" demand that its adherents, fellow-travellers, and camp-followers betray their own peoples to a foreign totalitarian power seeking world domination. Here are the hidden thieves of our national security and welfare.

It is true that without adequate military power there can be no security against this world-wide menace. But it would be folly to conclude that military prowess alone can assure our security and world peace. Russia's Cominform and its followers and supporters in other lands are not a political force—in the democratic sense of the word—but a germ latent in our body-politic which becomes virulent whenever there is a weakening in its health through poverty, social injustice, or lack of democratic unity and initiative. The democratic nations must, therefore, simultaneously supplement their collective armed might with constructive and progressive economic, social, and political policies.

(1950, pp. 19, 458) Res. 2 proposed that a sharp line of distinction be drawn between feelings of U.S. toward leaders of Russian people, and the people themselves. The resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas—The relations between the Communist dictatorship of Russia and our country and the other free nations have gravely deteriorated, and

Whereas—The increasing tension and antagonism are due solely to the aggressive imperialist course of the Kremlin regime and its utilization of the Cominform and the W.F.T.U. as instruments of subversion and espionage in furtherance of these rapacious and war-breeding policies, and

Whereas—In preparation for further military assaults against other nations and for plunging mankind into another catastrophic war, the Soviet regime is feverishly seeking to stir up among the people of the Russian em-

pire suspicion, hysterical fear and hatred of the democratic countries and particularly the United States as enemies of the Russian nation, and

Whereas — The American people bear no hostility toward or hatred of the Russian people for whom our nation has traditionally had a warm friendship and sincere admiration as evidence in our active sympathy for them in their years of courageous struggle against Czarist tyranny and in our unstinting aid to them when they were threatened with national extinction by the Hitler hordes, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor call upon the United States government and all its appropriate agencies to make clear to the Russian people that we distinguish sharply between them and the dictatorship ruling over them, that the American people are the friends and not the enemies of the Russian people, and that our conflict is solely with despotic rulers in the Kremlin thirsting for world domination, and be it further

Resolved—That through the Voice of America and all other appropriate official channels, our government should make it clear to the people of the U.S.S.R. that it is against American policy to impose on the Russian or any other people any political regime, or social and economic system, not of their own free choice, and be it further

Resolved—That the Convention empower the Executive Council through the Free Trade Union Committee and in cooperation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to develop a program and take the necessary practical measures for reaching and making clear to the people of Russia and providing them with the message of international free trade union solidarity and assurance that together with all the workers of the world hope and strive for the day

when the working people of all countries will lose all political and economic chains and be truly free men in one free and peaceful world.

(Economic Aid to Russia and Her Satellites)—(1951, pp. 125, 528) The Executive Council reported on proposed legislation (Wherry Amendment) which would have prevented assistance to nations carrying on trade of military goods with Russia and her satellites. The A. F. of L. supported efforts to prevent the passage of the legislation.

"Slave Labor in Russia" (Publication)—(1949, p. 452) The report of the convention committee on forthcoming publication of SLAVE LABOR IN RUSSIA, was unanimously approved by the convention:

The damning evidence on forced labor in the Soviet Union submitted by the American Federation of Labor to the United Nations was released today in book form in St. Paul, Minn., where the Federation is holding its 68th annual convention.

The 192-page book entitled *"Slave Labor in Russia"* contains evidence from many sources to support the contention which the A. F. of L. has long made that inhumane and slave labor conditions exist under the Communist regime. The A. F. of L. has taken the initiative in advocating before the United Nations that an international investigation of Soviet Labor camps be made. . . .

Your Committee on Internal Labor Relations recommends that every member undertake to purchase this book and become fully familiar with the slave labor conditions existing in Russia.

Sacco-Vanzetti Case—(1926, p. 242) The convention of the A. F. of L. of last year and of several years prior thereto have repeatedly declared that Sacco and Vanzetti should be accorded a new trial in order that no man's life may be placed in jeopardy without a

just and fair trial and be found guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. This insistence for a new trial was predicated on the doubt of many as to the guilt of these men and because of the belief that the enforcement of this decision without a retrial and a full and complete opportunity to present all possible evidence having come to light either as to the guilt or innocence of these men would be a miscarriage of justice.

Safety (Laws)—(1932, p. 409) The A. F. of L. favors the submission to Congress of a legislative proposal to require that contractors engaged in the construction of buildings for the federal government must conform to the laws of the state in which they are operating relating to safety and the prevention of accidents in the building industry.

(1936, p. 126) So many deaths were occurring among workmen on public works that Congress considered remedial legislation. Representative Welch of California introduced a bill in the House which provided more adequate protection to workmen on projects wherever situated belonging to the U.S., by granting to the several states jurisdiction to enforce their state workmen's compensation, safety and insurance laws. This bill passed the House, but in the Senate the words "safety and insurance" were stricken out.

Many deaths had occurred in years gone by because state laws could not be enforced. One of these laws particularly referred to the erection of a skeleton of a building by iron workers. Some states require that a floor be laid in each story as fast as the structure is erected. Failure to include the safety provisions of state laws is a very grievous mistake. The A. F. of L. will endeavor in the next session of Congress to have the present law adequately amended.

As only a few states have safety laws that would protect the workers on government projects, therefore, it would be necessary that Congress itself enact safety legislation.

(Labor Dept. Bureau)—(1930, pp. 106, 233) The Labor Committee of the House reported favorably a bill to establish a safety bureau in the Department of Labor. The bureau would collect information that would be of value in preventing accidents. All safety devices would be made known to the manufacturers throughout the country and as fast as new inventions developed they would also be made public. The opposition appears to emanate from those who are agitating for a national museum to contain samples of machinery and transportation equipment. The A. F. of L. does not see where the safety bureau in the Department of Labor would interfere with the proposed national museum and, therefore, will continue to advocate the measure before Congress.

(Industrial)—(1939, p. 400) Industrial accidents in the United States during the last year alone caused 16,500 deaths and 1,350,000 injuries. The delegates to the 59th convention of the A. F. of L. hereby urge all affiliated labor groups, including local unions, to immediately organize safety committees within their organizations and to actively engage in the promotion of safe and healthful work practices; that this safety work be undertaken along the following specific lines:

- (1) study and analysis of the safety and health problems of each trade or industry and the preparation of recommendations for the prevention of accidents and occupational diseases.

- (2) inclusion in union agreements of clauses requiring the provision and maintenance of safe and healthful working conditions.

- (3) exertion of pressure on state and local authorities for the adequate

regulation of industry through specific safety and health requirements to the end that industrial accidents and occupational diseases may be prevented.. The benefits of workmen's compensation laws to be extended to all workers and that exclusive state funds be set up so that injured workers will receive the full benefits due them, and at the same time bring about reduction in compensation insurance cost.

(1946, pp. 305, 526) The convention considered and adopted resolutions Nos. 43 and 115 dealing with industrial safety, requesting the Secretary of Labor to institute a nationwide program encompassing all manufacturers of industrial equipment and urging them to install proper safeguards when the machines are manufactured.

(Appliances, War Priority)—(1942, p. 584) The convention unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Whereas—Due to priorities, badly needed material used to make helmets for the protection of workers in war industries is not obtainable, as well as materials for screens to safeguard workers against exposed parts and movable machinery, and

Whereas—This is causing a great number of accidents in the shipyards as well as a serious interference in war production, therefore, be it

Resolved—By the annual convention of the A. F. of L. that all such materials be given priority status, and be it further

Resolved—That copies of the resolution be sent to the appropriate governmental bodies.

(State Legislation)—(1943, p. 88) The state legislatures completely ignored the need for adequate industrial safety measures and inspection staffs. About half the states have no authority to make safety codes for industry. Not one state was given such authority this year. The only legislation enacted was in the form of minor changes in safety standards for

special groups of workers, such as employees of projection rooms in motion picture theaters.

The need for passage of the Norton Bill for federal aid to state labor departments to protect the health and safety of workers is amply demonstrated by the lack of interest shown by the states in this subject. This bill, H.R. 2800, was introduced in Congress at the request of the A. F. of L.

(Highway)—(1947, p. 630) Res. 16 was unanimously adopted as follows:

Whereas—Accidents in industry for the past few years have been decreasing in number because the A. F. of L., through its advocacy, teaching and legislative activities toward improved safety measures have been chiefly responsible in the lowering of industrial accidents, and

Whereas—While industrial accidents have been decreasing, automobile accidents have been increasing and from statistics produced by the National Safety Council it is learned that almost 70 per cent of all fatal automobile accidents occur between dusk and 10 p.m. at night, and

Whereas—Many reasons have been attributed for this extraordinary condition, but by tests actually made by organizations interested in accident prevention, we find that the chief cause of these accidents are lack of, or improper street and highway lighting, and

Whereas—This condition can be corrected by proper legislation and allocation of sufficient funds to properly light the highways and the streets of the cities of the U.S., therefore, be it

Resolved—That the A. F. of L. at its 66th convention, assembled in the City of San Francisco, beginning on the 6th day of October, 1947, pledges itself to the work of reducing to the lowest possible minimum, automobile accidents which have heretofore been caused from insufficient and improper lighting, and that we instruct our

incoming officers to use their utmost powers and influence to bring about and cause the proper lighting of the highway system and the streets of the cities of these United States, and be it further

Resolved—That the incoming officers enlist the support of the U.S. Safety Council in the promotion of the remedial measures, and be it further

Resolved—That our action and efforts in this behalf is one of safety alone, bearing in mind that for every two industrial workers killed on the job there are 17 killed on the highways.

(Code, Uniform)—(1947, p. 556) The E.C. was instructed to study and take appropriate action on Res. 99 which called upon the A. F. of L. to sponsor federal legislation to create a uniform safety code covering industry in commerce or affecting interstate commerce; and to sponsor legislation setting up uniform and adequate financial compensation for industrial accidents and occupational diseases. The convention committee recommended that "in light of the hazards to those employed in states with fair standards," this resolution should be studied and acted upon as stated above.

(President's Conference on Industrial Safety)—(1949, p. 240) The federal government has undertaken a national campaign to reduce the needless annual toll of 2 million work injuries. The President called upon organized labor, management and all interested groups to pool their experience in this great common endeavor.

A Coordinating Committee was formed to organize the conference and work began on the compilation of conference reports and agenda. Fifty-one members of the A. F. of L., headed by President Green, played an active role in the deliberations of the conference.

One thousand two hundred delegates representing labor, management, federal and state government, insurance

companies and nonofficial organizations with a basic interest in industrial safety, met in Washington to work out a program whereby it was hoped to achieve the goal of a million fewer accidents a year.

The reduction and prevention of industrial accidents is primarily the responsibility of the respective states. Accordingly, the President's Conference on Industrial Safety recommended the calling of Governors' Conferences on Industrial Safety by the states, patterned after the national conference in Washington, as a major activity of a continuing industrial safety program.

National and international unions can serve the cause of safety for their members by creating a union safety organization from the international through the local unions. Trained union safety representatives would be in a position to cooperate practically with management in the development and maintenance of sound safety organizations in industry.

These safety representatives will be in a position to see that the interests of labor are adequately considered in safety programs.

(P. 474) The convention commended the National Safety Conference referred to in the E.C. report and made the following statement:

We hope the planned state conference will implement the program and that our trade unionists will take leadership in this humanitarian and wise undertaking. Technical safety information is essential and we urge the federal and state governments to provide this service.

(Pp. 67, 494) Whereas — The nation was made aware of the problems of industrial safety by the calling of a "President of the U.S. Conference on Industrial Safety," and

Whereas—The resources and prestige of the federal government were placed behind a nationwide program to

reduce industrial accidents by one million by 1952, thereby reducing the needless toll of two million work injuries a year, and

Whereas—This conference sought the active cooperation and participation of labor, management, and all interested groups in achieving this worthy goal, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled, give full support to the holding of this type of conference to the end that industrial accidents be reduced, and further that affiliated international unions cooperate wholeheartedly in these national safety conferences and, be it further

Resolved—That the A. F. of L. be urged to call upon the state federations of labor and other central labor bodies, and all affiliated international unions, to participate actively in state safety conferences, as well as national, and to further implement, where possible, the recommendations of these conferences, both on a national and a state level.

(1950, p. 207) We pointed out last year the dangerous trend toward taking away from state labor departments their functions in the field of industrial health and placing them in state health departments. One more state—Virginia—was added to the list of states in which there will now be dual regulation and inspection of places of employment for the control of working conditions. The labor departments with their traditional authority to inspect workplaces are finding this authority being whittled away by the use of federal money given under the Social Security Act for general programs for state health departments. For years the A. F. of L. has actively supported legislation for federal funds to state labor departments to help them do the technical engineering jobs that are necessary in a modern safety inspection program. Opposition from the state health authorities has been largely responsible

for the failure of Congress to enact this legislation. So instead of a vigorous health and safety program for the protection of the workers in their places of employment we are finding jurisdictional squabbles between the inspectors of health and labor departments. We again urge that organized labor in the various states take steps to prevent further encroachment by health departments on labor department's activities, and to secure enactment where needed of legislation giving the state labor departments rule-making authority and enforcement in the field of safety and health in industry.

(1951, pp. 137, 507) A. F. of L. endorsed proposal for an appropriation of a half million dollars for manpower conservation through promotion of industrial safety to be administered by the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Standards.

(Safety Council Established)—(1951, pp. 139, 508) As a direct result of legislation strongly urged by the A. F. of L., the Federal Safety Council has been established in the Department of Labor under P.L. 357, which charges the responsibility to the Department of Labor for servicing all federal agencies. Our testimony to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in favor of the bill—to expand the government employees disability compensation act—called for carrying on a program of preventive and educational work to reduce the accident frequency and severity rate. The suggestion was adopted and the council was set up.

The Federal Safety Council is the successor agency to the Interdepartmental Safety Council. The Interdepartmental Safety Council had been an informal type of activity which functioned only negligibly. The new council promises to get results through procurement of an annual budget and serious attention to the work at hand.

(P. 125) At the time the Defense Production Activities Appropriation bill was before the committees of the Congress, we urged that manpower conservation in industry be promoted throughout the country, \$500,000 to be spent by the federal government.

We pointed out that in World War II a good job in this field had been done by the states but that there were wide gaps in coordination which caused much of the effort to be on a purely local basis. Further, that in time of war or in preparation for war, industry and its employees are inclined to sacrifice safety methods for expediency, speed and production time tables.

It was explained that our affiliated unions are rightly concerned over the safety of their members. We feel the urgency for protecting the nation against waste and carelessness. In the third and fourth quarters of 1950, in the wake of the Korean outbreak, the accident rate rose in industry noticeably. We are convinced that now, even more than ever, we must save lives and limbs and prevent loss on the job through occupational deaths and injuries.

(P. 529) We propose concurrence in the proposal for expansion and coordination of present undertakings for industrial safety. The purpose is made more important by the tight manpower needs of defense and in increased tensions of defense production with its use of inexperienced workers, and workers in unfamiliar jobs.

We urge the officers of the A. F. of L. to increase efforts to these ends.

(1952, pp. 277, 495) The E.C. reported efforts to secure legislation to provide safety measures for the prevention of industrial and mine disasters. The convention directed continued efforts toward further strengthening the laws concerning industrial and mine safety.

(1953, pp. 182, 591) The E.C. reports on specific legislation introduced which would provide assistance to the states in the administration of safety laws. No hearings have been held, nor interest shown by the House or Senate Labor Committees. The federation has worked hard in its attempt to retain a decent budget for industrial safety work of the Department of Labor.

Your committee recommends acceptance of the E.C. report on this subject, and further recommends that the A. F. of L. continue its activities for this type of legislation.

(Expansion of Bureau of Labor Standards) — (1954, pp. 413, 531) Res. 114: Whereas—The fifteen thousand deaths and two million occupational injuries suffered by workers each year is a matter of vital concern not only to workers and their families but also to the national economy, and

Whereas—Every effort should be made to conserve our human resources by curbing the great toll of unnecessary accidents and thereby eliminating suffering and costs, and

Whereas—Active participation by unions in safety programs and in joint labor-management safety committees has demonstrated its effectiveness in reducing the accident toll, and

Whereas—The Bureau of Labor Standards through the organization of the President's Conference on Occupational Safety and through its safety training programs and its special industry drives has given much needed leadership to the accident prevention movement, and

Whereas—The services of the bureau to the states, to the unions and management must be greatly extended to secure maximum results; now therefore be it

Resolved—That the delegates to the 73rd convention of the A. F. of L. in convention assembled call upon the Congress of the U.S. to appropriate sufficient funds to the Bureau of La-

bor Standards to expand its safety activities, and be it further

Resolved—That we urge the President to continue his Conference on Occupational Safety to stimulate accident prevention efforts, and be it further

Resolved—That this convention go on record as recommending to all affiliated unions that they establish safety programs, that they provide for labor-management safety committees in all future contracts with employers and that they urge their respective locals to actively support safety programs in their work places and communities.

The convention referred this resolution to the officers of the A. F. of L.

(1954, pp. 157, 592) The E.C. submitted a special report on efforts being made to weaken safety legislation. The convention unanimously adopted its committee report which stated in part:

These moves made in the name of economy would seriously endanger the safety of the workers in many industries.

We further note that no action was taken by Congress on A. F. of L. proposals to strengthen rather than weaken existing safety legislation.

We recommend that the convention instruct its officers to continue their efforts to improve safety legislation and bills affecting occupational hazards and diseases and resist vigorously all moves that would endanger the health and welfare of workers.

Sailors Union (Jurisdiction)—(1948, p. 335) Res. 136 requested support "for any action which the membership of the Sailors Union of the Pacific may deem fit to take which will protect their rightful and recognized jurisdiction over work to which claims are now being made by organizations unaffiliated with the A. F. of L." in negotiations being conducted with the waterfront employers and shipowners of the Pacific and Alaskan ports.

(P. 471) The following statement submitted by the convention committee was adopted in lieu of the resolution as submitted:

Your committee is in hearty accord with the objective sought by this resolution but rather doubts the wisdom of its approval in the form presented. It requests and seeks the encouragement and support of the A. F. of L. in broad and undefinable language.

Your committee therefore recommends that every possible encouragement and assistance be extended to the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and as may be requested by the Seafarers' International Union of N.A., in its contest with the unions of the CIO referred to in the resolution, and that every possible aid be given to this organization to the end that the process of negotiating a contract with the Waterfront Employers and Shipowners will terminate speedily and successfully in favor of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific.

Salary Standardization: St. Paul Plan—(1942, p. 560) Two resolutions were submitted for consideration by the convention, both dealing with a salary standardization plan then being projected in St. Paul. The purpose of the plan was condemned and the resolutions referred to the E.C. The two resolutions follow:

Res. 25:

Whereas—A concerted effort is being made by a Detroit newspaper in an attempt to have the so-called "St. Paul Salary Standardization Plan" adopted for all municipal employees of the City of Detroit, Michigan, and

Whereas—It is the hope of the sponsors of this legislation to enlarge the scope of the "St. Paul Plan" to other municipal employees should they be successful in saddling it upon Detroit municipal employees, and

Whereas—From written statements obtained from City Employees Unions in St. Paul the plan is nothing but a

pure and simple method of keeping wages down and has proven a drastic obstacle to overcome when attempts are made to adjust wages fairly, and

Whereas—Because we feel that should the movement spread it would constitute a major threat to all forms of public and private labor, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the A. F. of L. be and is hereby placed upon record as being opposed to the adoption of any "cost of living" contracts or plans of a similar nature to the "St. Paul Salary Standardization Plan" and to cooperate with all affiliated organizations to prevent the incorporation of cost of living formulas in union labor agreements.

Res. 113:

Whereas—A concerted effort is being made by taxpayer groups in an attempt to have the so-called "St. Paul Salary Standardization Plan" adopted for all municipal employees throughout the U.S., and

Whereas—It is the hope of the sponsors of this legislation to enlarge the scope of the St. Paul Plan to other private employees, should they be successful in saddling it upon municipal employees, and

Whereas—From first-hand information and statistics obtained by representatives who were sent to St. Paul to study this plan, it was stated by Mr. J. B. Probst who originated the plan, that it is already in operation in 703 cities at the present time, although he refused to supply a list of the same, and

Whereas—From written statements obtained from city employees, and unions in St. Paul, Minnesota, the plan is nothing but a pure and simple instrument for keeping wages down and has proved a drastic obstacle to overcome when attempts are made to adjust wages and salaries fairly, and

Whereas—Should the movement spread to other states it may jeop-

ardize and become a major threat to all forms of public and private labor, and

Whereas—The seriousness of this attempt is of such import that in September of last year the Minneapolis and St. Paul Central Trades and Labor Council and the Minnesota State Federation of Labor went on record as being opposed to the St. Paul Salary Standardization Plan, and further instructed all Minnesota local unions to avoid the incorporation of any "Cost of Living" formulas in labor contracts by reason of their detrimental influence as experienced in the past and

Whereas—The International Association of Fire Fighters, at its convention held in Columbus, Ohio, September 14-17, 1942, went on record as being opposed to the adoption of any "Cost of Living" contracts or plans of a similar nature to the St. Paul Plan, and has warned all local unions in the International Association of Fire Fighters to take precautions against the attempts of groups which would attempt to place any such type plan in effect, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the delegates assembled at this, the sixty-second convention of the A. F. of L., go on record as being opposed to the adoption of any "Cost of Living" contracts or plans of a similar nature to the St. Paul Plan.

Sales Tax (See: Taxation)

Salk Vaccine (Health)—(1955, p. 224) On April 18, President Meany issued a statement, expressing the gratification of the A. F. of L. at the success of the vaccine tests and its concern with the problem of distribution and control. With respect to Secretary Hobby's conference, the statement declared that:

... the matter of distributing the vaccine presents basic economic, social and humanitarian problems which are not within the special competence of the medical profes-

sion and the pharmaceutical industry. The A. F. of L. calls upon the President and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare immediately to broaden the invitations to the conference to include representatives of the religious faiths, workers, farmers and the great women's organizations.

Regarding the necessity for a prompt and effective governmental program, President Meany stated that:

While the supply is limited, its use should be rationed according to priorities of medical need and under auspices which insure that children in the poorest sections of this country should have the opportunity to benefit equally with those in more fortunate areas. To achieve these ends an official national policy is necessary, and if any such policy is to be effective, a substantial part of the supply of the Salk vaccine must be purchased and distributed through the public health agencies. . . . We call upon Congress to take up this matter immediately as a non-partisan measure and to make available without delay whatever appropriation our governmental and other experts consider necessary to assure the people of the U.S. that this preventive against a dreaded disease shall be administered with fairness for all, with privileges for none.

Salt Mines—(1938, p. 453) There being no state law relative to salt mines, and taking into consideration the vast dangers as a result of this, and, too, realizing coal mines and numerous other mines are covered by various laws to secure for their workers safe and healthful working conditions, members of Salt Workers Union, in view of the fact that the other mines are required to maintain two or more shafts, salt mines should also be required to maintain two or more shafts. The A. F. of L. will give every aid to secure the necessary leg-

islation for two or more shafts for salt mines.

Scholarships and Loans (Education)
(also see: **Education and Training**, and **Federal Aid for Education**)

School Lunch Program (also see: **Education and Planning**)

(1943, pp. 261, 368) Res. 84 proposed a permanent food and milk program for school children:

Whereas—The Congress of the U.S. enacted P.L. No. 320 on August 25, 1935, section 32 of which law makes available annually to the Department of Agriculture 30 per cent of all monies collected as import duties to be used by the Department of Agriculture for relief of farm food surpluses and said department did, as one method of using up farm surpluses, sponsor a nationwide school lunch and school milk program, and

Whereas—The 78th Congress did on July 5, 1943, pass the annual appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture which included a provision that, notwithstanding the fact that farm surpluses no longer exist, a sum not to exceed \$50,000,000.00 could be spent during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, for the continuance of the school lunch and school milk program. At that time Congress made it plain that the provision was for one year only and that worthy as the school lunch program is, some other means should be developed rather than to charge it to section 32, and

Whereas—The continuance of the school lunch and school milk program is of a benefit to the health and welfare of the child, which was brought to light during the induction of selectees for the armed forces of the U.S. when large numbers of men were shown to have suffered from malnutrition and poor teeth as a result of inadequate food. Encouraging better nutrition is basically an educational function and school lunch rooms offer an ideal place for teaching this sub-

ject, and furthermore, despite vastly increased industrial activity, there is still a considerable percentage of families in need of some assistance to provide nutritive foods in adequate quantities for their children, and

Whereas—The continuance of this program will permit more than 6,000,000 school children of the nation, to have available daily, a complete dietetically well balanced school lunch at very low cost, now therefore be it

Resolved—That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled go on record recommending to the Congress of the U.S. that the school lunch and school milk program be perpetuated, and that Congress enact suitable legislation to effect this purpose, beginning July 1, 1944, and to appropriate sufficient monies to finance it from any unincumbered funds in the U.S. Treasury. These funds to be made available in direct grants to local school boards or districts until such time as this obligation can be absorbed by the local communities.

Resolution No. 84 requests endorsement of a proposal that legislation be enacted to provide that Congress appropriate sufficient funds to continue the free milk and lunch program for school children and that such fund be allotted to local school boards or districts until such time as that obligation can be assumed by local communities.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the E.C. with instructions to work out an equitable plan for needed assistance to school children and to initiate the appropriate legislation.

(1946, pp. 225, 615) The E.C. reported A. F. of L. support for legislation proposed to extend the school lunch programs. The convention approved the E.C. report.

(1947, p. 287) The E.C. reported continued but unsuccessful efforts on the part of the federation to secure

adequate legislation to provide funds for a school lunch program. . . . State and local federations called upon to urge and impress upon their respective members in Congress that there is no true economy in their effort to deny food to hungry American children, but that on the contrary, it is their patriotic duty to assure school lunch funds to meet the needs of every child in America. The convention approved the E.C. report and instructed the council to make every effort in the next session to secure increased appropriations for the school lunch program.

(P. 442) Convention directed that all affiliated bodies be urged to cooperate in securing adequate funds to provide school lunches for hungry children in the nation's schools.

(Puerto Rico)—(P. 440) The convention unanimously adopted Res. 65 as follows:

Whereas—There are 1,328 lunch-rooms in operation in Puerto Rico with an average daily attendance of 170,000 children at a cost to the insular government of \$3,400,000; 420 milk stations with an average daily attendance of 30,057 at an annual cost of \$272,900.00; and 39 nursery schools with an average daily attendance of 7,329 at a cost of \$339,965.00 annually, and

Whereas—A child feeding program in Puerto Rico with a per capita income of \$191.00 is of paramount importance, and

Whereas—The total cost to the insular government to cover the expenses of these programs is \$4,012,865, and

Whereas—School lunch programs in Puerto Rico were operated during the fiscal year 1945-46 with insular appropriations and food donations made by the U.S. Department of Agriculture under Section 32 of P.L. 320 of 1935, and

Whereas—During the fiscal year 1946-1947 school lunch programs re-

ceived federal grants in cash amounting to \$1,848,540.00, non-food assistance to the amount of \$284,390, and balance of food stocks (1945-1946) donated by the U.S. Department of Agriculture to the amount of \$750,000.00, and

Whereas—During the fiscal year 1947-1948 there will be a reduction of \$750,000.00 in the total grants-in-aid to Puerto Rico, thus adding 20,000 children to those deprived of the privilege of attending the school lunch rooms, and

Whereas—Section 4 of P.L. No. 396, approved June 4, 1946, limited the participation of the territories of Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands to 3 per cent of the funds appropriated for agricultural commodities and other foods for the school lunch programs, thus curtailing practically \$651,459.08 from the grants-in-aid received by Puerto Rico on the basis of donations, and

Whereas—Each dollar granted by the federal government should be matched by each state taking into consideration (1) the number of school children in the state; and (2) the need for assistance in the states as indicated by the relation of the per capita income in the U.S. to the per capita income in the state, and

Whereas—This formula is not applied to the territories of Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and

Whereas—Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands should be given the privilege of matching the aid in accordance with the formula applied to the states, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the sixty-sixth convention of the A. F. of L. held in San Francisco declares that it will serve to raise the health standards of the American citizens in the territories of Puerto Rico, Alaska, Hawaii and the Virgin Islands if these are granted the same rights and privileges in connection with the application of the na-

tional school lunch programs; that it directs and instructs the E.C. to do everything in its power to have the National School Lunch Act amended so as to cover the cases of the above-mentioned territories as it has been exposed in this resolution; that H.R. 1760 by Del. Farrington, Hawaii, and H.R. 1775 by Rep. Morrison, La., be studied and amended by the legislative committee of the A. F. of L. so as to include the purpose of this resolution.

(1948, p. 133) The A. F. of L. is in hearty accord with the purposes of the National School Lunch Act and we therefore urged Congress to appropriate sufficient funds for the continuance and furtherance of this humanitarian project. . . .

The cooperative federal-state-community lunch program, provided for under the National School Lunch Act of 1946, makes possible nutritious, hot food for all children—so that no discrimination is attached. These lunches make all the difference in the world in physical and mental vigor of students who are victims of hunger due to low income, as well as of those who are normal, growing children. School lunches are just as necessary to child health and development as other services, such as transportation, school books, medical examinations, etc., in fact, without the school lunch program the other services cannot fulfill their full functions.

(P. 396) Under the caption of "School Lunch Program" there is recited the efforts of the E.C. to secure an extension of that program, reciting particularly the recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture for a greatly enlarged appropriation for that purpose. In spite of that, however, the first session of the 80th Congress reduced the appropriation. The second session of the Congress, however, restored the reduction, but made no increase above the \$75,000,000 originally adopted.

If we are to keep our nation strong every child must be properly nourished. This program will assure to many thousands of American children a measure of sustenance who otherwise would become victims of malnutrition with all the horrors and miseries that ensue when humankind is without the means necessary to discharge their full obligations to their offspring.

The E.C. will, we hope, do all they can to bring about these urgent laws.

(1949, p. 180) In its report, the E.C. urged that state federations and city central bodies make the administration of this program their vital concern. This is another of the essential services for all children for which we are fighting.

(P. 205) The position of the A. F. of L. in advocating free lunches to children of school ages has been long and consistent. Our views were set forth in our report for 1948 in considerable detail. At that time, the Congress had merely restored the required appropriation after having materially reduced the sum in 1947.

In the first session of the Eighty-first Congress, we are enabled to report a sizable increase in the appropriation to be made available for free school lunches for children of poorer families. The appropriation for 1949 rose from the \$75,000,000 for 1948 to \$83,500,000 under P.L. No. 146.

Free school lunches have the added advantage of helping to supply stronger bodies and to consume some of the farm surplus we are still beset with despite our export program. Started in the depression years of the 1930s, these free lunches have now become a part of our American scene and demonstrates full well that no one will be permitted to go hungry in the "Land of Plenty."

(1951, p. 126) For the fiscal year 1950, the sum of \$83,500,000 was appropriated by Congress for this program. With this amount, the Depart-

ment of Agriculture was able to aid the states in providing lunches for three out of every ten of the children enrolled in elementary and secondary schools in the U.S. and its territories; 7,840,250 children participated in this program, or 28.5 per cent of the total enrollment.

In 1946, the A. F. of L. strongly supported the enactment of the National School Lunch Act. Again, this year, we urged the necessity of an increase in the appropriation, financing the school lunch program so that a larger percentage of our school children can benefit from the services available under this program.

Despite the sharp increase in food prices since the Korean situation developed, Congress appropriated only \$83,500,000 for this program for the next fiscal year, which is the same amount that was appropriated last year. This amount is grossly inadequate, and will deprive thousands of children of the benefits they received under this program in previous years.

In view of the fact that Congress has appropriated funds for the relief of practically every country in the world during the past eight or ten years, there should be no sound reason why we should not appropriate sufficient funds to extend this program to all of our schools throughout the nation.

(P. 506) Convention authorized continued efforts to obtain increased appropriations to support an adequate school lunch program.

(1953, pp. 179, 540) The E.C. briefly reported on the status of the National School Lunch Program and reaffirmed A. F. of L. support as follows: The position of the A. F. of L. in advocating free lunches for school children has been long and consistent. We urge the expansion of this program to meet more adequately the needs of our 30 million or more school children. State federations and city

central bodies should make the administration of this program their vital concern.

School Construction (also see: Education and Training)

(1949, pp. 178, 382) We have referred to the need for a large public school construction program. . . . We recommend that the funds for such a program should be allocated to the states on the basis of their relative need and in conformance with a state-planned program which would serve all parts of the state. We further urge that legislation for such a program provide also that sound standards of construction in the building program be established by the Federal Works Agency or other qualified federal agency. Convention unanimously approved report and recommendations.

(Pp. 182, 356) Convention unanimously approved committee report on this subject as follows:

In relation to the important problem of providing adequate school buildings for the educational institutions of the U.S., the E.C. reports that the legislative agencies of the A. F. of L. have given active support to legislation introduced in this field. The council recommends that federal funds for this purpose should be allocated to the states on a basis of need, and that sound standards of construction should be established by the Federal Works Agency or by some other qualified federal agency.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this section of the E.C.'s report and urges all affiliated bodies to survey the needs for new school buildings and additions to existing buildings in their respective areas.

School Health

(1949, p. 180) A bill providing for health examinations and essential health services for all children (S. 1411) has been passed by the Senate. We urge early favorable action by the House. This bill provides some of the

essential services for all children for which we are working.

Science Foundation, National—(1948, p. 166) The E.C. pointed out that the A. F. of L. is "convinced that the key to progress in many phases of our civilization is in sustained progress in the sciences. We, as workers, repeatedly take part in technical changes due to new application of scientific information, new machinery, new tools, new processes, and new materials. We further know that continuous technical progress and new uses of known facts and laws can be maintained only by extended research in the basic sciences."

The attempts made in Congress to secure enactment of legislation establishing a National Science Foundation were related, and regret expressed that enabling legislation was not approved.

(P. 409) The council's action toward several measures in Congress for the establishment of a National Science Foundation again reveals their keen desire to advance our common interests in all things. The possibilities through establishment of such a foundation to improvement of humane values and greater security to a democratic way of life are limitless.

We rest much easier when the council so consistently comes to our defense and aid when measures that could be of so much good or ill to all of the people of the United States are pending before Congress.

We commend their foresight in this case and assure them that continuance in the same determination for the preservation of our interests if and when such matters are again pending in Congress they will have our wholehearted support.

(1950, p. 196) The E.C. reported that the A. F. of L. gave full support toward enactment of legislation establishing a National Science Foundation for the following purposes:

1. To develop and encourage the pursuit of a national policy for the promotion of basic research and education in the sciences;

2. To initiate and support basic scientific research through contracts or other arrangements, and to appraise the impact of research upon industrial development and upon the general welfare;

3. To initiate and support (after consultation with the Secretary of Defense) scientific research in connection with matters relating to the national defense through contracts and other arrangements;

4. To grant scholarships and graduate fellowships in the sciences;

5. To foster the interchange of scientific information among scientists in the U.S. and foreign countries;

6. To correlate its research programs with other scientific research programs of individuals and public (including federal governmental) and private groups, as well as to evaluate other programs.

(P. 453) The following committee report unanimously adopted by the convention:

This section reports the enactment of a proposal which grew out of the experiences of World War II and has been before Congress for five years. Such legislation was necessary to secure an adequate number of trained scientists in order to maintain progress in the basic sciences necessary to technical progress.

We recommend that the permanent Committee on Education of the A. F. of L. sees that opportunity for education in the basic sciences is made equally available to boys and girls, as well as adults from all walks of life.

Seamen

(Atlantic Coast Agreement)—(1936, p. 348) Throughout its entire history of more than 40 years, the International Seamen's Union of America has insisted upon an honest observance of

agreements with shipowners. Certain self-styled radicals aided and abetted by Communists and other extremists have succeeded in misleading some of the members of the Atlantic District Unions of the International Seamen's Union of America into sporadic strikes, causing the delay of some ships, notwithstanding the fact that the existing Atlantic agreement with the principal shipowners provides for preference in employment to members of the unions and for the adjustment of any and all grievances by a joint board of conciliation. Therefore the A. F. of L. pledges moral support to all the loyal Atlantic coast members of the International Seamen's Union of America who refuse to be coerced or stampeded into an outlaw strike. A copy of this resolution will be supplied to the President of the U.S., to the newly created Maritime Commission and to the press.

(Income Tax)—(1946, pp. 227, 470) Under this heading, the E.C. reports its activity in support of H.R. 3385, designed to alleviate the effect on seamen's wages of the annual accounting period for the purposes of the federal income tax, as under present law seamen are unduly penalized.

Legislation — (1924, p. 188 This convention most emphatically protests against the non-enforcement of the Seamen's Act and heartily endorses Senate bill 2222, in order that freedom for seamen and laws for the safety of life at sea may be respected and enforced.

(1927, p. 349) The Sea Service Bureau and shipowners' association shipping offices are a positive evil and ought to be abolished, and that employment of seamen ought to be through the U.S. Shipping Commissioner's office, being selected by the vessels' officers either at the commissioner's office or before coming there to be signed.

(P. 351) Merchant vessels under our flag are being operated in such condition that they are a menace not only to the lives which they carry, but also to the lives of persons—passengers and crews on other vessels.

The cause is largely to be found in disobedience to such safety laws as we have and the employment of men who are in no sense seamen but just casual laborers, who in some devious way have obtained able seamen's and boatmen's certificates.

This dangerous condition is gradually becoming worse because of the present law, which gives the master the right to sign on his crew without any supervision by the shipping commissioners.

The masters are compelled to violate the safety laws in order to keep their jobs.

We now have no way of even getting reports upon who was on board a lost vessel because there is no place where the names of the crew are kept unless they be shipped before the shipping commissioners.

Such conditions ought to be stopped as quickly as possible, and we most seriously petition Congress to enact into law the bill—S. 1087—which was introduced in the last Congress and which was reported to the Senate with an amendment, which amendment must not, however, be any part of the bill, because it would reestablish involuntary servitude on vessels of the U.S. and of all other vessels coming within the jurisdiction of the U.S.

(1928, p. 219) Directed E.C. to propose two bills introduced in Congress to amend the Seamen's Act in line with the wishes of the shipowners.

(1931, p. 305) Bills providing for three watches for the sailors on vessels of 500 tons or more were approved by the A. F. of L. The vessels are either keeping two watches, which means 84 hours per week, twelve hours per day, seven days per week or else

a system of calashi watches in which the vessels are running in the night with sometimes one man on the lookout and sometimes not and very often no man at the wheel, the steering being done by a steering machine, known to the seamen as "the iron mike," the rest of the crew sleeping at night and working all day.

(1932, p. 385) Resolutions were adopted opposing Article 54 of the Treaty on Safety of Life at Sea which reads as follows:

Every ship holding a certificate issued under Article 49 or Article 50 is subject, in the ports of the other contracting governments, to control by officers duly authorized by such governments insofar as the control is directed toward verifying that there is on board a valid certificate and, if necessary, that the condition of the vessel's seaworthiness corresponds substantially with the particulars of that certificate; that is to say, so that the ship can proceed to sea without danger to the passengers and the crew. In the event of this control giving rise to intervention of any kind the officer carrying out the control shall forthwith inform the consul of the country in which the ship is registered of all the circumstances in which the intervention is deemed necessary.

(1933, p. 497) Reaffirmed.

(1934, pp. 81, 550) For many years the Seamen's International Union has endeavored to have a law enacted providing that vessels must take as many seamen out of the country as they bring in. The practice has been to smuggle immigrants into the country in the guise of seamen. Under present U.S. laws seamen can leave ship in safe harbor and remain in the country for sixty days for the sole purpose of reshipping in foreign vessels. It is alleged that immigrants who cannot enter the country under the quota law

or because of police records abroad, pay a certain amount of money to vessel owners and masters to smuggle them into the U.S. After arrival, they simply disappear and are very seldom located and deported.

The Senate passed bills in several Congresses to correct this serious violation of the immigration laws but they failed in the House. In the Seventy-third Congress the House passed a satisfactory bill, but when it reached the Senate a vigorous campaign against a favorable report by the Senate Immigration Committee was conducted. However, the bill was favorably reported to the Senate but it died on the calendar. Further efforts will be made in the next session of Congress.

(1936, p. 127) After many years of seeking legislation to protect American seamen several laws were enacted of the greatest importance.

H.R. 8597 provides that on all vessels of the United States 75 per cent of the crew, exclusive of licensed officers, shall be citizens of the U.S., native born, or completely naturalized. Up to the enactment of this law American ships not receiving a subsidy could employ as many aliens as they pleased, except licensed officers.

Coal passers and sailors are included in the three-watch system at sea and all hands are given the eight-hour day in port. The nine-hour day prevailed in port heretofore. A continuous discharge-book, as sponsored for several years by Senator LaFollette at the request of the Seamen's International Union of America, furnishes much needed certified records of service. No entry of character or behavior marks will be permitted and, therefore, it cannot be used for blacklisting purposes. Shipowners are prohibited from issuing such books as they have done heretofore. The law provides for regular inspection of crew quarters as to their sanitary condition.

H.R. 8555, the Ship Subsidy Bill, increases the citizenship requirements for crews and provides minimum manning and wage standards for vessels receiving government aid. A maritime commission of five members will administer the Act. It will take over the functions of the U.S. Shipping Board, Merchant Fleet Corporation and various other functions now vested in the Department of Commerce. It will investigate the employment and wage conditions of American seamen and incorporate in ship subsidy contracts minimum manning and wage scales and reasonable working conditions for all officers and crews employed on all types of vessels receiving an operating differential subsidy.

On cargo vessels all members of the crew must be citizens. On passenger vessels in the first year 80 per cent of the crew, exclusive of officers, must be citizens. For the next two years there will be an annual increase of 5 per cent until the new maximum of 90 per cent has been reached. The previous law required only 66 2/3 per cent of the crew to be citizens. Non-citizens who have declared their intention may be employed only in the steward department on passenger vessels and must have been legally admitted to the U.S. for permanent residence. This will prevent the employment of orientals on subsidized ships, since persons ineligible to citizenship cannot be legally admitted to the U.S. for permanent residence.

Public No. 483 extends to seamen on government vessels not in military or naval establishments the facilities of the Public Health Service. This applies to seamen on all vessels of more than five tons' burden and on state school ships. They will be entitled to medical relief by the Public Health Service in the same manner and to the same extent as seamen employees on registered, enrolled and licensed vessels are entitled.

(Medical Examinations Opposed)—(1952, p. 253) The A. F. of L. report by the E.C. reported opposition to an I.L.O. convention calling for medical examinations at two-year intervals on the grounds that such examinations would constitute hardships upon our seamen who perform an extremely loyal job in manning vessels transporting the important merchandise to our prospective allies in a world torn apart by dissension and rumors of wars. It was further pointed out that both employees and employers have agreed that two-year examinations are unwarranted, while the government stands alone in attempting to force this condition of retention in active service upon the men who go to the sea in ships.

(Shipowners Liability)—(1940, pp. 92, 408) A. F. of L. favored enactment of H.R. 6881 (1940) which was drafted to implement the provisions of the Draft Convention No. 55 adopted by International Labor Conference at Geneva in 1936 and ratified by U.S. Senate on June 13, 1938, providing certain additional rights to sick and injured seamen. It does not take away any rights, remedies, etc. to which seamen were entitled prior to ratification of the treaty however. Proposals made by U.S. Senator Overton to make the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act applicable to seamen was opposed by the Seafarers International Union, A. F. of L.

The Subcommittee on Merchant Marine voted to table the bill and Senator Overton sponsored a resolution (S.R. 299) providing for an investigation and study of workmen's compensation with a view of determining whether the same, by act of Congress, should be made applicable to seamen, etc. The resolution, which was adopted by the Senate September 12, 1940, provided that a report on the subject must be made to the Senate on or before February 15, 1941.

(Training Ships)—(1940, p. 409) Resolution 136 of the 1940 convention was a protest against the establishment of training ships for seamen under the Maritime Commission. The Seamen's Union of the Pacific regarded the establishment of training ships under the Maritime Commission as an attempt to regiment the American seamen. The convention authorized the E.C. to give any necessary assistance required to the Sailors Union of the Pacific to secure satisfactory adjustment of their complaint.

United Seamen's Service, Inc.—(1942, p. 596) Res. 108:

Whereas—The American Merchant seamen, prior to the war and before the entry of our country into the war against the Axis, have continually sailed our merchant ships all over the world, carrying supplies, ammunition, food, etc., to our armed forces and to the armed forces of our Allies, and

Whereas—Hundreds of our merchant ships have been sunk by enemy submarines and blasted out of the waters by enemy dive bombers, with the result that approximately 1,800 American merchant seamen have lost their lives and thousands of others have suffered physically and mentally through nerve-wracking attacks by enemy war craft, and by spending days, weeks, and even months in life-rafts and life-boats, and undergoing physical and mental tortures, and

Whereas—Recreational and convalescent facilities have been established by popular subscription for the armed forces, such as the Navy and Army boys, but there are no facilities established to take care of our merchant seamen who are considered in active war service, yet thousands of them have no place to go to regain their health and heal their shattered nerves after experiencing enemy action at sea, and

Whereas—Recently a non-profit corporation was organized in Washing-

ton, D. C., by Admiral Emory S. Land, and Henry J. Kaiser was appointed chairman, which is to be called the United Seamen's Service, Inc., specifically to raise \$5,000,000 to establish convalescent homes and recreational facilities for American and Allied merchant seamen, and

Whereas—President Roosevelt said as follows about the United Seamen's Service:

In the newly organized United Seamen's Service, the people of our country have an instrument through which we may discharge a small part of our debt to merchant seamen—the men who are vitalizing the vast tonnage we are producing to defend our way of life.

The men of our merchant marine need facilities for rest and recreation, a chance to build up the strength and fortitude necessary for their hazardous journeys carrying the implements of war to our fighting forces. Through the United Seamen's Service, whose purposes and aims I heartily endorse, rest, recreation and recuperation centers will be established for them. Friendly, human service will be ready for them ashore.

The United Seamen's Service is an undertaking deserving the fullest support of the American people. It commands the thoughtful consideration all of us want to show to our merchant seamen. Sept. 11, 1942, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

therefore, be it

Resolved—That the A. F. of L. go on record as wholeheartedly endorsing this organization and this most humane project, and call upon all affiliated organizations and organized labor as a whole to endorse this project and to donate financially to it as much as they possibly can and as soon as possible, and be it further

Resolved—That all financial donations be made payable to United Sea-

men's Service, Inc., and forwarded to the secretary-treasurer of the United Seamen's Service at Washington, D. C.

Your committee in recommending the adoption of this resolution expresses its approval of the initiative taken by Admiral Emory S. Land in providing for the welfare of the seamen engaged in the hazardous duties now called for in service with the nation of those employed on merchant ships.

In this connection we note the immediate response given by the Seafarers International Union of North America, and the active part they immediately took in making this seamen's service immediately effective.

We note with gratification in this connection that one of the first homes established on the Atlantic seaboard is named after our greatly lamented and highly valued co-worker Andrew Furuseth.

Secession Condemned—(1925, p. 260) The A. F. of L. condemns the so-called organization of express workers known as "The American Federation of Express Workers," and calls upon all affiliated organizations to lend their aid and support in stamping out this movement, and the A. F. of L. does further condemn the outlaw organization for the reason of the misleading name adopted by the secessionists for the obvious purpose of misleading the express workers into joining an outlaw organization whose sole purpose is the disruption of the recognized labor movement.

(1927, p. 380) Secession from the ranks of organized labor, whether by individuals or groups, can have no other effect than to make the problems with which organized labor is confronted more difficult of solution. In principle, the withdrawal of a local union from the national or international organization having jurisdiction over the trade in which its members are engaged, because of some fancied

or even real grievance against the parent body, is much like the surrender of membership by an individual worker who becomes dissatisfied with some act of the local union. The first inevitable effect in every instance is to weaken the position of the workers concerned and to strengthen the position of the employers against them. Every informed trade unionist must agree that the proper procedure is to continue the regular union affiliation, whether it be on the part of an individual or a local union, while seeking to adjust their difficulties under the laws of the organization in which they hold membership. The democratic nature of the trade union movement is such that ample opportunity is given for an interchange of opinions on practically all subjects and under such conditions there can be no reasonable excuse for secession. The support of secessionist or dual organizations by any of the affiliated unions is indefensible.

Securities (Blue Sky Law)—(1933, pp. 105, 535) During the decade after the war many billions of new securities were floated in the United States and a substantial part proved to be worthless.

According to a report of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives "the flotation of such a mass of essentially fraudulent securities was made possible because of the complete abandonment by many underwriters and dealers in securities of those standards of fair, honest, and prudent dealing that should be basic to the encouragement of investment in any enterprise."

"High-pressure salesmanship," said the Committee, "rather than careful counsel was the rule in this most dangerous of enterprises."

The Committee further said:

"Equally significant with these countless individual tragedies is the

wastage that this irresponsible selling of securities has caused to industry. The result has been that investment bankers with no regard for the efficient functioning of industry forced corporations to accept new capital for expansion purposes in order that new securities might be issued for public consumption. Similarly, real estate developments would be undertaken, not on the basis of caring for calculated needs but merely as an excuse for the issuance of more securities to satisfy an artificially created market. Such conduct has resulted both in the imposition of unnecessary fixed charges upon industry and in the creation of false and unbalanced values for properties whose earnings cannot conceivably support them. Whatever may be the full catalogue of the forces that brought to pass the present depression, not the least among these has been this wanton misdirection of the capital resources of the Nation."

A registration statement must be filed with the Federal Trades Commission in which the type of information required to be disclosed is of a character comparable to that demanded by competent bankers from their borrowers.

Security (National) (also see: Communism, Civil Rights)

(1948, pp. 239, 460) Res. 25 outlined seven "minimum essential elements" of a full-scale program of national security in line with report of the Compton Commission which states (page 240):

"To place our complete trust and confidence for the preservation of our lives and liberties in the distant and vague prospect of guided missiles, complete aerial destruction of a possible enemy and so-called 'push-button' atomic war, would, in our opinion be criminally negligent. We do not have faith in any early realization of such an easy, complacent way of bringing war to an attacking enemy. The

United States cannot continue to be the only major power without any system of military training for its citizens, as it is today."

(P. 460) Convention adopted following recommendation of the committee which considered Res. 25:

Previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have taken definite action on the question of National Security. Your committee believes it would be well for this convention to reaffirm all previous actions upon the subject. This being particularly important in view of the worldwide situation created by the activities and the position which has been taken by the Russian dictatorship.

Your committee is not prepared to submit a detailed statement of all of the steps which may be necessary to adequate National Security, as there are other elements in addition to labor which are involved. The detailed steps necessary should be carefully studied by the Executive Council before the convention commits itself to a definite policy.

(1950, pp. 123, 504) Your committee has given the most thorough consideration to this section of the Executive Council Report. We are in full accord with the intent and content of this section and commend its objectives for your indorsement.

We cannot underscore too forcefully our agreement with the Executive Council Report when it states: "The international conspiracy called Communism, as organized by the party dictators in Moscow, becomes an increasing menace to our institutions in war times." This places especially heavy responsibility on the free trade unions because the Communist terrorists have throughout the world, made the house of labor its main field of destructive operations and have sought the capture or destruction of the free trade unions as the first and indispensable requirement for their

seizure of power and imposition of their despicable and degrading totalitarian dictatorship on every nation.

In our country, as everywhere else, the maintenance and prowess of a genuine and vigorous free trade union movement are the best guarantee for the health and progress of democracy. But we must stress with equal force that without democracy there can be no free trade unionism. Just as free trade unionism is the mortal enemy of all dictatorships, so dictatorship of every hue and stripe is the deadly enemy of all free trade unions.

Our hostility to totalitarian Communism rests on even broader foundations. Costly and tragic experience has taught millions of workers what the A. F. of L. has always sensed, felt and known. Communist tyranny is the very opposite of everything that is progressive, decent, free and clean in life.

Democratic societies and free nations not only have a right but a sacred duty to defend themselves not only against aggressors from without but also against their subverters and agents operating within every democratic country. We must not permit these totalitarian enemies of human liberty in our midst to exploit our democratic rights for the purpose of destroying democracy and advancing their dictatorship—no more than we permit incendiaries, rapists, burglars and murderers to advance their crimes through legal protection or legalization of their specific criminal acts.

All open or concealed activities to weaken our nation as a target for attack and conquest by a foreign power and all such activities for furthering this objective by operations within our country for the purpose of imposing on the American people a totalitarian dictatorship shall be considered as criminal acts—as traitorous and anti-social crimes to be treated as such by the law.

(Federal Program)—(1955, p. 201)

During the past year noteworthy gains have been made toward eliminating certain developing threats to our civil liberties. These dangers have considerably lessened with the all but complete eclipse of what has come to be known as "McCarthyism." The development of McCarthyism was associated particularly with irresponsible congressional investigations which, hiding behind the cloak of anti-Communist zeal, deprived innocent citizens of their lawful rights. As a result of the excesses and the undemocratic procedures utilized by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and his supporters, public attention was focused on the need for developing security procedures which, though effective in eliminating any Communist or other totalitarian threat to our national security, would be fully consistent with our traditional concepts of justice.

Recognizing the need for a thorough and impartial investigation of the security question, our Federation recommended to the Congress establishment of a special Commission on Government Security to make a complete survey of the problem and to develop recommendations with regard to all aspects of the federal security program. In testimony before the Congressional Committees, which considered this proposal we stressed the urgent need for an effective security program, but also called the attention of Congress to the apparent lack of sensitivity of the present program to the personal rights of the individuals who have been charged with being security risks. The A. F. of L. spokesman also stressed the particular problems involved in developing fair and practicable security procedures in defense industries.

In line with our recommendations, Congress by joint resolution voted to establish a 12-member bipartisan commission to review the federal security program. It is important that this commission investigate every phase

of the security program. Of particular concern to trade unions and their members are the procedures involved in the industrial security program under which individuals in private industry are screened for work requiring access to classified documents or materials.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently recognized the necessity for a program of this type but the present program has proved inadequate. In many cases, affiliated unions have found that the current procedures involve extensive delays and have worked special hardships. Representatives of organized labor should be included on any group sponsored by the new Commission on Government Security which investigates this complex problem.

(Legislation)—(1955, p. 142) The following objections interposed by the A. F. of L. to pending legislation, indicates definite policy on the subject:

The Butler bill (S. 681), authorizing the federal government to guard strategic defense facilities against individuals believed to be disposed to commit acts of sabotage, espionage, or other subversion, was again introduced in this session of Congress. This bill is the same as S. 3428 that passed last year by the Senate on which no action was taken in the House of Representatives.

The bill (S. 681) is open to a number of serious objections. The most important of these are as follows:

1. Lack of Adequate Review Procedure. The bill includes a provision that any individual denied access to a defense facility is entitled to receive a public hearing on the charges which have been made against him. However, no provision is made for any appeal from the findings resulting from the public hearing either through judicial review or by a system of appeals boards. In our opinion, it is essential that any government policy

which deprives individuals of employment embody an appropriate, impartial appeals procedure. We believe that the best solution to this problem would be the establishment of tripartite appeals boards consisting of representatives of labor, management, and the public to which appeals could be made from the decision of the hearing tribunal. In any industrial security procedure, a tripartite appeals board is the only method to safeguard effectively the rights of persons concerned.

2. Lack of Adequate Standards and Definitions. The bill is woefully lacking in establishing proper definitions and standards to guide the administration of the program.

For example, the most critical language in the bill (Section 3a) states as follows:

"The President is authorized to institute such measures and issue such rules and regulations as may be necessary to bar from access to any defense facility or facilities individuals as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe they may engage in sabotage, espionage, or other subversive acts."

The critical phrases in this language are "defense facility or facilities" and "reasonable ground." Section 3 (d) of the law does define the term "defense facility" but only to say that it "shall have the same meaning as it has under Title I of the Internal Security Act of 1950." This law in turn simply states that a defense facility should mean any "facility designated and proclaimed by the Secretary of Defense." No criteria or standards is included to guide the Secretary in preparing this list. The vagueness of the language is probably one reason why the Secretary of Defense has not yet complied with the direction in Section 5(b) of the Internal Security Act of 1950 to "designate and proclaim" a list of defense facilities.

With regard to the phrase "reasonable ground on which the entire basis for denial of access rests, the bill contains absolutely no guidance to those administering the program. Practically any minor defect of character could therefore become sufficient reason for depriving any individual of his employment. There is no indication, for example, whether grounds of "suitability are to be considered as well as grounds of "security". There is no indication whether the criteria in this program are to be as broad and far-reaching as the criteria now employed in the government's security program. It would be folly to approve legislation of this sort without adequate standards on such a crucial issue affecting basic rights of the individual.

3. Lack of Procedural Safeguards. The bill states in the broadest terms that "the President is authorized to institute such measures and issue such rules and regulations as may be necessary" to carry out the objective in the bill.

Under this grant of authority, it would be possible, for example, for the President or his agent to prescribe rules and regulations governing the barring of individuals in defense plants, giving the foremen in the plant or other supervisory officials the responsibility for judging whether a person shall be summarily barred. The law should establish clear safeguards against gross procedural abuses of this kind.

4. Denial of Access Without a Hearing. There is wide opportunity for grave abuse under the provision which allows the government to "bar summarily any individual from access to any defense facility." Even in extreme cases, it would be preferable to provide for some type of preliminary hearing in which the accused can at least be informed of

the charges against him and given an opportunity to answer them before he can be barred from any defense facility.

5. Penalties Too Broadly Applied.

As the bill now reads, it is a felony to "violate any rule, regulation or order issued pursuant to the Act." Presumably, it is the purpose of this provision to insure compliance with a final order of disbarment. According to the language of the bill, however, it may be possible to apply this harsh penalty to non-compliance with any intermediary order or a minor procedural infraction of the regulations.

While we are in accordance with the objectives of this legislation, we were compelled to oppose this bill in testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee because it failed to provide the necessary safeguards to protect individuals who may be affected by its provisions. The Committee did not take any action on the bill in this session.

We believe that sound public policy requires that before such legislation is approved, an impartial commission of outstanding public-spirited citizens review the current status of internal security legislation. By proceeding in this manner, the nation can both provide effectively against possible subversives and at the same time protect the individual liberties of its citizens.

Segregation in the Schools (see: Education and Training; Racial Discrimination)

Senators, Election of—(1950, pp. 203, 454) The E.C. reported on Res. 89 of the 1949 convention which, briefly, stated that history demonstrates that a minority of the members of the U.S. Senate has dictated the foreign policy of the United States for many years, and that this same minority has blocked participation by the United States in matters of world cooperation on many occasions. The resolution inti-

mates that all senators should be elected at the same time in order that there might not be a lag in the true representation of the will of the people. The Executive Council, to which the resolution was referred, non-concurred in the resolution which would require a constitutional amendment. The 1950 convention approved the E.C. recommendation.

Seniority Rights

(1954, pp. 372, 460) Res. 6:

Whereas—As a result of diligent efforts on the part of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions the valuable principle of seniority has been pretty generally established in industry, and

Whereas—It appears that organized industry is making a concerted effort to eliminate and destroy the principles of true seniority by either refusing to include provision for seniority in collective bargaining agreements or by forcing numerous disputes over seniority into arbitration, therefore, be it

Resolved — That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make a study of this problem for the purpose of attempting to devise a more effective program to combat the efforts of organized industry to eliminate and destroy the principles of seniority as it is known to the labor movement.

(1954, pp. 378, 470):

Whereas—As a result of the arbitrary imposition of rigid physical standards and tests by industry, workers have been and are being deprived of their jobs without regard to their seniority rights, and

Whereas—In most cases the workers who are being arbitrarily discarded by industry are capable of performing the jobs required of them for many more years, and

Whereas—These workers have no recourse open to them due to the lack

of sufficient protective clauses in the collective bargaining agreements, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled in Los Angeles, California, go on record instructing the officers of the American Federation of Labor to study this problem with a view to obtaining remedial legislation, and be it further

Resolved—That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to refer this resolution to the legal staff of the American Federation of Labor for their study with a view to preparing protective clauses in negotiated agreements (which) should be made available to all unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Senn Case (Labor Disputes)—(1940, p. 331) After the employers of Wisconsin failed in their strategy of attack on the Norris-LaGuardia Act in defining "labor disputes" through the *American Furniture Company Case* and others, they tried a new line of attack in the *Senn Case*, a brief history of which was presented by the A. F. of L. General Counsel to the convention as follows:

Senn was a tile contractor. He employed only a journeyman tile layer and sometimes a helper. As soon as the depression started to lift a little the Tile Layers Union (which had suffered during the depression on account of its members leaving the union and setting themselves up as independent contractors) sought to unionize Senn. He was asked to sign a union contract. He was willing to do so if one clause in the contract was eliminated. That clause provided that the employer shall lay down the tools of the trade and not work in competition with his men. All other union tile contractors in the vicinity, of which there were many, had agreed to this rule. There was a reason for it. It arose out of the necessity of the situation. If the employer could work

with his men he would be able to bid his own labor in at very low prices, even though he paid the union scale to his workers. In a small industry with few workers employed, this would give the employer who worked with his men a distinct advantage in bidding on contracts. Likewise he could work long hours, etc. The evidence showed that Senn, up to this time, had paid low wages—75c an hour instead of the union rate of \$1.25. He worked his men long hours and did not pay overtime. They even worked on Sundays—all of which was contrary to the union rules.

Upon his refusal to sign a contract the union picketed his jobs. He sought an injunction. It was denied by the trial court. It was appealed to the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, which likewise denied the injunction and held that the case involved a lawful labor dispute. It was thereupon appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The employers of Wisconsin banded together and retained able counsel to argue the case before the Supreme Court. He made a very dramatic plea. He declared the state Norris-LaGuardia Act and its definitions to be unconstitutional, and the picketing by a union to be illegal. In his argument before the court he referred to the marble friezes above the heads of the justices, the fine silken drapes and the fine furniture of the court room and stated, "All this has been produced by labor—the sons of toil." He contended forcefully that no law could be passed by Congress or by any state which would take away from any man his right to work with his hands.

The justices fired questions at counsel. The case was an important one. The time was extended from one hour to an hour and a half for both sides.

When it was my turn to respond to counsel for the employers I agreed with him that the Constitution prohibited the denial to any person of

the right to work with his hands or with the tools of his trade. The justices wondered what the case was about, since I was in agreement with counsel for the employer. But I argued that counsel had only argued half the case. In fact, that was not the issue before the court. The question was not whether Senn had the right to work with the tools of the trade—I conceded he had that right. I conceded that he had the right to conduct a non-union shop; he had the right to work long hours; he had the right to employ non-union employees and pay them 75c an hour instead of \$1.25 per hour, and that he and his employees had the right to work on Sundays and 12 hours a day. I conceded that the Constitution could not prevent him from doing all these things. But I asked, is there anything in the Constitution that prevents the union from telling the world that Senn is a non-union employer, that Senn workers with the tools of the trade in competition with his employees, that he works long hours, pays no overtime? I asked, is there anything in the Constitution which prohibits members of a union from carrying signs on their backs announcing to the world that Senn is unfair to organized labor, and in that announcement making a plea to the public not to patronize Senn but to patronize other employers as long as the public was left free to decide and choose whom it desired to patronize?

Realizing that this was a question of economics as much as it was of law, I hoped that the decision would be written by the best economist on the bench—Justice Brandeis. That hope was met and Justice Brandeis wrote the decision, and it is a clear, distinct, understanding decision—understanding of Labor's problems and Labor's rights. Justice Brandeis said:

"The unions concede that Senn, so long as he conducts a nonunion shop, has the right to work with his hands and tools. He may do so, as

freely as he may work his employees longer hours and at lower wages than the union rules permit. He may bid for contracts at a low figure based upon low wages and long hours. But the unions contend that, since Senn's exercise of the right to do so is harmful to the interests of their members, they may seek by legal means to induce him to agree to unionize his shop and to refrain from exercising his right to work with his own hands. The judgment of the highest court of the state establishes that both the means employed and the end sought by the unions are legal under its law. The question for our determination is whether either the means or the end sought is forbidden by the Federal Constitution.

"Clearly—the means which the statute authorizes—picketing and publicity—are not prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment. Members of a union might, without special statutory authorization by a state, make known the facts of a labor dispute, for freedom of speech is guaranteed by the Federal Constitution . . .

" . . . The sole purpose of the picketing was to acquaint the public with the facts and, by gaining its support, to induce Senn to unionize his shop. There was no effort to induce Senn to do an unlawful thing. There was no violence, no force was applied, no molestation or interference, no coercion. There was only the persuasion incident to publicity. As the Supreme Court of Wisconsin said:

"Each of the contestants is desirous of the advantage of doing the business in the community where he or they operate. He is not obliged to yield to the persuasion exercised upon him by respondents . . . The respondents do not question that it is appellant's right to run his own busi-

ness and earn his living in any lawful manner which he chooses to adopt. What they are doing is asserting their rights under the Acts of the legislature for the purpose of enhancing their opportunity to acquire work for themselves and those whom they represent . . . The respondents' act of peaceful picketing is a lawful form of appeal to the public to turn its patronage from appellant to the concerns in which the welfare of the members of the unions is bound up.

' . . . It is true that disclosure of the facts of the labor dispute may be annoying to Senn even if the method and means employed in giving the publicity are inherently objectionable. But such annoyance, like that often suffered from publicity in other connections, is not an invasion of the liberty guaranteed by the Constitution.'

"Note, the great pronouncement that: 'Members of a union might, without special statutory authorization by a state, make known the facts of a labor dispute, for freedom of speech is guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.'" . . .

Sheaffer Pen Company—(1953, pp. 403, 649) Res. 33:

Whereas—The Sheaffer Pen Company of Fort Madison has been procuring from Europe and other foreign countries men who have served their apprenticeship as tool and die makers, and

Whereas—The State Department of the Federal Government has issued the necessary visas or passports to enter this country, and

Whereas—These unfortunate persons are employed at a very low rate of pay not comparable with the rate of pay for the tool and die makers in this state, and

Whereas—It is not only to the personal interest of the tool and die

makers trade that this practice be prohibited as it breaks down conditions for this said trade but it also threatens all wage standards, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, condemn such action and practice and further that the proper officers of the American Federation of Labor communicate with the proper officials of the Federal Government condemning the issuance of these visas or passports and the bringing of the people into this country for exploitation, and be it further

Resolved—That the Congress enact legislation requiring employers of new immigrants in the skilled trades to pay the prevailing union wage.

Referred to the officers of the A. F. of L. to inquire into and take such action as warranted.

Sheep Shearers, Classification—(1951, pp. 298, 302, 509) Res. 60 and 67 both protested against classification of sheep shearers as agricultural labor in departmental regulations and federal laws as well as state laws.

Shipbuilding (American Loans for Foreign Opposed)—(1947, p. 663) Res. 133, which had previously been approved by the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers, was introduced into the convention of the A. F. of L. as follows:

Whereas—It has come to our attention that federal tax monies have been loaned to foreign governments to finance shipbuilding programs for foreign account, which monies in turn are being used in such manner as to create competition between American workers and the workers of foreign nations, and

Whereas—This competition is adversely affecting the American shipyard workers, therefore, be it

Resolved—That formal protest be made to the proper authority of the

United States Government because of the use of American dollars by foreign governments to create this unfair labor competition, and be it further

Resolved—By this Sixty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the intent and purpose of the foregoing resolution be concurred in by this convention.

Your committee is in full sympathy with the objective of this resolution, but is of the opinion that when this subject is taken up by the American Federation of Labor with the proper authorities of the United States Government, that there should be included in their presentation the subject of steel and nonferrous metals now being exported to other countries from the United States, which is paid for by lend-lease or governmental loans, or otherwise, at a time when several American industries cannot produce as they could if the necessary metals could be obtained.

(1953, pp. 449, 643) Res. 138 protested practice of giving contracts for shipbuilding and repair to shipyards of foreign governments with lower standards than American workers enjoy and contained the following resolves:

Resolved—That this Seventy-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in St. Louis, Missouri, again reaffirm its position on the need of a sustained, adequate Merchant Marine, and that a shipbuilding force be maintained sufficient to act as a nucleus to meet any emergency with which our nation may be faced, and that the shipbuilding and ship repair yards be kept in a state of activity, and be it further

Resolved—That all ships built, and all new ship construction and repair work performed for the United States Government and its agencies be carried out in United States shipyards and by United States workmen, and be it further

Resolved—That when legitimate

bids have been submitted by United States shipbuilders, these bids be honored and that the possibility of bid peddling be eliminated, and be it further

Resolved—That the president of the American Federation of Labor join with the Executive Council of the Metal Trades Department in registering this request with the President of the United States, and make known by personal visit to him the necessity for maintaining a permanent merchant marine, sufficient to meet our needs for carrying our commerce and for use in connection with national defense if needed, also to advise him of the position of the Metal Trades Department and that of the American Federation of Labor in relation to obtaining bids from foreign shipyards.

(Industry Expansion Sought) — (1953, pp. 439, 654) Res. 110:

Whereas—In two previous wars, the American nation was confronted with a serious lack of shipping with which to move troops and supplies to the various battle fronts, and

Whereas—Tremendous expansion of our shipbuilding industry became immediately necessary upon our entry into those wars; billions of dollars were expended in constructing shipbuilding facilities and training personnel to operate the yards, and

Whereas—After both World War I and World War II, these tremendously expensive shipbuilding facilities were in a large part abandoned and scrapped; the skills of many thousands of workers have been dissipated and scattered into other occupations, and

Whereas—Our national government is today spending the taxpayers' money in foreign lands for the construction of seagoing vessels of various kinds while our shipbuilding industry is virtually paralyzed from neglect and lack of business; the small number of shipyard workers are idle

and invested capital is earning no return, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this Seventy-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor express vigorous disapproval of the policies being followed by all agencies of government who are in any way responsible for the conditions set forth above, and be it further

Resolved—That this convention appeal to the Congress of the United States to adopt policies and provide appropriations to maintain a healthy shipbuilding industry in this nation, capable of being expanded both as to plants and personnel in the event of a national emergency, and be it further

Resolved—That copies of this resolution be sent to all Members of both Houses of Congress, to the President of the United States, all Cabinet members and other agencies of government charged with the responsibility of securing and maintaining seagoing vessels.

(1954, p. 412) Res. 110 called for greater use of California shipyards for construction of government ships; and called for a protest against foreign shipbuilding of American ships.

Ship Subsidies—(1948, p. 166) A. F. of L. favored proposed legislation providing a subsidy for the American Merchant Marine, which meant employment in shipyards. Opposition to the proposed legislation developed on the part of those who were fearful that approval of subsidies covering shipping would cause other carriers, such as railroads, bus and plane lines, to use it as a precedent for similar requests. Legislation failed of passage.

(P. 409) Convention unanimously adopted report of E.C. and recommended that the Council "intensify efforts in this direction in the future."

Signalmen, Railroad (Reaffiliation)—(1947, p. 159) The E.C. reported the return of this organization to affiliation with the A. F. of L. on

October 6, 1946. The organization had been suspended because of a jurisdictional dispute between said brotherhood and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in 1928. It was pointed out that the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers had no objection to the signalmen becoming reaffiliated to the A. F. of L. and actually extended good wishes to the signalmen in their return to the Federation.

Skilled Workers, Shortage—(1935, pp. 53, 494) The A. F. of L. has felt much concern over a report given wide circulation in industrial centers. It is claimed by a number of employers and by an important employers' association that a shortage of skilled workers has developed in industry during the depression and is now beginning to be felt. This claim is accompanied with the suggestion that hours of work be lengthened to make up for the shortage, that immigration restrictions be relaxed, that employers engage less skilled employees (who can be had at lower rates) and train them for skilled work needed.

Knowing from our monthly trade union unemployment reports that there have been at all times during 1935 several hundred thousand skilled union mechanics available and eager for work, the A. F. of L. felt this matter should have thorough investigation. Our unemployment records show that in 1935, 325,000 skilled union craftsmen are unemployed, eager for work. With this huge reservoir of highly skilled craftsmen available and seeking employment, there can clearly be no true basis for the reported shortage of skilled workers.

It is significant also that the shortage is claimed to be chiefly in the metal working industries. This claim was given publicity through a pamphlet issued by the National Industrial Conference Board in June 1935. Since the above figures show that there is more unemployment and a

greater proportion of skilled workers available for work in metal industries than in either the printing industries or the railroads, such a claim appears particularly illogical. No shortage of skilled mechanics is reported on railroads or in printing. It appears that the metal industries which have discriminated against trade unions for many years are now concentrating on this claimed shortage.

Because of this fact, a special survey has been made among international unions and local councils in the metal-working industries. The conference board claims a shortage of skilled metal trades workers among its member firms amounting to 1,193 craftsmen at the present time, with a possible shortage of 7,767 when plants return to normal production. By actual count well over 10,000 skilled union mechanics are available for work in the same crafts and approximately the same localities where a shortage is claimed. Clearly, conference board member firms have had an ample supply of skilled labor at hand, had they been willing to employ union mechanics.

Reports have come to us showing that, where claims of a skilled labor shortage have been traced to their source, they were proved to be either without foundation or due to discrimination against union members. The International Association of Machinists reports as follows:

On numerous occasions when requests were made of the NRA for an exemption from the maximum hours provision of the code, based on the claim that skilled mechanics, etc., were not available, we have sent this information to the locality making the request, advising our members to apply for positions and report to us. In almost every instance the members of our organization, when applying for positions with firms which claimed they were unable to secure skilled workers,

were advised that no skilled men were needed.

The metal trades labor organizations brought out the following information in a hearing before General Johnson:

In the Port of New York employers claimed they could not secure skilled craftsmen in the shipbuilding industry. Our organization has canvassed the situation and had the names and addresses of more than 17,000 skilled mechanics in the various trades, all having extensive experience in the shipbuilding industry and when employers were asked what efforts they made to secure mechanics they stated they had applied to the Federal Reemployment Agency and the various agencies set up by the respective employer associations and that they had been unable to secure workmen of the type needed. They were asked if they had sought to secure skilled workers affiliated with the various labor organizations and the answer was "No." It was also developed that these same employers at this time were declining to meet duly authorized representatives of the Metal Trades Council in the Port of New York for the purpose of handling grievances and negotiating a working agreement.

Another case where a claimed shortage proved to be without foundation is cited by the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders:

Recently, the shipbuilders on the Atlantic Coast, working on government contracts, claimed that there was a shortage of skilled shipfitters and especially loftsmen. We at that time made a survey of the country and found that there were more unemployed of this classification than the total estimated possible employment as given by the shipbuilders.

A similar report comes from pattern makers in Minneapolis:

Twenty-five per cent of our members are unemployed and about 40 per cent of the non-union pattern makers are out of work or on work relief. Molders and machinists say that conditions in their trade are about the same. There has been some advertising for men in the metal trades but these ads seem to be a blind of some kind; very few have materialized into jobs.

And from pattern makers in Boston:

The Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation has recently discharged approximately 25 per cent of their journeymen pattern makers. This firm some time back reported to Washington a scarcity of pattern makers while at that very time they were refusing to accept applications from unemployed pattern makers.

Special reports were received from Metal Trades Councils in 10 cities, representing all sections of the country: East—Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Ilion, N. Y., New York City; South—Mobile; Central—Akron, Chicago, Milwaukee; West—San Francisco, Long Beach. They show the following significant facts: All councils report that there is no shortage of skilled workers. Instead, there is serious unemployment in most localities, varying from 10 to 75 per cent of the membership, the largest number reporting from 20 to 30 per cent unemployed. In all but three cities there is much discrimination against union members. Three cities report that all or nearly all employers discriminate against union members; one states that about half the employers discriminate and, in three others, there is discrimination in several large shops or intimidation through foremen on the job.

Thus it is clear that the claim of a shortage of skilled workers is being used to discriminate against trade unions and to avoid employing union mechanics.

Reports from these councils and

from other sources indicate that a shortage of skilled workers is often claimed as an excuse for lengthening work-hours or in order to avoid paying the wage scale fixed by unions for competent mechanics. In Buffalo, hours are being lengthened since NRA became ineffective. The 10 Metal Trades Councils report that the wage set for mechanics who have the skill and training necessary to equip them as journeymen union craftsmen is from 10 to 50 per cent higher than the rate for which non-union men can be hired. Many employers hire men of less skill to avoid the wage standard for truly competent work. The International Molders Union makes the following statement of conditions in Michigan:

The companies will not pay the prevailing wages and most of them are attempting to employ skilled mechanics at the wage provided for common labor in the codes and, to make this worse, they allege that they are living up to the code when doing this.

The International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders has had the following experience with a company doing contract work:

Whenever the company secured a contract, they would spread the claim over the city that there was not enough skilled labor to man the job and insist on the right to employ laborers to cover the gap, although there were men skilled at the work standing at their gates who were refused employment.

One important difficulty met by employers could be solved by a better adjustment of work schedules. In times of prosperity, an actual shortage of skilled workers is often due to the employer's failure to provide steady work for his skilled employees. A man is wanted for a month or two in the busy season but the skilled mechanic cannot afford to be idle and takes steady work outside the trade

rather than wait for these casual jobs. The pattern makers of Pittsburgh report:

The reason for any shortage of pattern makers in the Pittsburgh district, which happened once in the last 17 years, is that men who have worked at the trade have found it to fluctuate so much that it has been necessary for them to find something else to work at during the slow periods. The majority of these men are first-class mechanics. They have found that they needed a side line to follow when they do not have work at pattern making and when they are called by the association business manager for work they are not always in a position to leave on a minute's notice to accept the job at pattern making.

The Metal Trades Council of Ilion, N. Y., finds a similar situation:

When an industrial corporation desires to change the model of its products it dispenses with the services of the skilled and unskilled employees alike. Instead of retaining the skilled employees at least and taking advantage of the situation by repairing and readjusting machines for the new product the management waits until ready for the new machine to be put on the market. Then a call is issued to double the force of skilled mechanics, agreeing to give employment for only two or three months. The result is that these employees, because of their skill, have been able to obtain positions in lines of endeavor other than their trade. Even though these positions pay less per hour than their trade, they hesitate to return to their trade for the short period of time for which they will be employed. This is the actual state of affairs in Ilion at the present time and has been so in Middleton, Connecticut. Similar reports have been received from other cities.

Finally, it should be noted that an adequate employment service would assist in making contact between worker and job, as would also a greater use by employers of the trade union office as a source of skilled help. The following report from Ilion, New York, is revealing:

There are very few of the mechanics who will avail themselves of the services of the Federal Re-employment Bureau and for this reason: In a great many communities the Federal Reemployment Bureau is located in the same building with the welfare offices, sometimes using the same entrance, and a skilled mechanic does not care to be seen entering a welfare office. Indeed, in listing your name, it is practically the same as applying for relief. One is made to feel like a pauper.

To sum up: Our investigation indicates (1) that there is no shortage of skilled workers if employers are willing to employ union mechanics; (2) that the claimed shortage of skilled workers is due to discrimination against union members and is used as an excuse for lengthening hours or undercutting union rates of pay; (3) that instability of employment often forces skilled mechanics to seek work in other occupations; (4) that an adequate employment service would help to make contact between the employer seeking skilled men and the employee equipped to do the job.

Slave Labor (also see: Forced Labor)

(Boycott of)—(1950, pp. 51, 484) Res. 82:

Whereas—Irrefutable evidence has been assembled which substantiates the charge that the Soviet Union has imposed a system of slavery on helpless human beings to an extent unequalled in history and has, by its consistent refusal to permit the United Nations

or any other impartial agency to investigate the charges, confirmed its truth, and

Whereas—This system of human slavery, which constitutes the most sinister threat to human dignity, freedom and peace everywhere in the world, has been extended by the Soviet Union to the countries which have disappeared behind the Iron Curtain, and is now the foundation of the economic system which prevails in the Soviet Union and its satellites, and

Whereas—The products of many millions of workers employed in slave labor camps in Iron Curtain Countries are not only permitted to enter the democratic countries where they compete with the products of free labor but are encouraged to do so under our present foreign trade policy which extends the benefit of reciprocal trade to countries which rely on slave labor, and

Whereas—The encouragement of such imports from slave labor countries not only threatens the economic standards established in our own country by the process of free collective bargaining but also serves to make us, unwittingly, an instrument for the perpetuation and extension of this system of slavery, since our patronage of the products of slave labor helps bolster the economies of the countries which have slave labor, therefore, be it

Resolved—By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that it condemns the trafficking in the products of slave labor, and be it further

Resolved—That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and empowered to consider and adopt ways and means by which a boycott of all products made by slave labor may be made effective.

(1953, pp. 453, 667):

Whereas—As a result of the 1947 A. F. of L. Convention adopting Resolution No. 1, on "The U.N. and Slave Labor," increasing worldwide attention was given to forced labor as a growing menace to human dignity, freedom, and well-being, and

Whereas—Through this A. F. of L. initiative and subsequent activities, the U.N. finally agreed to survey this pressing problem, and

Whereas—After years of consideration of this issue, the Ad Hoc Committee of the Economic and Social Council of the U.N. has published a highly informative report bearing out the indictment made by the A. F. of L. and the ICFTU of slave labor as an organic part of the economic system behind the Iron Curtain, and

Whereas—This report, though very valuable, is far from complete in that it does not cover vast areas with huge populations suffering severely from the spread of slave labor (Communist China), and

Whereas—Though slave labor continues to be a most dangerous threat to the working and living conditions won by organized labor through many years of bitter struggle, and

Whereas—With the publication of the aforementioned Ad Hoc Committee Report, the task of this body is completed and the U.N., therefore, no longer has any special agency for dealing with this pressing problem, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the convention call upon the United States Government to instruct the American delegation to the present (Eighth Regular) Session of the United Nations General Assembly to propose and solicit support for the establishment of a Permanent Committee of the General Assembly on Forced Labor which committee is to report annually on its findings and activities in respect to this issue.

Slavery Convention Reservation—

(1929, pp. 83, 244) The Slavery Convention signed at Geneva in 1926, contained a most glaring clause favoring slavery for "public purposes."

The president of the A. F. of L. entered protest to (the) chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. The clause objected to was as follows:

It is agreed that (1) Subject to the transitional provisions laid down in paragraph (2) below, compulsory or forced labor may only be exacted for public purposes.

The Finance Committee recommended and the Senate concurred in the reservation "that the Government of the United States adhere to the convention except as to the clause quoted." This was a most important reservation. The A. F. of L. has repeatedly declared against involuntary servitude of any nature.

Slogan for A. F. of L.—(1941, p. 616) Convention approved recommendation of the committee considering a resolution submitting a slogan for the A. F. of L.: "... the American Federation of Labor should not tie itself to any slogan ..."

Slum Clearance (also see: Low Rent Housing)

(1941, p. 656) Convention unanimously adopted a statement of A. F. of L. policy on the general subject of housing for workers. The following statement was included: The permanent program of low rent housing and slum clearance is Labor's program and must not be allowed to lapse during the emergency. Its value to the nation in defense and as a means of meeting the post-war housing problem is of foremost importance. Full priority ratings must be accorded to low-rent projects to make possible their uninterrupted construction.

(1941, pp. 288, 307, 308, 652) Res. 135, 164, 165. Several resolutions were submitted on the subject of the law-rent housing and slum clearance

program, and the convention adopted the following:

... the American Federation of Labor, its Housing Committee, its local housing committees, and its affiliated organizations be directed to take all steps necessary to assure the continuation of the low-rent housing and slum clearance program of the USHA during the present emergency, and to secure from Congress additional authorization of loan funds for this purpose. . . .

Further, that the American Federation of Labor request the President of the United States to authorize the issuance of a blanket priority rating for the USHA-aided low-rent housing projects.

(1950, p. 214) In addition to the authorization of the large-scale public housing program, the Housing Act of 1949 also made possible for the first time in this country a nationwide attack on the twin problems of slum clearance and urban redevelopment. The law authorized \$1 billion in loans and \$500 million in capital grants over a five-year period to assist in carrying out local slum clearance and urban redevelopment projects. The loans were to be used to finance the cost of acquiring, clearing and preparing sites, while the grants were to help the communities to absorb the losses which represent the difference between the actual cost of the slum clearance operation and the value of the land for redevelopment purposes.

Because the slum clearance program was entirely new, it was getting under way even more slowly than public housing, but there was every evidence that it represented a very significant development in the life of our urban population. In general the same type of procedure as in public housing was being taken in each community where a slum clearance program was getting under way. By the late spring of 1950, 113 cities had

applied for reservations for federal capital grants under the program and all but six of these had ready been approved by the federal agency. Interestingly enough, they included cities in every population group from large metropolitan areas to small towns. In addition to the 113 cities which had already taken formal steps, more than 250 other cities had indicated that they were interested in participating in this program.

The changes brought about by defense mobilization will bring the slum clearance program to a halt. Obviously, we cannot tear down existing dwellings, no matter how bad they are, unless they can be replaced as quickly as possible for new houses. However, planning for slum clearance and urban redevelopment, to be resumed whenever the international situation permits, should be continued during the coming period. This planning presents a particular challenge to local union groups. Involved in this program is more than a mere endorsement of a policy which would eradicate the unsightly and unhealthy slums which mar practically every American city. Very important problems arise in considering what use will be made of the land which becomes vacant after the slums are torn down.

It is essential that slum clearance be integrated with planning for the overall development of the community. If slum clearance is regarded as an end in itself, it may contribute nothing to, or even hinder, the solution of the housing shortage. It is important, therefore, that union members in each community take an active part in planning this program to make sure that the land which is eventually cleared of unsightly slums is used for the construction of decent housing for low and middle income families; otherwise families who are forced to move out of slum dwellings at that time will either have nowhere at all to go or

will be forced to live in even worse housing conditions.

Almost as important as the question of how the cleared land is to be utilized is the question of how slum clearance can be used to help solve such important problems in urban living as traffic congestion, use of public transportation and public utilities, and lack of recreational educational and other community facilities. In each community union members should take the lead in seeing to it that planning of the slum clearance and urban redevelopment program is coordinated with intelligent long-time planning for community development.

Small Claims Court—(1937, p. 164) S. 1835 proposes to create a small claims court for the District of Columbia. Although it passed the Senate, it failed of passage in the House.

It provides that judges of the municipal court shall have exclusive jurisdiction over all cases in which the amount of the plaintiff's claim is not more than \$50 exclusive of interest, attorneys fees, protest fees and costs. The court shall have authority to settle cases by the methods of arbitration and conciliation. The judges may also act as referees or arbitrators either alone or in conjunction with other persons.

The fee for commencing an action in the small claims court shall be not more than \$1. This can be waived upon a sworn statement of the plaintiff or upon satisfactory evidence of his inability to pay such cost. The term "pauper" shall not be employed by the court.

Scores of organizations and individuals testified at Senate hearings in favor of the bill. After the bill passed the Senate, Senator Lonergan entered a motion to reconsider. This held the bill back for nearly two weeks, then at the request of a representative of the A. F. of L. Senator

King moved to lay the motion to reconsider on the table.

The bill went to the House, where Representative Palmisano, Chairman of the District of Columbia Committee, promised to report the bill favorably. The Speaker agreed to recognize a motion to consider the bill if the committee would submit a report. Chairman Palmisano, however, declined to report the bill. Every effort will be made in the next session to have the bill passed by the House.

(1938, pp. 161, 551) We reported to the 1937 Convention that a bill providing for a small claims court in the District of Columbia had passed the Senate but had failed in the House because the Chairman of the District of Columbia Committee refused to report the bill.

The bill was approved by the House in the last session of the 75th Congress and signed by the President March 5, 1938. The object of the law is to effect the speedy settlement of controversies in which the amount of the plaintiff's claim does not exceed \$50 exclusive of interest, attorneys fees and costs. No judge, officer or other employee of the Municipal Court shall receive any fee or compensation in addition to his salary for services performed in acting as referee or arbitrator.

During the first month the law was in effect 1,344 cases were filed. The greatest number of suits, 381, were for amounts ranging from \$10 to \$20. Suits ranging from \$1 to \$10 total 268. More than 300 cases were filed by plaintiffs without the aid of an attorney and of these 262 were prepared by the clerk of the court. Most of the complainants had never been in a court of law before. The \$1 fee was waived for 84 persons who were too poor to pay that amount to take their case into court.

Twenty-three judgments totaling \$7,322.46 were entered, while the total amount of claims filed was \$35,713.34.

Judge Nathan Cayton, who fought for two years for the creation of the court, declared the benefits gained for the complainants were sufficient evidence of the practicability of the Small Claims Court.

The A. F. of L. urges all central labor bodies and state federations of labor to do everything possible to create small claims courts in their localities.

Smith - Connally Bill (War Labor Disputes Act) — (1943, p. 519) The history and contents of the War Labor Disputes Act, also known as the Smith-Connally Bill, have been reported on by the Executive Council in some detail. Also, President Green caused a legal analysis to be made of it by our General Counsel, which was circulated widely soon after the passage of the bill. Therefore, your committee considers it unnecessary to discuss in detail the various provisions of this bill. Your committee does, however, desire to re-emphasize the absolute lack of need for this legislation. On the contrary, Labor's "no strike" pledge, which has contributed to the wonderful war production record of Labor, is emasculated by this Act, for under it strikes, stoppages and other interference with production are expressly authorized.

The Smith-Connally Bill was born of hatred and malice on the part of reactionary congressmen for labor. We are led to believe that some of these reactionary legislators were disappointed over labor's magnificent war production record and that they desired to pass legislation which might induce labor to violate its pledge and destroy this record. In spite of the invitation to labor to interfere with production, contained in the Smith-Connally Bill, the American Federation of Labor has reiterated its "no strike" pledge and has directed all of its affiliates to continue to comply therewith.

Your committee, however, condemns

the Smith-Connally Act and those who voted for its passage on other grounds. The Act is an insult to millions of loyal American citizens for it imputes to them an intention to interfere with the war effort. The Act also reestablishes the abhorrent and discredited doctrine of common law conspiracy in labor disputes so prevalent during the years of government by injunction. By some of its provisions it seeks to impose involuntary servitude on American citizens.

Your committee recommends vigorous condemnation of the Smith-Connally Act. It calls upon all members of the American Federation of Labor to examine the record of congressmen who voted for this Bill and to repudiate those who voted for it.

Your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor demand of Congress the immediate repeal of this outstanding insult to the workers of this nation.

Social Legislation (also see: Social Security)—(1925, p. 356) The activity of the trade union movement in support of some social legislation has consumed so much of its energies that many vital trade union legislative interests have received less attention than was essential for the wage earners' welfare and the protection of his basic rights. Therefore the A. F. of L. advises all affiliated International, Departmental, State and local bodies that while all necessary social legislation should receive adequate interest and support, that under no circumstances should interest in such legislation supersede the legitimate trade union purpose to exercise and apply the principles and policies of self-reliance and self-help which constitute one of the most valuable and vitalizing features of the American's rights to voluntary associations, so that the trade union movement through its activities will enable wage-earners to exercise a necessary control over their lives in industry through

trade union organization. The spirit of the resolution appears to be intended to check a tendency on the part of local, city central and state affiliated branches, that threatens to become dangerous. We refer to the frequent and sometimes thoughtless proposals to secure the enactment of laws governing matters that should not be made the subject of legislative enactment, but should be dealt with entirely through trade regulations. It is not the purpose or intent of this resolution to interfere with the enactment of essential and necessary laws dealing with child labor, workmen's compensation, protection of women in employment, school laws, or such social legislation as is entirely outside of trade regulation, but from time to time we find organizations giving their support to proposals which if enacted into law, and these put into effect, would inevitably weaken the structure as well as the influence of the labor union. Not only this, but as expressed in the resolution, this tendency has the effect of interfering with and superseding the "legitimate trade union purpose to exercise and apply the principle and policy of self-reliance and self-help."

Social Security (also see: listings by work classifications: Old Age and Survivors Insurance; Old Age Assistance; Unemployment Compensation; Health Insurance; Workmen's Compensation; Railroad Retirement; Blind, Aid for).

(1924, pp. 53, 290) The Portland convention endorsed the principle of old age pensions and directed that an investigation be made by the Federation to promote federal and state legislation to provide protection for industrial workers no longer able to work at their accustomed occupations.

In considering the problem of federal legislation the constitutional difficulties at once appear as prohibitive barriers. In the states old age pension

laws have been enacted for Arizona, Montana, Nevada and Pennsylvania.

In Arizona the law was declared unconstitutional because of a defect in the title and no attempt has since been made to reenact it.

In Montana and Nevada no attacks have as yet been made upon the constitutionality of the bill passed.

In Pennsylvania, however, the law was passed in the state legislature of 1923. A suit was instituted in the name of several tax paying private citizens attacking its constitutionality. The law was attacked on the ground that it violated Sections 7 and 18 of Article 3 of the Constitution of Pennsylvania as well as the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Section 18 of Article 3 of the state constitution provides as follows:

"No appropriations, except for pensions or gratuities for military services shall be made for charitable, educational or benevolent purposes, to any person or community, nor to any denominational or sectarian institution, corporation or association."

In connection with this, the old age pension law provided for the appropriation of moneys to a commission which in turn parceled the money out to those entitled under the law to receive it.

Section 7, Article 3 of the state constitution provides in part as follows:

"The general assembly shall not pass any local or special law . . . granting to any corporation, association or individual any special privilege or immunity."

The decision declaring the Pennsylvania law unconstitutional considered only technicalities and did not pass upon the fundamental principle of the law.

No effort should be spared to defend these old age pension laws against attacks. The laws represent a struggle to protect wage earners against dependence in their old age. In addition

to these state laws concerning workers in private industry pensions have been provided for employes of the federal government and for a number of state and municipal servants. It would be desirable at some opportune time to have a study made of the principles underlying these pension systems for the purpose of increasing the protection given to government employes.

Inasmuch as the legislation to provide old age pensions is likely to prove a very uncertain source of protection and as the enactment of necessary law would be expensive both as to time and money, we believe that a study ought first to be made of old age pensions as provided by companies and that results of this study should be considered in connection with insurance possibilities.

The old age pension in principle attempts to do the same thing as the policies insurance companies are writing for "assured" incomes. In essence, all forms of life insurance are a method of prolonging the income producing capacity of the individual—whether during old age or after death.

In addition some of the national and international organizations make provisions for old age benefits through their economic organization.

We, therefore, deem it advisable that the problem of old age pensions be made part of the larger problem of labor insurance upon which initial report is made to this convention. In order to give unity to our determination of policies it is necessary that we first decide upon the fundamental issue and make decisions upon related problems harmonize with our general plan of procedure.

It is evident that our trade unions must render increasing service to our membership to conform to our growing standards of industrial and social welfare, and the method of securing desired results must be given most careful and searching consideration in order that we establish agencies that

will bring dependable and constructive results.

(1927, p. 39) Provision for old age is a problem which presents itself in many relations. Old age brings lessened capacity for work and finally total disability. Either the individual must have provisions that will make him economically independent at such a time or he is dependent upon relatives or others. Every humanitarian instinct demands that persons who have done faithful work should not be allowed to suffer in old age.

Those national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. which have made provisions to care for their aged and decrepit members deserve our hearty commendation. We heartily approve such a policy and we express the hope that it may be adopted by all national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. Furthermore, we recommend a comprehensive study of all plans of old age pensions, including the insurance plan, in order that suggestions and advice may be made available for the use of the officers and members of all organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L.

(1929, p. 257) On the subject of old age pensions the A. F. of L. declares: First—that laws be enacted requiring a pension commission for every county, “pension to be at least \$300.00 annually” and that 65 be set as the age for applicants.

Second—That a model compulsory old-age pension bill be drafted by the Federation and recommended to state federations of labor and that an active campaign be inaugurated for the enactment of such laws in every state.

Third—That the general problem of old-age retirement for employees in private industry be given careful study and that an effort be made to secure the counsel and cooperation of sympathetic individuals and groups in an effort to work out constructive plans

on this subject during the coming year.

(1930, pp. 115, 338) Agitation for the protection of those who are unable to take care of themselves after they have reached the retirement age, spread throughout the nation during the past year. The demand for old age security reached Congress and for the first time in the history of that body an extensive hearing was held at the request of the A. F. of L. on the question of old age pensions.

Experts from many organizations appeared and gave conclusive evidence that those who are unable to care for themselves after reaching old age should be protected. Already ten states and one territory have enacted old age pension laws but none of them is of such a practical character that the A. F. of L. can unequivocally endorse them as model laws. The states leave it to the counties to determine whether they shall pay the pension provided for in the Act and many of the counties take no action.

During the hearings before the Labor Committee of the House of Representatives a bill was considered that would give power to the Federal Government to aid those states that pass laws in the interest of the aged. This measure provides that the Federal Government appropriate certain amounts of money which would be available to the states in an amount equal to that appropriated by each state. This bill was introduced in the Senate and was discussed in the hearing. While no bill was prepared or other action taken the hearing brought forth the necessity for such legislation.

The A. F. of L. has considered most carefully all the laws that have been enacted. It has not endorsed any of the measures thus far proposed as a standard Act. We hope to draft a measure which will be practical, constructive and adequate.

(1931, pp. 121, 412) The population

of the states enjoying old age pension protection legislation is about 42,-000,000.

The Indiana legislature passed a bill but it was vetoed by the Governor. Connecticut, Oregon, Maine and Illinois created commissions to study the question. Colorado made its optional law mandatory and reduced the pensionable age from 70 to 65 years. Wisconsin also made its optional law mandatory. Pennsylvania recommended a constitutional amendment which would ultimately make possible the payment of pensions by the state and counties. The Delaware law provides that all pensions shall be paid by the state.

The law of Maryland was amended so as to make it possible for the City of Baltimore to begin the payment of pensions under the Act of 1927. Bills passed one branch of the legislature in Arizona, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Washington. The sentiment is greatly in favor of the enactment of these laws in these states when the next sessions of the respective legislatures convene.

In the five states enacting pension laws this year only West Virginia contains the optional feature. It permits the county or city authorities to pay pensions as they may elect.

The A. F. of L., however, believes that none of the old age pension laws is entirely satisfactory. It believes that the only way to pay such pensions is through a state administrative body. Furthermore, designating relief for the aged as "pensions" have caused many members of legislatures to oppose old age pension legislation. Some also object to the cost. The A. F. of L., which has made a study of the subject for several years, believes that such legislation should be classified as "old age securities." To that end it has prepared a bill providing for old age security with its administrative direction placed under the control of elected state officers selected by the legislatures. The cost of administration

will be greatly reduced if these recommendations are adopted and old age security made mandatory.

(1932, pp. 64, 362) An old age security bill approved by the A. F. of L. was introduced in both houses of Congress.

(1933, pp. 110, 526) Twenty-five states now have old age security laws. Nineteen of these are mandatory and 6 are voluntary. Old age security bills were presented in 34 state legislatures that met in January.

An old age security bill for the District of Columbia was introduced in the 72d Congress and reintroduced in the 73d. Because of the unemployment situation and the thirst for economy the Board of Commissioners of the District opposed any consideration of such legislation at the present time. Therefore, no hearings were held in either the 72d Congress or the special session of the 73d.

Copies of the model old age security measure approved by the A. F. of L. were sent to all state federations of labor with the request that the officers have them introduced.

A federal old age security bill was introduced in both Houses in the two Congresses. It provided financial aid to states paying pensions to their aged who are in need. The committees to which they were referred favored the bills but no action was taken by either House.

While these trying years have forcefully demonstrated the need for security for those essentials upon which life itself depends, there has been comparatively little progress in establishing the means to provide security for the emergencies of living.

Wage earners want most of all security of income during their producing years and assured income for old age.

During the past year through state federations of labor and city central bodies the A. F. of L. has carried on

an aggressive campaign in behalf of the old age pension legislation. Some progress has been made but not as much as the urgency of the situation requires or as the workers hope could be recorded.

Social justice legislation providing for the payment of pensions to superannuated workers was introduced in a number of states. In some instances where legislators could not be persuaded to vote favorably for this character of legislation, they did vote for the creation of commissions to study the subject and report at some future sessions of the state legislatures. In every instance where votes were taken, even though the measures were defeated, the workers have reason for encouragement because the number of votes cast could only be interpreted as an indication of the development of favorable public opinion in support of this legislation.

It is the purpose and intention to utilize every means at the command of the A. F. of L. to continue efforts to secure the enactment of old age pension laws in the different states.

We urge as a social obligation that adequate provisions be adopted so that every producing worker may be assured, after his productive years, of an adequate income, at least equal to the income earned at the time of retirement. By providing honorably for our citizens who have served us in their prime, we shall make social and economic adjustments necessary to the maintenance of business prosperity.

(1933, p. 526) The A. F. of L. requests that every serious effort possible be made to find ways and means to force the next session of the Congress of the U.S. to enact a compulsory old age pension.

(1934, pp. 86, 543) Twenty states are still lacking old age security laws. Every effort should be made in the coming sessions of the legislatures in January to urge passage of this legislation. Bills introduced in Congress

failed of passage because the Budget Bureau objected on the ground that it was contrary to the president's economy policy. However, there is great sentiment in favor of this legislation as it has been found that poorhouses are more costly than pensions.

Further efforts will be made in the Seventy-fourth Congress to have an old age security law enacted for the District of Columbia. It would be a great financial saving to the District. Both Houses favorably reported bills in the last Congress. A filibuster prevented passage in the House.

(P. 117) Turning to the other end of the life span, we find that in October, 1933, nearly half a million persons over 65 years (477,230) were in receipt of emergency unemployment relief. This figure represents only a small proportion of the dependent aged. We have learned that relatively few of those who live beyond the producing period of life have adequate reserves to be self-supporting. A number of more or less inadequate provisions have been established for the older groups—military pensions, union old age benefits, industrial pensions, provide incomes for a portion; benevolent homes, church homes, union homes, poor houses, provide subsistence for others. Private charity and local poor relief help others. Organized society has begun to assume a social responsibility that will put provisions for the civilian aged on an honorable basis comparable with pensions for those who have given military service. The majority of those who serve society in a work capacity have even less opportunity to lay up reserves than those in the enlisted service.

The American Society for Social Security has estimated that 70 per cent of those over 65 years are dependent—receiving some type of relief compensation—a dependency that is twice that of any other group.

The dependency of the group here

is evidence that society must make provision for old age. Society has obligation to make honorable provisions for those who have worked and served but have not been able to lay by for a period of disability from age.

Old age pension laws exist in 28 states. The A. F. of L. has long advocated compensation for those past 65 years of age. We believe efforts should be concentrated on securing nationwide legislation to provide adequately for this group in the direction already suggested by state enactment, often the result of trade union efforts.

In addition to unemployment there is still another grave interference with regular income—sickness, whether due to industrial or other conditions. We should consider unemployment due to this cause in preparing a program of economic security.

The problem of medical care should be separated from the financial problem of cash benefits to compensate for loss of earnings and should be considered in connection with adequate provisions for medical care for all of society.

(P. 598) Eleven resolutions favoring social insurance ranging from unemployment insurance to health insurance were referred to the resolutions committee, which made the following report (p. 602):

The substance of these eleven resolutions are concerned with the broad subject of social insurance ranging from unemployment insurance to the more recent discussions of health insurance. The methods that are recommended differ substantially. We shall discuss first the general principles involved and then the methods proposed for carrying this plan into effect.

The Cincinnati convention in 1932 by unanimous action placed the A. F. of L. on record in favor of compulsory employment insurance. Three years before, the Toronto convention gave

an equally effective expression to the conviction on the part of this Federation that the time had arrived in American industry when it was in the interest of general welfare that provision should be made for old age pensions. Taken together with workmen's compensation this provides for the major hazards of industry. The experience of the passing months has confirmed your committee in the soundness of their declaration in favor of social insurance. Your committee therefore recommends concurrence with the intent of these several resolutions looking toward the endorsement of this proposal.

The method as proposed in these resolutions varies and in some cases is contradictory. The proposal, for example, in Resolution No. 10 for tax on labor saving machinery while of service in providing a brake on labor displacement would be wholly inadequate.

The proposal in Resolution No. 20 to secure action by the Congress of the U.S. presents difficult legal questions so far as individual states are concerned. We believe in Federal aid for such a program. We cannot concur in such a plan of national legislation.

Resolution No. 32 would separate and allocate insurance funds to each and every industry and give to Labor in each industry a "paramount voice" in its administration, while Resolution No. 91 unalterably opposes any plan of separation of insurance funds based on either companies or industries and demands a pooling of all insurance funds, State and Nation.

The plan of Resolution No. 38 to provide unlimited unemployment benefits is inconsistent with sound policies of social insurance, and is disapproved. A proposal to put the age of beneficiaries of old age pensions at 60 presents a problem in finance which while desirable as an objective is impractical at present.

The purpose of Resolution No. 76 to include maternity insurance to the list of plans for social insurance is consistent with this general philosophy and is approved. To suggest, however, that teachers who already enjoy a pension system should be included in such an insurance scheme seems to be unwise. It would be better to make such systems both sound and universal in application.

Resolution No. 101 is referred to only as the Lundeen Bill which the A. F. of L. has declined to approve heretofore, while Resolution 124 recommends House Bill 7598. While the simplicity of this later proposal may be appealing at first glance, nevertheless your committee non-concurs in the recommendation, though it agrees with that part of the resolution providing for the payment of relief on the basis of adequate living standards.

The proposal of Resolution No. 126 that there should be a "24-hour general strike on a national scale" the first week of January to focus attention on the necessity for passage of House Resolution 7598 is fantastic. It is as impossible of achievement as it is impractical as a method. We recommend non-concurrence in this resolution.

The proposal of Resolution 186 of the Executive Council Institute of Study of Health Insurance to provide for a better distribution of adequate medical services to wage earners is both sound and desirable. We recommend concurrence.

Your committee recommends the whole-hearted endorsement by this convention of the general proposals for social insurance in line with action which has already been taken by previous conventions; and of study of those other phases of social insurance upon which previous conventions have not already acted. We concur with those proposals for support of social insurance that have been set forth in the legislative program of the Federa-

tion and non-concur with methods that have been advanced which are at variance with this sound and established policy.

(1935, pp. 82, 493) The Social Security Act was approved by the President on August 14, 1935. The enactment of this law marks the beginning of an effort to eliminate for the wage earners and their families the major economic hazards of unemployment and old age dependence, as well as to safeguard the welfare of children and to provide for maternal and child health. It is also a first step toward economic stability, and more equitable distribution of the national income, the absence of which added to the suffering of the masses of our people during the depression.

While other industrial countries have long enjoyed the benefits of social security legislation, the federal government in America has broken new ground in undertaking this program. The new Act does not solve the entire problem of social security but it does provide a foundation for more comprehensive and adequate security legislation in the future. The basic principles and the extent of such future program are well indicated in the Act making it possible for the Nation to set upon its task of effectively promoting the welfare of wage earners under a sound plan, nation-wide in scope. In signing the Act, President Roosevelt said:

Today a hope of many years' standing is in large part fulfilled. The civilization of the past hundred years, with its startling industrial changes, has tended more and more to make life insecure. Young people have come to wonder what would be their lot when they came to old age. The man with a job has wondered how long the job would last.

This Social Security measure gives at least some protection to 30,000,000 of our citizens who will reap direct benefits through unemploy-

ment compensation, through old-age pensions and through increased services for the protection of children and the prevention of ill health.

We can never insure 100 per cent of the population against 100 per cent of the hazards and vicissitudes of life, but we have tried to frame a law which will give some measure of protection to the average citizen and to his family against the loss of a job and against poverty-ridden old age.

This law, too, represents a cornerstone in a structure which is being built but is by no means complete, a structure intended to lessen the force of possible future depressions, to act as a protection to future administrations of the government against the necessity of going deeply into debt to furnish relief to the needy, a law to flatten out the peaks and valleys of deflation and of inflation—in other words, a law that will take care of human needs and at the same time provide for the United States an economic structure of vastly greater soundness. . . .

If the Senate and the House of Representatives in their long and arduous session had done nothing more than pass this bill, the session would be regarded as historic for all time.

The entire program will be administered by a Social Security Board composed of three members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The members of the Board are appointed for a term of six years and not more than two of them are to belong to the same political party.

The Board is constituted as an independent agency of the government and with it rests the final responsibility for the administration of the law. In addition, the Board has the responsibility of studying the various phases of security and making recommenda-

tions with regard to the most effective methods of bringing about economic security through social insurance and with regard to legislative and administrative policy concerning old-age pensions, unemployment compensation, accident compensation and related subjects.

(P. 493) This legislation provides insurance provisions which vitally affect a number of the benefits which have been provided for many years by international unions, including unemployment and old age pensions. It is evident that if these valuable developments of our trade union movement are to be adequately protected, that amendments to the present National Security Legislation will be required. In the matter of the proportionate share of contributions to be made by labor, by industry, and by the Government, extreme care must be exercised so that the burden of cost will not be placed upon labor.

For these and other reasons the E.C. stands instructed to carefully study those provisions of the legislation which vitally affect the workers' interests, and to introduce such legislation as may be necessary to amend the law so that it will serve the laudable purposes for which it is enacted, and provide for administration which will include adequate representation of labor.

(1936, p. 146) All states and the District of Columbia are now affected in some way by the provisions of the Social Security Act passed by the 74th Congress.

The states are participating in the benefits of the Social Security Act. With the exception of Title II which provides for old-age benefits under direct federal grant and Title VI under which allotments are made to the states for public health work, participation by any state in any Title of the Act or in any part thereof is contingent on the enactment of state legisla-

tion approved by the designated authority.

(1937, p. 138) Out of a total population of 123,091,000 in 1930, 6,500,000 persons were 65 years of age or over. The ratio of older persons to total population had been rising steadily since 1860, reaching 5.4 per cent in 1930. While the life span was lengthening, the birth rate was declining—a sharp decline beginning in 1920, and restriction of immigration emphasized this tendency. As a result the ratio of those over 65 years of age to the total population which increased from 2.7 per cent to 4.7 per cent between 1860 and 1920 (an increase of 74 per cent) is expected to rise to 11.3 per cent by 1980 (an increase of 140 per cent). Unless this steadily increasing group of persons over 65 is economically independent, Society will be confronted with a very serious problem. What are the chances that these 17,000,000 persons will be able to provide an old age income for themselves?

In this connection we should note the increasing difficulties older workers have in securing employment. Testimony as to the hiring policies unfavorable to employing workers over 40 or 45 years of age accumulates and to it have been added studies in Massachusetts, Maryland, California, Pennsylvania and New York. The evidence points to developing practices which fix the hiring age limits within the ages of 20 to 40. With this contraction of the years during which good income can be earned, chances for savings decline. Of those who are employed; 71 per cent, or 19 million families with incomes of \$2,500 or less, could not possibly save enough to provide for old age. Even with development of collective bargaining it is not probable that the time is close at hand when all individuals can provide for later non-income earning years. It is obvious society must make provisions.

Under the Social Security Act there

are two kinds of old age provisions: Old age assistance for the needy and Federal old age benefits.

(P. 143) Under the offer of exemption from paying nine-tenths of the Federal excise tax for unemployment compensation when payments are made to a state plan, 48 states, two territories and the District of Columbia have unemployment compensation laws, covering 21,000,000 workers. As the Social Security Board has practically no authority to require that state laws conform to prescribed standards, there are wide differences between the laws in the various states. The Board prepared two model bills, one based on the reserves fund principle, and the other on the state pooled fund principle which have served as guides in drafting state laws.

Under the pooled fund principle, all contributions go into a common fund which is available for benefits to all eligible applicants. By pooling the risks, all employees have a better chance to get compensation. Under the separate employers reserves principle, each firm's reserve is available for its employees only. The solvency of each account becomes more questionable and the security for employees more uncertain.

(P. 150) Wages are the base upon which social security revenues are collected and benefits are paid. Both employers and employees pay a percentage of wages into the old age benefit fund. Employers of 8 or more must pay another percentage of wages as Federal taxes if they are not paying the same amount into state employment compensation funds.

For purposes of unemployment compensation wages means all remuneration for employment, whether payable in money or something other than money.

For the purposes of old age benefit contributions, the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Treasury defines wages

as "all remuneration for employment including the cash value of all remuneration paid in any other medium than cash; except that such term shall not include more than \$3,000 of the remuneration paid by a single employer during a calendar year. This means that if an individual works for several employers, each of whom pay him less than \$3,000, the tax will be calculated upon the full amount paid by each employer even though the total received during the year amounts to more than \$3,000.

Tips or gratuities paid directly to an employee by a customer of the employer and not in any way accounted for by the employee to the employer are not counted as wages under Federal ruling. Reimbursement for travel and other expenses which constitute payment for expenses actually incurred and accounted for to the employer are not included in wages. Other items included as wages are dismissal wage, traveling and other expenses in excess of reimbursement for actual expense accounted for to the employer.

Premiums on life insurance paid by employer covering the life of the employee constitute wages if the employer is not the beneficiary. However, premiums paid by an employer on policies of group life insurance covering the lives of his employees are not wages if the employee has no option to take the amount of the premiums instead of accepting insurance and has no equity in the policy.

Amounts deducted from the remuneration of an employee by an employer constitute wages paid to the employee at the time of such deductions. Payments by an employer into stock, bonus, pensions or profit sharing funds constitute wages if such payments inure to the exclusive benefit of the employee and may be drawn by the employee at any time or upon resignation or dismissal or if the contract of employment requires such

payments as part of the compensation.

Bonuses, prizes and commissions constitute wages if paid by an employer to his employee as compensation for employment. Board, rent, housing, lodging and other remuneration not in cash may also constitute wages. The medium in which the remuneration is paid is immaterial. It may be something other than cash, such as goods, lodging, food and clothing. Payment of vacation allowance to an employee constitutes wages.

(P. 154) The adoption of the Social Security Act, with all its desirable and practical features, was secured through the influence and support of the A. F. of L. The constant earnest and sincere appeals of the executive officers of the A. F. of L., State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies, local organizations, and the individual membership of organized labor, were centered upon members of Congress. The concentrated and unanimous demand made upon Congress for the enactment of this measure by the organized workers of the nation and their friends so influenced the members of Congress in favor of the measure as to make its enactment into law an assured fact.

The Social Security Act in its present form is far from perfect and for that reason should be amended so as to conform to the needs of the existing social and economic situation existing within the United States. For that reason the A. F. of L. makes the following specific recommendations:

First, that the Social Security Act be amended so as to provide coverage for agricultural workers, and that said coverage shall apply to all employees in work-shops, mills, mines and factories.

Second, that exemption of those engaged in legitimate strikes be stricken from the measure. It is the opinion that all who may be forced to engage

in legitimate strikes should be covered by the provisions of the Social Security Act.

Third, that within five years after taxes to be used in financing the Social Security Act are ordered paid, that Old Age Pensions of not less than \$30 per month be paid to those who come within the scope and provisions of the Act.

Fourth, that in the different states where employees are required through the imposition of a tax to contribute toward unemployment insurance, said tax provisions be repealed. We maintain that the entire cost for unemployment insurance should be borne by industry. Workers who are the victims of unemployment should not be required to contribute out of their net earnings into unemployment insurance funds.

(P. 451) The E.C. was directed to submit legislation in Congress providing for including cemetery workers in the Social Security Act.

(1938, pp. 140, 454) The administration of the Social Security Act now enters its fourth year. With the signing of this Act on August 15, 1935, a very complicated piece of administrative machinery went into effect. Its provisions were understood by very few persons and the implications of those provisions by still fewer. The Act made a wide variety of appropriations for groups without opportunity to earn regular incomes. Part of these appropriations are of the nature of relief and part of the nature of insurance. Those which come under the relief category are old age assistance for the needy; grants for dependent children, for maternal and child welfare; grants for aid to blind; those under the insurance category are unemployment compensation and old age benefits. In addition, grants for administrative expenses are made to the U.S. Public Health Service and the Office of Education and for state unemployment compensation.

Up to July 31, 1938, taxes collected under Title VIII (Old age benefits) totalled \$737,526,539, paid by 38,265,000 employees and 1,757,000 employers. Benefit payments from the Old Age Reserve account amounted to \$6,210,545. Interest on the Reserve totalled \$17,674,043. The Reserve account stood at \$1,136,463,498.

Under Title IX (unemployment compensation) on July 31, the states had deposited into the Unemployment Trust Fund \$1,093,707,194 from which \$227,945,000 had been withdrawn between February 1, 1936, and July 3, 1938. The balance of the fund was \$883,763,099.

The enactment of the Social Security Act was undoubtedly one of the greatest social achievements in the history of this country. The provisions of the Act lessen the fear and insecurity of millions of families but they by no means usher in Utopia or undermine the initiative or self-dependence of workers. Establishment of provisions for social security as a public policy gives a foundation upon which to mold provisions providing the kind of security we want. Experience of three years indicates the need for a number of changes: first, separate the functions and services of an insurance nature from those providing public assistance, and placed under separate administration. The former, which involves rights of workers, should be under the Department of Labor. The latter should be included in our program for public welfare which should be a permanent service of the Federal Government. It is neither intelligent nor economical to leave relief to emergency planning, a regularly recurring and urgent need which we know no way to escape.

However, our plans for any one type of emergency that undermines social security must be coordinated with the whole social security program. Benefits for those without jobs must be determined with full knowledge of re-

lief provisions and must be made in the light of such social security provisions as aid for the aged, the chronic invalids, those temporarily incapacitated by illness. Where pensions or relief exist for those in need due to constantly recurring causes, the problem of emergency relief becomes much more simple.

Labor believes that every person who leads a useful constructive life has a right to security after passing the prime of productive service. Old age with its accumulated wisdom and experience has an indispensable contribution to make to active generations and deserves the respect and consideration which can only follow economic independence. Labor, therefore, believes our goal should be incomes for all sixty years of age if income earning decline begins at that age and insurance for all at sixty-five.

At present we have two systems: old age pensions for the needy and benefits of an insurance nature for the self-supporting. The pension plan provides for Federal subsidies for state plans. The payments vary widely from state to state: in Alabama the average monthly payment was \$10.17; in Arkansas, \$9.12; in California, \$32.30; in Kentucky, \$9.36; in Mississippi, \$4.74; in New York, \$23.68; in Massachusetts, \$27.78; in Utah, \$25.37, etc. The total amount distributed to 1,686,209 persons in the month of May was \$32,477,009.

Under the federal plan for old-age benefits of an insurance nature only lump sum payments are to be paid prior to 1942. That is, the equities of persons reaching 65 years of age or dying before 1942 will be in proportion to payment and not real insurance. According to existing plans contributions into the old age reserve are accumulating funds to pay future workers more adequate monthly payment.

In the meanwhile contributions are being paid into the Federal Old Age

Reserves which on July 31 totalled \$737,526,539. This reserve is intended to increase for a number of years. Obviously it must have an effect upon our federal financial policies. Workers question the wisdom of contributions from their small earnings to forestall borrowing by the Federal Government.

We believe that monthly payments should begin immediately instead of putting upon workers of today the burden of providing for those of future generations.

We believe that the coverage of old age benefits should be widened to include all employed persons including the self-employed.

We believe exemptions from payment of taxes should be repealed with exception of services in the direct employ of the United States and state governments.

The use of a stamp system for collections would facilitate collections from isolated groups while the self-employed could include payments in income taxes.

During the past year the president of the A. F. of L. has urged the Collector of Internal Revenue to implement that portion of the bureau's regulations which requires: "At the time each payment of wages is made to an employee, his employer shall furnish a written statement to the employee showing the amount of employee's tax deducted from such wages." By specifying the form of such statement to be furnished employees the collector would require a statement that would serve as evidence of rights in Old Age Benefits.

Our president pointed out that in making such deductions for the Federal Government for the benefit of his employees, each employer was serving a function which is essentially fiduciary—that of a trustee. The Collector of Revenue has so far refused to act, claiming that what constitutes evidence of claims is to be determined

by the Social Security Board. However, it is quite possible for two government agencies to agree upon a plan of procedure. We should also consider the practicability of authorizing the Social Security Board to collect its own taxes as is the general practice of these countries.

The Social Security Board is now ready to give every person registered for old age benefits a statement of his or her credits for the year 1937. Errors or inaccuracies can thus be checked. It is important that every worker keep his own records of employers for whom he worked and wages received so that he may be in a position to check his record when available. When the Collector of Internal Revenue requires employers to supply employees with receipts for all taxes deducted from wage payments, the requirement will facilitate checking the annual record which the Social Security Board will make available.

Beginning with January 1938, 22 states joined Wisconsin in the payment of benefits to qualified unemployed persons. Wisconsin has been paying since July, 1936. By January 1939 all of the states will be paying benefits except Illinois and Montana which will begin paying with July 1939.

Experience in those states that that have been paying unemployment benefits demonstrates need for immediate amendments of the basic law.

First: We must have a national system of compensation for loss of work—work insurance. The workers of this country are employed by industries organized nationally or dependent on markets organized nationally which in turn flow into world markets and commerce. The causes of unemployment are not within an industry or a locality, but are national and international in scope. Our plans for security of workers should, therefore, cover the largest area pos-

sible in order to assure equity through uniformity, simplicity and economical administration. A state boundary means nothing in business organization and employment. Workers must follow jobs and the administration of their rights should be just as flexible.

The A. F. of L. never approved or concurred in the principle of state tax credits with no control over state standards. By repealing provisions for tax credits for state tax payments the federal tax would become the source of revenue. Ninety per cent of the tax should go into unemployment reserves to be allocated to the states; 10 per cent into the general fund for administrative expenses. The unemployment provision of a federal law should be inserted in Title IX. Existing state administrations should become units in administrative machinery under federal law.

During the first half of 1938, unemployment compensation put \$180,000,000 into the hands of the workers without jobs. Such an amount has obviously helped to sustain service industries and those producing consumer goods, but it falls into insignificance in comparison with payments of \$1,532,984,000 for direct relief. Unemployment compensation is not intended to replace relief but when properly developed will protect many self-dependent persons from the humiliation of going on relief. During the past year our office has had many letters asking how workers could transfer from relief to benefit status where benefits awaited them but for which a three, four or five week waiting period must be weathered before checks arrived. Also checks could not be depended upon to arrive regularly as long as eligibility continued. The administrative machinery was too new and complicated. Many workers have stayed on relief jobs rather than make the change because benefits were lower than relief payments and less dependable. Some states arranged re-

lief for workers serving a waiting period of two, three or four weeks and then waiting through the next week which was compensable and until such time as claims were allowed and check sent. Such relief arrangements were conditioned on signing a statement to repay out of benefits when received—thus drastically reducing the margins for living standards. This is in sharp contrast to English practice. England has a waiting period of one week which may be reduced to three days.

Workers everywhere say that unemployment compensation would be more satisfactory if checks could come on time and regularly thereafter. But due to complicated records and dependence upon these records even in those states where administration is best checks are sent from three weeks to three months after eligibility is established. This means that workers must live on savings or use capital investments, relief or charity. Unemployment compensation is intended to prevent this result—not to encourage or maintain it. Unemployment benefits are to provide security—not to undermine the results of industry and thrift before aid is available.

Under present law a worker's claims to benefits involve wage record keeping by the employer and requisite reporting with the social security number of the worker. Mistakes or omissions in any of the possible details by the employer or within the administrative machinery may result in delays or invalidation of claims. A less complicated law such as we recommend would eliminate some of the causes of delay.

On the other hand it is imperative that social security be kept out of partisan politics. The first step in this direction is civil service requirement for personnel including experts.

....
The meaning of any law develops through administration. In deter-

mining the eligibility of persons making claims for benefits administrators determine whether persons leave work voluntarily for a good cause; whether they were discharged for misconduct—that is, what constitutes misconduct; whether they failed to accept suitable work—that is, what is suitable work for each claimant; whether positions refused existed because of strike, lockout or other labor disputes, etc. These illustrations show how administrative decisions may concern union policies and principles. When decisions are unfair the claimant has the right of appeal.

Obviously the workers affected may not be in a position to realize the consequences of an unfair decision or may not be able to make presentation of case with arguments if they should make appeal. They are more concerned with finding some source of immediate income than with establishing sound principles for the administration of unemployment compensation. But all workers are affected by precedents established through such decision. Workers in other countries have found it desirable to establish a division in their national headquarters to serve unions and individuals concerned with getting favorable decisions and for the purpose of accumulating the necessary technical information to protect and advance the interests and rights of workers under social security.

The problem of service for wage earners in this field is much more important and complicated in this country than in most other countries because of the area and numbers covered, the difficulties of federal-state jurisdictions, and the differences between the laws of the various states and other jurisdictions. Only by some central clearing agency concentrating in this field and promoting exchange of information and experience can we develop any unity in policy and procedure with reference to social security issues. Even with simplification

of law in this field a central service with a research agency is necessary for the protection of workers by the interpretation of social security legislation in the light of rights of workers.

(1939, pp. 118, 234) H.R. 6635 (Public No. 379), revamping important features of the Social Security Act, passed the House on June 10th, and the Senate on July 13th. The conference on disagreements between the House and Senate did not agree until August 4th, the day before adjournment. The conference report was then promptly ratified.

The principal point of disagreement was the Senate amendment which provided that the Federal Government shall pay two-thirds of old age assistance benefits up to the first \$15 per month. The Senate finally receded on this point.

H.R. 6635, as enacted, maintains the 1% old age pension tax rate for employers and employees for the next three years. It provides that only the first \$3,000 of an employee's annual salary may be taxed for unemployment compensation insurance. It advances the date for old age pension payments to January 1, 1940, and provides pensions for widows, orphans, etc., and grants more liberal benefits for those who reach the age of 65 in the early years of the system. It adds approximately a million persons to those covered by the Social Security law.

Finally, it provides that the Federal Government shall pay to the states on a 50-50 basis up to \$20 per month for old age assistance. The present limit is \$15.

(P. 432) The A. F. of L. hereby memorializes the President and Congress to enact the recommendation of the U.S. Social Security Administration regarding the proposed extension of old-age insurance to include agricultural workers into law.

(Amendments)

Numerous resolutions were introduced in the annual conventions of the A. F. of L. calling for wider coverage under OASI, and increasing benefits thereunder. The general policy of the A. F. of L. was to secure complete coverage of all workers under OASI who were not participating in separate pension plans, such as the fire fighters, government employees, etc., who requested specific exemption from social security. The A. F. of L. advocates a soundly financed OASI, and approves of increasing contributions thereto by both workers and employers as the need is indicated, with increased benefits to beneficiaries as may be possible under a financially safe OASI program.

(Labor's Program)

(1939, p. 196) Social Security is peculiarly Labor's program. We must be prepared to present and urge the interests of workers in every division of the program before it takes final shape as well as watching its operation and proposing needed amendments. In both national and state legislative sessions the American Federation of Labor must help defend the rights of workers against the anti-labor sentiment which has manifested itself in proposals designed to hamper unions and reduce the security already won.

(P. 631) Until benefits are payable under social security legislation it is hard to evaluate the measure. The Report of the Executive Council informs us that the Federal Government appropriated \$714,700,000 for the fiscal year 1938-39 for purposes provided in the Social Security Act. The Executive Council also lists the following types of beneficiaries under the law: dependent aged, dependent children, the blind, those without jobs accustomed to be self-supporting, crippled children, as well as maternal and child health services and pub-

lic health work. Obviously we have at least made a beginning to assuring some degree of security against emergencies. As the Executive Council points out, there is no provision for disability whether temporary or permanent except that afforded under state compensation laws for injury of an industrial origin.

An important administrative change follows from an amendment to the federal law adopted in the last session of Congress requiring that personnel receiving and spending federal funds must be on a civil service basis—chosen for merit, not for political reasons.

(Armed Forces, Rights of Workers)

(1940, p. 529) Convention unanimously adopted following program of needed legislation to protect the social security rights of workers while in the armed forces:

Resolved—That this convention of the American Federation of Labor urge upon the respective legislative bodies charged with the responsibility of making such provision the enactment of legislation along the following lines:

1. Securing to employees who have entered the military service of the United States the continuation without impairment of all benefit rights after their discharge from the service, as provided for in the Social Security Act and the State Unemployment Insurance laws;

2. Extending to all persons who, under the national defense program, have found employment in government enterprises, such as navy yards, arsenals, etc., the same rights to which they are now entitled under old age, survivors' and unemployment insurance systems;

3. Providing adequate protection to the dependents of those serving in the armed forces of the nation during such service and in the case of death occurring in the course of, or as a result of, such service;

4. Granting to soldiers who have been honorably discharged adequate support until such time as in the normal course of events they can re-establish themselves in civilian life.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and adequate action.

(Pp. 113-14, 563) Progress report prepared for convention on administration of Social Security Law commended. Attention was called, however, to the urgent need for broadening of the provisions of the law, and the importance of such amendments of the law to our nation as a whole.

In the face of the present world crisis it is even more necessary that we raise the standards of living and the degree of security enjoyed by the people of this country. Democracy can resist any attack if it successfully establishes the way of life its people prefer to any other. Opportunity for employment at fair wages, and social protection for those who are unable to work or are unemployed through no personal fault, are essentials of such a way of life. We must expand and improve the whole program of social security to deal fairly with all wage earners. In his statement reviewing the first five years, the chairman of the Social Security Board said: "There will be no retreat for social security as the result of the defense program." Labor endorses this statement and goes beyond it. As a part of the defense program there must be advance in the security of family standards which will reinforce and strengthen our nation in its complete defense against military and economic attacks on the American way of life.

(P. 563) Defense of our country demands that we strengthen the morale of wage earners and their families by fair treatment and protection against wage loss from all hazards beyond the workers' control.

This is a time in which social insurance should be extended to millions of workers now excluded, and broadened to cover hazards against which the worker has no safeguard.

(Pp. 353-56) Several resolutions directing the A. F. of L. to work for extension of the Social Security Act to certain groups were introduced into the convention and referred to the Committee on Resolutions. In lieu of the proposed resolutions, the convention adopted the following drafted by the committee:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor cause to be presented to the new 77th Congress of the United States a bill embodying the following principles:

1. Permissive legislation for the extension of social security coverage to state and local government employes not now participating in any existing annuity benefit or retirement system.

2. Providing exemptions for any employe of a state or of any political subdivision or instrumentality thereof who is a contributor to, or a participant in, any pension fund, relief fund, or retirement fund created by virtue of any legislative enactment of a state, by municipal charter or by ordinance of any political subdivision or instrumentality of a state, provided, however, that such exemption and exclusion shall terminate if such employe becomes separated from the public service, or if such pension fund ceases operation.

(P. 355) In addition to the above "Resolve" the convention also approved the following statement of policy presented by the Committee on Resolutions:

The Committee on Resolutions further recommends that the Committee on Legislation take action in conformity with this action so far as the public employes are concerned in Resolution 134.

Pursuant to a conference held on

October 23, 1940, the representatives of organizations of government employes affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, submitted the following views:

The United States Civil Service Retirement law is the fruit of the labors of the organizations of government employes affiliated with the American Federation of Labor over the last 40 years. The Joint Conference on Retirement, which is composed entirely of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has been recognized for more than 20 years as the official spokesman of the government employes on the subject of retirement.

The first U.S. Civil Service Retirement Law was enacted May 22, 1920, and became effective on August 1st of that year. It has been amended numerous times and several major improvements over the first law have been secured. The coverage of the law has been extended from time to time also. It now embraces all employes of the United States Government who are in the classified civil service (with certain specified exceptions of groups that are provided for in other retirement systems) and certain other specified groups who are not in the classified civil service.

The law provides also that any employes or groups of employes who are brought within the classified civil service, by legislative enactment or by Executive Order, shall be included within the purview of the USCS Retirement Law. There is also a provision that it may be extended by Executive Order, upon recommendation of the Civil Service Commission, to any employe or group in the civil service of the United States not included at the time of its passage.

The organizations of government employes affiliated with the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor believe that the extension of the Social Security Law to include any group of United States Government employees would be a serious menace to the future welfare of the U.S. Civil Service Retirement systems. There is now agitation to include some groups of government employees within the purview of the Social Security Act. The extension of the Act to those groups would serve as a precedent to include other groups and to equalize the benefits to the disadvantage of employees within the purview of the U.S. Civil Service Retirement system or other existing retirement systems.

In our desire to extend the benefits of old-age security to all government employees we call attention to the fact that the provisions of the U.S. Civil Service Retirement Law now permit of its extension to all such employees by Executive Order. However, if the authority to so extend it is not exercised such extension to all government employees should be made by legislation amending the U.S. Civil Service Retirement Law and not by extension of the coverage of the Social Security Law to government employees.

Submitted in behalf of the Joint Conference on Retirement, representing over 300,000 United States Government employees affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security finds itself in agreement with the foregoing views.

In view of the foregoing agreements, your Committee on Resolutions recommends concurrence in the foregoing views as the expressions of the convention.

(Social Security Committee)

(1940, p. 129) In its regular report

to the convention, the E.C. submitted comprehensive report on general subject of social security and outlined work of A. F. of L. Social Security Committee. In addition to reporting on preparation and publication of authorized booklet to assist wage earners to keep record of their earnings and other necessary information to determine their social security benefits, the A. F. of L. committee reported on its work toward extending coverage of the Social Security Act.

The Executive Council expects the Committee on Social Security to continue its study of the operation of the Act and to recommend additional amendments to broaden coverage and improve it in other ways as rapidly as it appears feasible to make the changes. We particularly recommend that the Committee on Social Security continue its study on problems of health and disability insurance, and methods of coordinating the various parts of our social insurance program into a system which functions efficiently to furnish a reasonable minimum of protection against all types of hazards which cut off earnings for individuals and families whose incomes are insufficient to permit them to achieve security individually. We expect our Social Security Committee to study the development of national defense plans and make such recommendations as are necessary to prevent any backward steps in the social program achieved and in prospect. The morale of the nation depends on fair treatment of the wage earners and their families. It must not be weakened by shortsighted neglect of a sound program of social insurance to supplement the even more important drive to provide jobs at reasonable wages for all persons who are seeking and able to work.

(P. 563) Defense of our country demands that we strengthen the morale of wage earners and their families by fair treatment and protection

against wage loss from all hazards beyond the workers' control. This is a time in which social insurance should be extended to millions of workers now excluded, and broadened to cover hazards against which the worker now has no safeguard.

(Federal Grants for Industrial Hygiene Programs) (1941, pp. 369, 623)

A resolution was submitted to the convention that the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled recommends any necessary change in either administrative policy, or in the terms of the Social Security Act to the end that federal grants for industrial hygiene programs be made available to state labor departments which now carry on such activities or deserve to do so.

This resolution was referred to the Social Security Committee of the A. F. of L.

(Pp. 116, 625) A comprehensive report on the Federal Social Security program was presented to the convention by the Executive Council, and the following program was adopted:

The sharp changes and upheavals that characterize the present decade indicate how little permanence may be expected in material things or in personal relationships. We cannot count with confidence upon the following of any normal course of development or achieving the material or business ends we desire from a lifetime of work. Because we cannot count upon steady income from work or investments we look to some other sources for a measure of security against the emergencies that life now holds in increasing frequency. Our social security program has come to occupy a key position in the plans for millions of citizens of the United States. It is the provision for the emergencies of the present and future to which we can anchor with a feeling of definite security. Personal plans and efforts may fail us but as

long as our government maintains, we shall not have to face emergencies barehanded.

Our system is yet very new and has not entirely rid itself of certain limiting provisions that represent the legislative compromises necessary for the inauguration of a new policy. Now that social security provisions and their administrative machinery have been integrated with the National Defense Administration, a still greater degree of national welfare depends upon extending the scope and raising the standards and range of benefits paid during emergencies which interfere with normal income earning.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the following amendments to the Social Security Act in this portion of the Executive Council's Report:

A single pooled fund out of which shall be paid all social security benefits.

Present old age and survivors insurance shall be extended to agricultural workers, domestic workers, lay employees of religious, educational and charitable institutions, with permissive provisions for coverage of state and municipal employees not protected by existing public retirement programs.

A sound national employment service decentralized for administrative functions.

A national system of unemployment compensation.

Benefits for both permanent and temporary disability with additional cash benefits for medical care and hospitalization for workers and their dependents.

Federal contributions to state provisions for the needy aged should be on a variable basis that would protect aged persons of poorer states against inadequate payment due to smaller wealth within their states.

Drastic and widespread changes in industry and policies and orders of the Federal Government have resulted in nationwide migrations of wage earners looking for work in a national labor market, unemployment in the post-war days will be as now a national problem for which national relief measures must be developed. Both the agency which seeks to find jobs for the unemployed and the money benefits for those for whom jobs cannot be found must be nationwide and uniform so that equitable treatment can be assured to all. Against future emergencies employers and workers should jointly contribute to this general fund which is to provide income for the workers' families when events beyond their control deny workers an opportunity to work—old age, premature death, temporary and permanent disability with additional payments to cover medical and hospital costs when needed.

We believe that the development of a comprehensive social security system and expansion of its coverage will provide a foundation for sustained national morale and at the same time create an investment in human conservation that will materially counterbalance inflationary tendencies. We are strengthened in our conviction that social security is a basic conservation measure by the action of Great Britain in enlarging and improving her social insurance program after months of warfare.

(1942, p. 166) Pursuant to avowed objectives, the A. F. of L. continued to press for desired amendments to the Social Security Law.

H.R. 7534, sponsored by the American Federation of Labor on September 9, 1942, proposes to enact into law amendments to the Social Security Act in accord with principles recommended by the Federation Convention; changes recommended by President Roosevelt to Congress and supported by conclusions reached as

a result of studies of the Social Security Act. They are intended to strengthen the social security system financially, increase and extend the coverage of benefits, provide family benefits, nationalize the U.S. Employment Service and unemployment compensation, and raise standards of unemployment compensation. A summary of the changes follows:

The Federal Old Age and Survivors' Insurance and permanent disability insurance system is extended to include permanent disability benefits when disability is not due to work injury. Mothers' current insurance is created in the system, with benefits for wives under 60 responsible for care of eligible children. Raises the benefit amount of old age and disability and reduces the eligibility of women from 65 to 60.

Federal Old Age, Survivors' and Disability Insurance is extended to agricultural and domestic workers, lay-employees of religious, educational and charitable organizations, fishermen in boats of less than 10 tons.

Sets up a national system of unemployment compensation and nationalizes the U.S. Employment Service to provide equal protection and service for all workers with a maximum 26 weeks' duration, with one week waiting period, and with weekly benefits ranging from a minimum of \$5 to \$16 for the worker, and additional allowances for dependents.

Provides maternity benefits for employed mothers. The same benefits are provided for temporary disability not due to industrial injury. Sets up a system of hospitalization benefits.

Provides a system of unemployment compensation allowances to be paid to soldiers upon termination of military service.

Contributions of employees to be increased by three per cent, thus equalizing contributions in 1949, both employers and employees contributing

six per cent. All funds to be maintained in a Federal Social Insurance Trust Fund, to be held by the Secretary of the Treasury, who is the Managing Trustee for the Board of Trustees to be composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Labor and the Chairman of the Social Security Board.

(P. 607) In view of the importance and far-reaching effect of the proposed changes, and also in view of the fact that the bill does not meet with approval of all organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, this committee recommends that the entire matter be referred to the Committee on Social Security of the American Federation of Labor with instructions that previous to the introduction of legislation to amend the Social Security Act, all organizations whose memberships may be affected, either beneficially or adversely, be consulted.

(P. 77) The inadequacy of the existing Social Security Law to meet the needs of both during the war and post-war periods was outlined by the E.C. in its report to the 1942 Convention. The report stated in part:

In normal times social security can meet the need, but in times of great emergencies such as we are passing through, there is grave apprehension lest our system may not be adequate for the load it will have to carry. At present employment demands are so large and so urgent that the number of those on the national work force in both military and civilian occupations is between 58 and 59 millions. As our manpower has been taken by the military forces, older men and women have been called to take their places and to fill new jobs. Each year that the war continues, the military will require more men, and more of our normal reserves will have to carry on civilian work. This means that a larger percentage of our population will be members of the work

force and directly concerned with social security provisions, paying contributions into it and looking to it for benefits to tide over emergencies. The greater the number of people on war work, the greater will be the post-war readjustment and unemployment. It is of utmost importance that during this period of peak employment, we make ample provision to provide benefits for the transition to a peace-time economy. Not only is this course wise planning for wage earners, but it is equally a prudent and constructive policy for business and for the government. For business, an expansion and strengthening of the social security system now means the accumulation of reserves for meeting future obligations which would otherwise require post-war taxation, and will assure consumer buying power during emergencies. For government, it means larger reserves which when invested in federal bonds become available for current use, and by increasing current savings inflationary forces are proportionately decreased. For the workers, it means the provision of insurance as a right while there is time to accumulate reserves to assure payment of that insurance.

Obviously this is the crucial time for revising our social security system to enable it to meet needs of workers in a period when emergencies will be cataclysmic in sharpness and in scope. Now is the time to set up an adequate and coordinated system capable of meeting the problems of post-war transition and peace-time production.

(P. 519) A number of resolutions were considered calling for desired amendments to the social security law. The convention committee considered these in connection with the section of the Report of the Executive Council under the caption **SOCIAL SECURITY**. The following was unanimously adopted:

The Executive Council emphatically points out that now is the time to revise and expand our social security system so that it shall be adequate to the needs of the workers now and in the post-war emergencies. Wage earners have practically never been able to accumulate savings and investments to tide them over serious emergencies that interrupt wage earning. Workers look to current income to maintain customary standards of living. Social insurance is the one method by which workers can accumulate equities that will provide income to save them from dependency and doles. This period of peak employment and enforced deductions in civilian production is especially favorable for increasing our contributions to insurance that will provide us with future benefits.

The Federation proposed therefore a national social insurance system to provide income for those unable to work because of permanent physical disability, whether that disability be due to old age, or permanent physical disablement, or because of unemployment due to loss of employment or short-time sickness. Workers with a dependable income even when not large can face emergencies without fear of dependency. By pooling funds and pooling risks over the widest base, the largest benefits can be most surely provided.

Old age insurance has been developing satisfactorily. The Federation has recommended that coverage now be extended. Increased contributions should go into effect as provided in the Social Security Act.

In the field of unemployment compensation, the situation is most disturbing and chaotic. At a time when control over industry is centralized at the capitol but when war industries are expanding and civilian industries contracting, total employment is at a new high, rates for unemployment insurance have been reduced by tricky

experience rating devices. Instead of accumulating funds to tide workers over the period of transition to peace-time, basic insurance principles are defied in order to grant favors to some employers. We are entering upon that war period when workers will be expected to shift readily from industry to industry and locality to locality and yet their equities in unemployment insurance have been tied to localities. Benefit amounts paid are too small and paid for too short periods under practically all the 51 laws. Too many workers have exhausted their benefit rights before they found jobs, and in emergency unemployment practically all would meet this fate unless benefits were extended as a relief measure.

Such a basic social justice right as the accumulation of equities in unemployment insurance should be uniform throughout the nation and underwritten by our Federal Government. The Federal Government which already assures wage earners old age and survivors insurance, the right to organize, basic minimum wage and maximum hours, financial assistance for housing, as well as the rights and privileges of citizenship, should round out its guarantees of basic social justice by equal and adequate unemployment and disability insurance to all wage earners.

In addition the Federal Government should make provisions for maintaining the old age insurance equities of workers now in the armed service and should finance unemployment benefits to be paid demobilized soldiers pending their hunt for jobs. This security should be administered by the Social Security Board.

We urge concurrence in the Executive Council report and recommendations as the first step in Labor's post-war planning and a provision necessary to assure purchasing power upon which business and recovery will depend.

We urge the Federation to initiate an educational campaign to acquaint organizations with the seriousness of the present situation and with remedial proposals.

It is our information that the President intends to submit recommendations on social security to Congress as soon as the tax bill is passed. We must be ready and informed to take advantage of that opportunity to secure the greatest possible social insurance and so protect wage earners against situations that have wrecked valuable and honorable men and women. We urge that legislation on this be made the paramount legislative objective in the coming year.

(1943, p. 8) In keynote speech to the convention the president of the A. F. of L. said:

"The great problems we face are twofold—domestic and foreign.

"In our own country after the war we will face the supreme challenge of making good the pledge to abolish fear of want in America. This is the first duty of industry, of Labor and of the government. It can be fulfilled by the launching of a vast peace-time production drive which will provide jobs for all and by the enactment of broad social security legislation which will provide economic insurance for the masses of the American people."

(1943, pp. 53, 80, 524-525) The convention directed that the Committee on Social Security work out with President Green a program for mobilizing labor action nationally in support of this measure as well as to provide the necessary assistance in presenting Labor's desire for this resolution.

(Pp. 80, 340) This section of the E.C. Report presented an analysis of a legislative proposal to amend the Social Security Law. . . . Convention requested that the E.C. make available to all members complete and current information regarding the social

security system and all proposals for its modification.

(Pp. 309, 528) The convention referred to the Social Security Committee Resolution No. 125, recommending that the American Federation of Labor do all it can to amend the Social Security Act to read 60 years of age and also provide benefits equal to the American standard of living.

(1944, pp. 147, 596) The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill which contained the legislative proposals of the Committee on Social Security and the president of the American Federation of Labor developed in accordance with approved policies of the Federation and introduced in the 78th Congress, has not been considered by either House of Congress. It has, however, served to stimulate extensive discussion and public education on these subjects of such vital interest to wage earners and their families.

With the convening of the 79th Congress there will be an opportunity to introduce legislation designed to meet the earlier objectives and to reflect the considered judgments derived from the experience with the legislation introduced in the last Congress. Your committee accordingly recommends that the Committee on Social Security work with the President of the American Federation of Labor in preparing and submitting to the Congress legislation which will provide a comprehensive system of contributory social insurance and social security designed to attain the following specific objectives:

- (1) A national system of unemployment insurance providing compensation in the event workers become unemployed through no fault of their own or from temporary disability on a uniform basis to all workers not otherwise covered who are employed by private employers, with provisions for inclusion on their own election by the self-employed and em-

ployees of the states, their instrumentalities and political subdivisions; such compensation to be a proportion of previous earnings with minimum benefits sufficient to prevent destitution and maximum limits with respect to duration and amount of benefit.

(2) Extension of the present system of Old Age and Survivors Insurance to provide annuities for old age and total disability and survivors insurance for all persons who are employed by private employers and with provision for inclusion, on their own election, by the self-employed and by the employees of the states, their instrumentalities and political subdivisions not otherwise covered. . . .

(3) The social security rights of men and women in military service should be protected without interference with any veterans' benefits to which they may be entitled.

(4) A national system of health insurance providing health services for all covered workers and members of their families.

(5) A unified public assistance program which will provide federal grants-in-aid to the states adjusted to the relative financial needs of the states in order to enable them to provide more equal assistance to all needy persons.

Your committee further recommends that pending the enactment of such legislation every effort be made within the various states to improve the present state unemployment compensation systems. The following specific proposals are recommended for submission to the state legislatures, 44 of which will convene during 1945.

(1) That the present limitations existing in some states on coverage by the number of employees employed in an establishment or by an employer be removed;

(2) That maximum unemployment benefit payments be increased to \$25 per week.

(3) That the maximum period for which benefits can be paid to eligible workers be raised to 26 weeks.

(4) That the restrictive disqualification provisions which prevent workers who are involuntarily separated from their employment from drawing benefits be modified so as to remove the penal provisions from the state unemployment insurance systems and restore the traditional freedom of workers to change their employment.

We note with approval that the recommendations made to the 63rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that a program for mobilizing Labor action nationally in support of the social security program of the Federation is now getting under way and that toward this end a person has been appointed by President Green to serve full time on the staff of the American Federation of Labor as Director of Social Insurance Activities.

We recommend for the favorable consideration of all national and international unions, state federations of labor, and city central bodies, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that social security committees be appointed in each of these affiliated organizations for the purpose of assisting in the promotion of the social security program of the American Federation of Labor.

"An Epochal Year"—(1945, p. 14) As an essential supplement to efforts to provide maximum production and employment for all able to work and seeking employment, we should have adequate social insurance for emergencies which prevent income earning.

In an economy based on private ownership, income is essential to the maintenance of life itself. For the great majority of people who rely completely on current income anything that interferes with the earning of income is a major catastrophe. The common causes of such interruption are

loss of job and physical incapacity due to acute illness, organic weakness or handicaps, accidents and old age. Social insurance is one of the forces in maintaining production at maximum levels. Workers' earned insurance rights, which are related to earnings, should not be confused with public assistance. Public assistance represents the responsibility of society for those who have not been able to establish insurance rights. Legislation providing social insurance can assure income during such emergencies and thus prevent irreparable damage to human beings through demoralization and warping of personality.

The American Federation of Labor believes we should build upon Old Age and Survivors' Insurance and add insurance for the other emergencies that interrupt income earning. Employers' and workers' contributions supplemented by funds from the Treasury when necessary would provide what in effect would be deferred wages—paid during the emergencies. Such benefits should be an assured right of workers of the nation.

Insurance should be paralleled by a national health program implemented by adequate medical facilities and services.

The long-time program of the Federation includes legislation along these lines:

To improve old age and survivors' insurance and extend its coverage to all workers; extend social insurance to provide income during other emergencies due to physical disability, and to make available adequate health facilities and services.

(1946, p. 215) The Executive Council recommended that efforts be continued to increase the coverage and benefits of the Social Security Act along the lines of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill.

(Pp. 146, 605) The principles embodied in the legislation introduced

in the 79th Congress pursuant to the declaration of the 64th convention of the American Federation of Labor (the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill—S. 1050—H.R. 3293) are reaffirmed. The goal and objective of the American Federation of Labor remain the development of a comprehensive national program of social security for all workers not otherwise covered by an existing program, built upon the solid foundation of contributory social insurance. Such a program must include:

1. A system of insurance providing benefits based on past earnings for the aged, the survivors of deceased workers, and the permanently disabled. These benefits must be sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living without reliance on public or private charity. The coverage of the present program needs to be extended to the remaining 40 per cent of workers not now protected and the age of retirement should be lowered by at least five years for men and ten years for women workers.

2. A national system of unemployment insurance providing benefits based on past earnings and with minimum benefits adequate to maintain for even low income workers a decent standard of living. All involuntarily unemployed workers, including those unemployed by reason of temporary disability, should be eligible. The administration of such program should be the responsibility of the U. S. Department of Labor.

3. The reestablishment within the U. S. Department of Labor of an adequate national employment service.

4. A national system of health insurance providing health services to all workers and members of their families. Such a system should be augmented by grants-in-aid to the States out of general revenues of the Federal Government for: (1) the construction of health facilities, (2) training of medical personnel, (3) medical

research, (4) expansion of public health services, and (5) continuing and extending the present program of maternal and child health services.

5. A unified Public Assistance Program providing grants-in-aid to the States adjusted to the relative needs of the States in order to provide more equitable assistance to all needy persons.

Your Committee recommends that the Committee on Social Security work with the president of the American Federation of Labor in preparing and submitting to the 80th Congress legislation designed to meet the above stated needs and objectives. In the preparation of such legislation special care should be exercised to see that in the development of policies and in administration it provides for full participation of the representatives of the workers covered by the program.

The growing interest in and increasing public support for inclusive health insurance of the kind sponsored by the American Federation of Labor requires that special attention be given this phase of the program. The extensive hearings on the Federation's health insurance bill (S. 1606—H.R. 4730) resulted in a great increase in public understanding of the proposal. The need for some national action in this field is no longer denied by the opposition. The issue now is whether medical care should be extended as a charity and in accordance with public welfare concepts or whether it should be made universally available by an extension of the insurance principle. We reaffirm our unflinching support of the insurance principle.

Your Committee recommends that in addition to the safeguards written into the earlier health insurance proposals, such as those protecting the right of free choice of physician, the following provisions be included in any health insurance legislation: (1) a specific requirement that local agencies be given the maximum amount of control

possible in the operation of the program, (2) provision for the continued operation of all such existing health programs that can provide suitable medical services such as those developed by labor organizations, by co-operatives, and by other voluntary groups, and (3) maximum participation in local administration of the program by both the medical profession and by those who represent the recipients of medical care.

The Hospital Survey and Construction Act passed by the 79th Congress requires the appointment of a Hospital Advisory Council in each State. Your Committee recommends that each State Federation of Labor be urged to take steps immediately to secure representation on these important State councils.

Pending the enactment of legislation establishing a comprehensive national social security program there is much that needs to be done within the States to improve the present unemployment compensation programs and the employment services. Your Committee recommends that the splendid efforts of the State Federations of Labor to amend their State laws in accordance with the four specific standards adopted by the 64th convention be continued. We recommend that in addition steps be taken in the States to provide the following: (1) to free the State employment services from policy control by the State unemployment compensation agencies, (2) benefits to workers whose unemployment is due to sickness or other disability. (This is especially pertinent to the ten States where funds can be made immediately available from employee contributions—only two of which now pay such benefits.)

The State Federations of Labor and members of our affiliated unions who serve on State unemployment compensation commissions or advisory boards can render invaluable assistance to the national program by demanding

that their respective State administrators cease the lobbying activities against the social security program of the American Federation of Labor which they have been carrying on in the national capital either as individuals or through the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies.

We recommend for the favorable consideration of all national and international unions, state federations of labor, and city central bodies, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that Social Security Committees be appointed in each of these affiliated organizations for the purpose of assisting in the promotion of the Social Security Program of the American Federation of Labor.

(1947, p. 656) Several resolutions were introduced into the convention providing for (1) extension of coverage to employees of non-profit organizations operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, or educational purposes, including hospitals; (2) increasing benefits for the aged through larger Federal grants to the states; and (3) increasing contribution rates from both workers and employers in order to lower retirement age for insured under OASI. These resolutions were referred to the permanent Committee on Social Security, A. F. of L.

(P. 607) The committee of the convention which considered the report on social security of the E.C. submitted a detailed report and recommendations which constituted a program of social security activity for the ensuing year.

The American Federation of Labor is unalterably committed to the goal and objective of the establishment of a comprehensive program of social security providing adequate protection against the hazards of death, disability, dependent old age, unemployment and ill health for all workers and their dependents. We reaffirm our conviction

that such security can and must be provided by the extension of the sound principles of contributory social insurance. While during the past twelve years some progress has been made in providing minimum protection against certain of the risks inherent in our industrial society, it is high time that our social security laws be revised and extended in view of the needs of those who work for their livelihood and in a manner consistent with the resources of the wealthiest and most powerful nation on earth.

Your committee has given careful study to the many resolutions dealing with the subject offered to this convention and has reviewed the entire subject which is of such vital concern, not only to our membership but to all who work for their livelihood.

Recommendations for action in the year ahead will be found under the titles of the several sections of the Social Security Act.

(Transfer from state to federal funds)—(p. 661) Res. 122 proposed that the A. F. of L. urge amendments . . . which will permit workers in private employment to transfer benefit credits and funds established under the Social Security Act to state retirement systems upon transfer of employment from private to state employment, and further

The American Federation of Labor urge amendments to state retirement systems which will permit workers in state employment to transfer benefit credits and funds established under state retirement systems upon transfer of employment from state to private employment.

The proposal was referred to the Committee on Social Security.

(P. 663) A concise social security program was presented to the convention through Res. 129, as follows:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in San Francisco, California,

on October 6, 1947, go on record favoring a full social security program:

An increase in old age benefits of at least 50 per cent;

Lowering of retirement age to 55;

A medical insurance program;

Unemployment benefits;

A hospital insurance program;

An increase in death benefits of at least 50 per cent. All of which would make for a more secure position in the way of life.

The convention referred the resolution to the Social Security Committee.

(Taxes)—(p. 265) It seems to us advisable that social security income and expenditures should be segregated from the remainder of the federal budget. A reexamination of the whole social security revenue policy is overdue. Certainly the combination of income, excise, and social security taxes on those in the low income groups raises serious doubt as to whether workers in such groups should be saddled with the increased costs involved in necessary expansion of our existing social security program. Appropriation of general revenue for the support of such expanded program should be made if a study points to its need.

(P. 664) Res. 134:

Whereas—Industry has made it almost impossible for a man or woman to secure employment after the age of 45, and

Whereas—A great number of persons now employed at ages between 45 and 60 will be discharged because of physical impairment, and

Whereas—The period of waiting to become eligible for social security benefits will be of great deprivation, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this sixty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor use its influence with Congress to raise the employes' and the employers' contribution to the social

security fund to 2 per cent instead of the present one per cent of earnings up to \$3,000 per annum.

Convention referred the resolution to the Committee on Social Security.

(P. 662) The convention unanimously adopted Res. 128 as follows:

Whereas—Most building construction workers during the year are employed by several contractors, and

Whereas—Each contractor is by law compelled to withhold 1 per cent social security on each worker up to \$3,000, and

Whereas—Many workers pay double the maximum without a refund from the government unless through affidavits and applications such refunds are granted, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor make efforts to have the government refund all monies paid by workers over the maximum of \$30, without making request for same just as they refund overpaid withholding tax.

(Extension to Puerto Rico)—(p. 628) The following resolution, No. 8, calling for an expression of endorsement for the sentiments of the Puerto Ricans in their aim to secure social security coverage for the Island, was unanimously adopted:

Whereas—Through legislation approved by Congress . . . Titles V and VI of the Social Security Act were extended to Puerto Rico which cover maternal and child health, child welfare services, services for crippled children and vocational rehabilitation and public health, and

Whereas—With the application of Titles V and VI over 75,000 persons have been receiving some kind of social assistance which averages \$7.50 per month supposed to cover food, clothing, shelter and basic personal requirements, and

Whereas—Extension to Puerto Rico of Titles I, IV and X of the Social

Security Act would enable the Island to give more adequate assistance to needy persons so as to help in raising living standards, and

Whereas—The Government of Puerto Rico has established the appropriate machinery to conform to the provisions of Titles I, IV and X of the Social Security Act, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this Sixty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at San Francisco echoing the urgent appeal of the people of Puerto Rico instruct the Executive Council to express to Congress and the President of the United States its sympathy toward the just demand of the Territory of Puerto Rico and to urge the immediate extension to the Island of Title I, IV and X of the Social Security Act. The Executive Council is directed also to ask the Social Security Board to carry out an investigation of social conditions in Puerto Rico and of the scope of the social legislation of the Island to determine to what extent and under what conditions the Social Security Act should be extended to Puerto Rico by the United States Congress.

Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill —(p. 662) The convention unanimously reaffirmed its previous endorsement of this bill.

(Program)—(1948, p. 451) The convention approved committee recommendations that legislation be sought to provide the following:

The 13 years of experience acquired since the adoption of the Social Security Act have proven the soundness and practicability of contributory social insurance as a means of providing against the risks of loss of income faced by all who toil for their livelihood. The rise in living standards and the drastic shrinking of the purchasing power of the dollar that have taken place in those years since 1935 have made the program obsolete.

It is not possible here to specify in detail all the elements of such a comprehensive program nor to lay down a blueprint of a legislative program. Sound principles governing a program of modernization have been outlined in declarations made by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the Committee on Social Security develop and have introduced at the earliest date possible after the convening of the 81st Congress, legislative proposals for a comprehensive social insurance program. The draft bill should provide for the following:

1. Old Age and Survivors Insurance

The coverage should be extended to include all wage earners and self-employed persons.

Benefits should be materially increased all along the line. The improved benefit formula should be made applicable to those presently eligible and to those newly brought under the system.

The protection given to the dependents of women and men should be equalized.

The test of retirement should be liberalized to permit eligible persons to retain at least part-time employment without jeopardizing benefit rights.

The contribution rate of both employers and employees should be increased at the time benefits are raised, with provision for a contribution from the general revenues of the government when justified to maintain the financial soundness of the system.

2. Permanent Disability.

Benefit provisions to include retraining and rehabilitation.

3. Temporary Disability.

A federal system of disability insurance for those temporarily incapacitated for illness not covered by workmen's compensation.

4. Health Insurance.

A comprehensive program to provide and meet the costs of medical care and service by the extension of social insurance should be established. Such program must preserve the individual rights of both patients and physicians. The program should include provision for an extensive program for the construction of hospitals and health centers, the training of medical personnel, and development of research.

Interim Program:

a. State Unemployment Compensation Programs.

Pending enactment of a national system of unemployment insurance and temporary disability insurance, much can be done immediately to meet the deficiencies of the present state unemployment compensation programs.

The Federal Government should also revise the system of financing both for administration and for benefits. For administration, a contingency fund should be set up to facilitate the budgeting of state agency requirements.

We favor federal standards which would prohibit the states from denying or cancelling earned benefit rights to claimants whose unemployment is a result of a quit for good cause or because it is not due to a cause "attributable to the employer." Pending adoption of such standards, the states should remove these and other stringent disqualification provisions.

Though there has been gradual improvement in benefit provisions of the state programs, the increase in living costs now makes it imperative that benefits be materially raised.

Under the amendments to the Social Security Act the states are now able to include temporary disability coverage under their unemployment compensation laws. In two or three states now having such provisions, dangerous precedents have been established. We advise our state federations of labor in considering such

amendments to their unemployment compensation acts to exercise extreme care lest these harmful precedents become so entrenched as to jeopardize the development of sound insurance of this kind.

b. Aid to Children.

We believe that all children regardless of race, residence or family income have the right to whatever health and welfare services and medical care they need for wholesome growth and development and that it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to help the states and communities meet these requirements. We favor raising the amounts available for payments to the states to whatever sum is needed to meet the requirements of an adequate maternal and child welfare program. . . .

In connection with the subject of social insurance, your committee offers the following additional report:

Your committee is of the opinion that it would be well to have a thorough study made of the job classifications as they have been prepared under the Department of Labor, for the use of Federal Employment Offices.

Experience has indicated that many of these classifications are superfluous and because of their complexity, inefficient and confusing to both those directing the employment offices and labor seeking job opportunities.

When this survey has been made, your committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor make a report on the results obtained to the affiliated organizations, and take up with the Department of Labor the entire question of the type of classifications which should govern hereafter.

(Pp. 236, 458) Res. 13 called for a general broadening and liberalization of law as follows:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, in No-

vember, 1948, urge the President of the United States to press to the limit his request that Congress act to broaden social security benefits so that our older citizens may live a more decent life, and be it further

Resolved—That this convention go on record favoring legislation to immediately effect the lowering of the retirement age under the Social Security Act from 65 to 55 years, and be it further

Resolved—That a minimum pension of \$100 per month at age 55 be provided with pensions graduated from that figure upward, and be it further

Resolved—That beginning immediately contributions be required from both the employee and the employer of a sum from each of not to exceed three per cent of the employee's earnings.

Referred to A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security.

(Extension to Non-Profit Organizations)—(pp. 237, 458) Res. 14:

Resolved—That this, the 67th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring the introduction of amendments to the Social Security Act to provide the benefits of the Act for employees of non-profit organizations operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, or educational purposes, including hospitals, and all other workers not now covered by the Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Social Security.

(Amendments and Program)—(1949, p. 473) The following committee report was unanimously adopted:

This section of the Executive Council's Report includes specific recommendations for legislation designed to provide a comprehensive system of social insurance through which working people would be protected against the loss of wages through death, old

age, physical disability, and involuntary unemployment and against the high and unpredictable costs of medical care and services. Your committee recommends the adoption of this section of the Council's Report as a guide to the development of a legislative program.

Since the Council's Report was prepared, we are happy to report that H.R. 6000 has passed the House. It is now before the Senate.

It is recommended that the American Federation of Labor Committee on Social Security be directed to prepare for the Legislative Committee such amendments to the bill as it passed the House as will more nearly bring the legislation in line with the policies set forth in the Executive Council's Report, and including the provisions set forth in connection with the various sections of the over-all program which follows:

I. Old Age, Survivors' and Disability Insurance.

to cover the following points:

1. Lowering of retirement age to 60 years for women.
2. Extension of coverage to agricultural workers.
3. Liberalizing the eligibility requirements for permanent and total disability benefits.
4. Restoration of temporary disability insurance as provided in H.R. 2893.

It is further recommended that the Social Security Committee, in consultation with the appropriate officers of our affiliated unions whose members wish to preserve existing retirement plans covering employees of state and local governments, prepare and present to the Senate such changes in H.R. 6000 as may be found necessary to protect such interest without jeopardizing the protection to be provided for other workers.

II. Public Assistance.

In the main, our objectives in the

field of public assistance are incorporated in Title III of H.R. 6000.

It is especially important that, in keeping with American tradition, we should continue to use and augment the services and aids of voluntary organizations, and we should supplement these with government funds and services to maintain and improve health and welfare, particularly of our children, through means which always recognize and uphold the dignity of the individual.

III. Unemployment Insurance.

There should be a unified national system of unemployment insurance and employment services.

Unemployment insurance should be liberalized by providing for:

1. Benefits representing 60 per cent of wage loss due to involuntary unemployment.
2. A uniform duration of benefits up to 26 weeks in a year.
3. Broad extension of coverage to groups now excluded, including persons employed in small firms and all other employees covered by Old Age and Survivors' Insurance.

All persons covered by the unemployment insurance program who are involuntarily unemployed and for whom no suitable work is available should be eligible after no more than one week waiting period for benefits—suitable work to be defined in terms of the worker's proved skill and earning ability.

Any disqualification should be limited to four weeks.

Pending the enactment of federal legislation in this field we recommend that the state federations of labor continue in their efforts to improve the state unemployment compensation programs, in line with these objectives. States should particularly be on guard against the recent tendencies to liberalize benefit and duration provisions at the cost of more restrictive eligibility standards and of

lowering employer contribution rates.

The many unfairly restrictive provisions in state laws outlined in the Executive Council's Report should be removed.

Provision should be made for payment of benefits where unemployment is due to illness, provided through a single state fund, and state federations of labor are urged to be on guard against attempts to weaken the programs for temporary disability benefits by incorporation of "electing out" provisions.

IV. National Health Insurance.

The basic principles of the seven-point health program set forth which was developed last year, and which is incorporated in Senate Bill 1679 and H.R. 4312-4313 are recommended for continued approval.

Your committee notes that it now appears Congress may adopt certain portions of this program, such as extended federal aid for hospital construction, school health, and local health units. This is all to the good. However, we recommend that the American Federation of Labor continue to emphasize our long-standing position that the health problem of working people will not be adequately met except through a comprehensive and all-inclusive system of prepaid health insurance so that the economic barrier between patient and doctor is removed.

We observe with particular concern the methods of opposition to national health insurance to which the reactionary section of organized medicine has recently resorted. Your committee recommends that in all our educational and public informational programs, the unfair and pernicious nature of this propaganda be exposed.

Your committee finally recommends that the American Federation of Labor continue its firm opposition to any health legislation which proposes to provide medical care on a needs

basis requiring the means test in any form.

(P. 36) Convention requested to favor immediate lowering of retirement age from 65 to 55; to raise the minimum retirement to \$100, with upward graduations; and increase in contributions to the social security reserve from both employers and employees.

(P. 40) Res. 16 proposed amendments to the Social Security Act as follows:

1. Increasing the present 1% contribution up to 5% for both the employee and the worker, and the benefits increased in accordance to the increased contributions.

2. Include all workers under the Act, regardless of whether they are workers, state, county or city employees or whatever other category they may come under.

3. That the age for eligibility be lowered from 65 to 60 for both male and female workers.

4. That the minimum benefits under the Act be not less than \$75 per month, and be it further

Resolved—That this convention instruct its Executive Council to exert every possible effort to assist in bringing about the enactment of these proposed amendments into the Social Security Act.

(Fire Fighters, Exclusion)—(p. 43) Continued exclusion of the fire fighters of the country from coverage under social security was requested through Res. 24. This is in accord with the established position of the fire fighters themselves.

(P. 44) Res. 27 proposed that the officers of the American Federation of Labor work for an amendment to the Social Security Act, whereby those workers penalized at the present time for having worked for a political subdivision of the government not covered by the Act, shall have credit allowed the same as though they had

worked for a covered employer, and further

That all Congressmen and Senators be asked to work for such an amendment, as well as various state federations of labor organizations of other states.

(P. 46) Res. 33 called for lowering of retirement age under OASI to 60, with a minimum monthly benefit of \$100, plus an additional \$25 per month for retiree's wife on attaining age 55, with increases in benefits for dependents to meet a decent subsistence level.

(P. 317) Res. 99 called upon the A. F. of L. to reiterate its stand for a full social security program as follows:

An increase in the social security tax to 2½ cents each employer and employee.

An increase in death benefits of at least two hundred per cent (200%).

An increase in old-age benefits of at least two hundred per cent (200%).

Lowering of retirement age to 55.

A medical insurance program.

A hospital insurance program.

A substantial widow's pension upon death of the husband, until remarriage or death.

(Disability Benefits Called for)—(p. 344) Res. 122 called upon the A. F. of L. "to cause a study to be made and legislation introduced into the Congress for the purpose of providing benefits for dependency due to permanent and total disability or illness."

(1950, pp. 218, 454) The following committee report and recommendations were unanimously adopted:

The world-wide challenge to our free democratic institutions presented by Communist aggression calls for increased emphasis on programs to provide economic security for the working people of America. We can and must demonstrate to the world that within the framework of these insti-

tutions we can provide security against the hazards of old age, death, unemployment, disability and the unpredictable cost of medical care. Fifteen years of experience since the enactment of the first Social Security Act has confirmed our conviction that the principle of contributory social insurance which has been steadfastly adhered to by the American Federation of Labor, offers the soundest method of providing such security. We therefore at this time reaffirm our adherence to this proven principle.

We note with approval the significant progress in this field attained by the enactment of the social security amendments of 1950. However, much remains to be done to provide a system of social insurance sufficiently comprehensive in coverage and adequate in terms of benefits to remove the threat of insecurity from working people and their families. Accordingly we recommend the following program for the broadening and improvement of our social security system and urge that our entire membership as well as the officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations devote every effort to secure its adoption:

A. Disability Insurance:

1. Amend the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance title of the Social Security Act so as to provide benefits equal to retirement benefits to any person unable to earn his livelihood because of physical disability at any age. As an integral part of this program there should be provided a program of physical rehabilitation.

2. Provide benefits equal to unemployment benefits to all persons unemployed as a result of a temporary illness or disability not covered under state workmen's compensation laws. This can best be accomplished as a part of a single federal system of unemployment compensation. Under the present federal-state system it can be accomplished by separate state ac-

tion, or better, by the adoption of an additional federal standard requiring each state to provide such protection. We reaffirm our position that disability insurance should be provided only through a single state fund and the introduction of private schemes in this field represents a departure from the basic principles of social insurance.

B. Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance:

1. Broaden coverage to include all farm wage earners and independent farm operators and other groups still without protection of this or other public programs.

2. Revise definition of employee suitable to social insurance purposes so as to remove artificial limitations of coverage.

3. Raise wage base for computing both contributions and benefits to \$5,400 per year.

4. Restore increment factor in benefit formula to increase benefits for those with longer service.

C. Health Insurance:

1. Adopt in full the previously approved seven point program including a comprehensive system of pre-paid health insurance on the contributory principle.

2. Toward this end expand and intensify our program of information and education to combat the misleading propaganda campaign of the American Medical Association. For this purpose every means of information available should be used, including the facilities of the labor press and labor's radio program. We also urge that all possible assistance be given by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations to the Committee for the Nation's Health so that its most useful work in acquainting the general public with the truth about this most important issue can be enlarged.

D. Unemployment Insurance:

1. Repeal the Knowland Amend-

ment to the Social Security Act of 1950.

2. The critical international situation now requires again the mobilization and planned utilization of our manpower resources. As men and women are called on to work where their services are needed without regard to state lines and political boundaries a unified national system of unemployment compensation and public employment offices which can work effectively and cooperatively with labor unions becomes imperative. Pending the development of such a national system we urge the State Federations of Labor to employ every effort to amend their state unemployment compensation laws to correct the major deficiencies cited in the Executive Council report. The time to make these needed corrections in our unemployment insurance program is during a period of high employment and not wait until the nation is confronted with large scale unemployment.

(1951, p. 173) The Executive Council submitted a comprehensive report on developments in the broad field of Social Security and outlined a program for action in the following year.

(P. 531) The convention unanimously approved the report of its committee which considered the report under the Social Security Title, as follows:

Security against economic hazards, against privation and want, is indispensable in a free society. Effective exercise of community responsibility to safeguard the individual against the hazards of destitution and dependency due to unemployment, disability or old age becomes even more essential when the whole nation is subjected to the strain and stress of mobilization.

While we note with satisfaction the progress achieved during the past year, we are acutely aware of the dangerous shortcomings of our Social Security System and of the urgent need to overcome them. We are also

keenly conscious of the intensified drive by the reactionary employers, conducted in concert with other selfish interests, to weaken the legal and administrative standards, as well as economic standards of Social Security.

It is up to us to meet this drive head-on. It is up to Organized Labor, locally, statewide and nationally, to assume the full leadership for rallying the whole community to the task of completing a sound and greatly strengthened structure of social security for all Americans. It is up to us in the American Federation of Labor to make sure that the fundamental principle of social security rights is not subverted to the notion of mere privileges. It is the duty of our Federation to make sure that those now left ineligible to the social security benefits to which they are entitled are brought within the coverage of the law. And it is Labor's special responsibility to see that the rights and benefits under our national social security system are fully responsive to the changing economic conditions and that they measure up to our future growth and future strength as a nation.

To this end, we recommend that the services and facilities of the office of the Director of Social Insurance Activities at the national headquarters of the American Federation of Labor be strengthened and expanded so that this office may serve as a clearing house of current information to all of our affiliates on developments in the Congress, in the several State legislatures and in the agencies administering the laws. We also recommend that a larger measure of Labor consultation and representation be sought in all agencies concerned with social security administration.

With regard to the specific phases of the program reported upon by the Executive Council, we offer the following comments and recommendations:

A. Old Age and Survivors Insurance.

Old age and survivors benefits are now received by four million persons. A sound, self-financed national insurance system is at least beginning to go into operation in the United States. The national old age and survivors insurance system needs to be strengthened and extended in many ways. We note as especially urgent the following action:

1. Provide benefits equal to retirement benefits to any person within the system, regardless of age, unable to earn a living because of physical disability.

2. Broaden coverage by including all persons now without protection for their old age, and by removing the artificial limitation now in effect by revising the present restrictive definition of "employee" in the Act.

3. Increase the wage base for computing both contributions and benefits to at least \$6,000 per year.

4. Reinstate the provision for the increase in benefits in relation to each year of contributions to the insurance program.

5. To keep the effective operation of the social insurance system under constant review, initiate independent studies for the guidance of the Congress in improving the system and bringing it into harmony with changing economic conditions.

B. Public Assistance.

Constant pressures are being exerted to curtail public assistance services and to cut federal and state appropriations for public assistance programs. Labor must stand guard against the disruption and crippling of these essential services.

We must also stand firmly against the attempts in certain states and in the Congress for disclosure of information about recipients of public assistance, in defiance of the basic principle written into the law by the Congress. We especially commend the Federal Security Administrator for

his courageous fight against the attempts of certain state officials to breach the law and exploit the dire needs of the poor.

C. Unemployment Insurance.

We wholeheartedly approve the recommendations made by the Executive Council in its report for the correction of far-reaching deficiencies in our unemployment insurance system. The time for revision and strengthening of the system is now, when high employment prevails. We urge every State Federation to lay groundwork in the ensuing year for comprehensive revision of state laws and for a renewed drive toward a national system of unemployment compensation.

We call again for the repeal of the Knowland Amendment of 1950. And, finally, we ask for the provision of benefits equal to unemployment benefits, to all persons unemployed as the result of temporary illness or disability not covered under state workmen's compensation laws, and call for federal standards to provide such protection in each state.

D. National Health Program.

We approve the recommendations contained in the Executive Council's report and call upon our entire membership and their friends to join in the drive for a comprehensive national health program. We regard a comprehensive contributory nation-wide system of pre-paid health insurance as an indispensable part of our American Social Security System. The richly financed campaign waged against the health insurance program by the American Medical Association has been widened to arouse public opposition to all progressive measures. Labor must be ready and able to meet this poisonous propaganda disseminated by the medical lobby. Outstanding work has been done by the Committee for the Nation's Health to acquaint the public with the true facts. We commend the committee for its

distinguished service and ask our affiliates to give it increased support.

The proposal to provide for the beneficiaries of the old age and survivors insurance, free hospitalization up to sixty days a year, meets with our approval. Such hospitalization would be on an insurance basis, being financed by the contributions under the old age and survivors insurance system. We regard it as a sound and logical improvement in the system.

(1952, pp. 188, 443) The Executive Council Report contained a comprehensive report of developments in the field of Social Security. In turn the convention approved the E.C. Report and the recommendations and findings of the convention committee as follows:

Four fearful economic hazards confront every man and woman dependent on wages for livelihood in our modern industrial society. They are the hazards of old age, of unemployment, of ill health and of dependency due to other causes of inability to earn an income. The first three can and must be met through social insurance. The last hazard must be overcome through public assistance. The four programs designed to remove these hazards are the four pillars of the Social Security program on which rests the future welfare of American wage earners. To rear them up to the level of real need, to strengthen and to reinforce them, is the devoted purpose of the American Federation of Labor.

While gains have been made in the last 12 months, notably in improving the standards of old age and survivors insurance, our social security system has been under a heavy and unwarranted attack. Attempts to undermine both the principles and specific provisions of the program will not only continue, but will be undoubtedly intensified in the coming year. They should be met positively and aggressively. Labor is the major source of leadership in advancing the

cause of social security. The broad support for its advancement must come from the ranks of organized labor. It is our responsibility in the American Federation of Labor to bring forth fully the resources, the experience and the skills of trade unionists in our national, state and local affiliates in a concerted drive for better social security.

To achieve this objective, we ask that the office of the Director of Social Insurance Activities be strengthened and provided with adequate staff so that it may serve as a clearing house of current information to all our affiliates on developments in the national and state legislation and in the administration of the social security laws.

We offer the following comments and recommendations with regard to the specific portions of the program dealt with in the Executive Council's Report:

1. The Hazard of Old Age.

While the improvements made in the old age and survivors insurance at the close of the last session of Congress are gratifying, they have fallen far short of the objectives we have set. We reiterate the recommendations made by the Seventieth Convention for the specific improvements in the system. The need for further liberalization of the benefit formula deserves special emphasis, as does the extension of coverage along the lines recommended by the Executive Council. We look for the realization of all of these objectives in the 83rd Congress. We ask that proposals be submitted early in the next session of Congress to provide for the extension of OASI benefits to cases of permanent and total disability prior to retirement.

Gains made through increased longevity should lead to greater utilization of productive skills of older workers. Our affiliates would do well to help assure greater employment

opportunities for our senior members and to press for a more responsible and responsive attitude toward older workers by employers.

The proportion of persons over 65 in our population has made a dramatic increase over a relatively short period of years. With it has grown the responsibility of the whole community for adequate provision of retirement benefits sufficient for the older person's self-support. The existing benefits are grossly inadequate. Their buying power has been further reduced by inflation. As the result, and despite the recent minor improvements, the old age security program will become a token program, unless the urgently needed improvements are made without delay. Labor must insist on early action which would bring the old age and survivors insurance program in harmony with economic realities.

2. The Hazard of Unemployment.

Our unemployment insurance system has been badly mutilated in recent years by irresponsible application of merit rating and by the rising sway of employers over its operation. To an alarming extent it has also become a captive of the states and the state bureaucracy, too often subservient to employers' interests. The future of unemployment compensation is in grave jeopardy, unless quick and decisive steps are taken to assert public interest above that of private accommodation of business interests and to meet the multiplying problems of deteriorated benefits, diluted administrative standards and the distressing state of benefit financing.

Most state legislatures are meeting in the coming year. Timely action is essential to assure favorable consideration of proposals for the improvement of state laws. Our Federation should be prepared to assist the state federations in the development of their policies and legislative programs. We concur in the recommen-

tions of the Executive Council and ask that all of our affiliates be alerted to help to the utmost in the decisive drive for the betterment of unemployment compensation in the coming year.

3. The Hazard of Ill Health.

Intensive studies, by the President's Commission and by other public and private agencies, have delved deeply during the past year into the problems of the nation's health. This research is needed, is welcome and will no doubt add to the public understanding of the health and medical services needed by the American people. But in no small measure study in the health field has become a form of escape from action. The deliberately false and malicious charge of "socialized medicine" hangs like a blinding fog in the way of progress toward a sound, flexible and thoroughly democratic objective of a national health insurance system, long advocated by the American Federation of Labor.

Pioneer achievements of our affiliates in San Francisco, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, St. Louis and other communities in the development of health centers and medical services under trade union sponsorship are blazing a new trail for Labor's leadership in this field. Equally important are these developments in that they provide a training ground for practical experience and technical development of trade union administrators for future and greatly expanded cooperative programs. These programs are prompted by the widespread and insistent need. The crux of the nation's health problem is that, for the average American worker and his family, adequate health services are beyond their financial reach. Too often the hazard of ill health becomes insuperable simply because the needed medical services are something that people could not afford.

America needs more doctors, more

and better hospitals, more clinics, more health centers. Public action is necessary to help achieve all these objectives. But the overriding goal is the solution of the economic problem which stands between the patient and his cure. We will continue to devote our energies to the attainment of this goal.

Invaluable services rendered to us and to our affiliates in the past year by the Committee for the Nation's Health have greatly strengthened our work in this field and we ask our affiliates to give the committee their continued unstinting support.

4. Public Assistance.

Welfare services for those in need have been dwindling because of the failure to provide adequate appropriations for public assistance services at the federal and state levels. In constant dollars, we are spending per capita 55 per cent less on public welfare than we did 10 years ago. It is Labor's special responsibility to stand guard over the public welfare program against crippling cuts and to make sure that services to the needy are adequate and soundly administered. We heartily concur with the recommendation of the Executive Council that every effort be made to repeal the Jenner Amendment requiring disclosure of public relief rolls.

(1953, pp. 300, 639) A comprehensive report was submitted to the convention on the broad field of social security. The E.C. Report was unanimously approved, together with the report and recommendations of the convention committee:

The development of effective means of overcoming the hazards of ill health, unemployment, dependency and insecurity in old age, which are common to all wage earners, is and must continue to be a primary concern of the American Federation of Labor. These hazards are real and immediate. They cannot be removed by pious phrases and professions of

sympathetic concern, unaccompanied by specific programs. They require positive remedial action. The American Federation of Labor must continue, as it has in the past, to take the lead in advocating and advancing such action.

The task of advancing to meet these needs is made doubly difficult today by the necessity of defending established programs against new and more vigorous attacks now being directed against them. With property and business interests gaining dominant influence in the shaping of public policy, enemies of social security have launched an all-out drive to undermine the structure of unemployment compensation, old age and survivors insurance, public assistance and other vital programs which have been built up through years of painstaking effort. Active campaigns to accomplish these objectives are now under way.

Our energies must now be divided between the positive task of advocating improvement and the negative, but urgent, task of defending what we have achieved in the past. This makes it more vitally important than ever before that all affiliated unions, their officers and members, lend their full and active support to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor in the social security field.

With respect to the specific areas covered in the Executive Council's Report, we submit the following observations and recommendations:

In the comprehensive review of developments in social security, the Executive Council's Report devotes special attention to each of the major areas embodied in this vital program. To each of these, your committee has given separate consideration in the light of the foregoing statement of objectives.

(1954, p. 581) The E.C. Report presented an accounting of developments in the whole area of social se-

curity and the convention approved its committee report on the subject. The following objectives were included in the approved report:

Your committee notes with favor the advancements in securing improvements in the old age and survivors title of the Social Security Act contained in the Social Security Amendments of 1954 reported on in this section of the Executive Council Report. The American Federation of Labor takes pride in the constructive role played in our organization in the development of this legislation and its enactment. We are particularly pleased that during the past year the threats to the basic principles of our contributory social security program with benefits based on past earnings and payable without the indignity of a needs test have been successfully ward off. While the increases in benefit payments provided by the new law are not spectacular they are substantial, and the fact that the increases are payable to present beneficiaries as well as to those becoming eligible in the future is of great significance to all who look to this system for protection against the loss of family income due to old age or death of the family breadwinner.

We are also pleased to note that the amendments extend the protection of this system to some 10 million additional people.

These important amendments were enacted with the support of both our national political parties. In so saying we do not mean to detract from the significance of the support given by the present majority party and we appreciate the active support of the Administration under the leadership of President Eisenhower, and the co-operation of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in developing and sponsoring this program which is of such vital interest not only to the wage earners who are members of unions affiliated with the A. F.

of L., but to all the people of our country who are dependent upon their earnings for their livelihood.

Beneficial as these improvements are they still fall short of attaining the goal of adequate protection to the family income. We call for the development of further expansion and improvement of the social security program by the enactment of legislation in the next session of Congress, designed to meet the following five objectives:

1. Protection against wage loss resulting from permanent and total disability. While the 1954 amendments represent a step in the right direction by protecting the rights of the disabled, that is not enough. A worker should become eligible for monthly benefit payments upon the determination of his physical disability and subject to his willingness to participate in rehabilitation efforts in all practicable cases.

There can be no question concerning the need for protection against the risk of physical disability among working people. Income loss resulting from permanent extended disability is a major economic hazard to which workers are exposed. The resulting economic hardship to the family is frequently even greater than that created by old age or death. The family must not only face the loss of the breadwinner's earnings, but must meet the costs of medical care. As a rule, savings and other personal resources are soon exhausted. The problem of the disabled younger worker is particularly difficult, since there are likely to be young children in the family and he has had no opportunity to acquire any significant savings. Social insurance provides the only practical and adequate method of preventing dependency from income loss resulting from this cause. The Federal Government is now operating programs providing such protection to employees of the railways and to the career

government workers. The argument that our government cannot soundly administer such a program is proven false by its success in these fields.

2. Provision of a program for protection against temporary disability should be incorporated in the Federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance program. Since 1946 there has been a consistent effort to establish temporary disability programs by state enactment in conjunction with the state unemployment compensation programs. However, only four states in these eight years have enacted such legislation and these were the states having the special inducement resulting from the worker contribution provided in their state unemployment compensation programs. In the light of this record it now appears certain that the states will not move further to meet this important need and it is necessary that the Federal Government take action.

3. The benefit structure of the old age and survivors insurance program should be improved along the following four lines:

- a. There should be an increment to the primary benefit for workers who have been long-time participants in the program.
- b. The wage base should be raised to reflect increases in earnings levels since the start of the program.
- c. The average wage on which benefits are computed should be based on the best 10 years earnings record.
- d. Tips should be included in the computation of wages.

4. The age of eligibility for women should be lowered to 60 years. This should apply both to employed women who retire and to those who are dependents of retired workers, or widows of deceased workers.

5. There should be established an advisory group representative of management, Labor and the self-employed

to review periodically the actuarial soundness of the system and make recommendations as to necessary changes in the contribution rates. In this connection the A. F. of L. reaffirms its readiness to support a contribution rate necessary to pay benefits adequate to the needs of survivors and retired workers. The working people are willing to pay their share of the cost of an adequate program.

(Pp. 372, 468) Res. No. 5:

Whereas—The Social Security Act now has been in existence for many years and has an accumulated surplus of many billion dollars, and

Whereas—The Act provides low retirement benefits, and only at the age of 65 years, and

Whereas—Payments under the Act are wholly inadequate to provide minimum requirements, and

Whereas—The average monthly payment at present is \$36.00, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor reiterate its stand for a full social security program, including revisions of the Act as follows:

- (1) Lowering the age retirement to 60 years for men and 55 years for women.
- (2) Participation in payment and benefits of all who work for wages, as well as self-employed.
- (3) Providing benefit payments to those permanently incapacitated regardless of age.
- (4) Provision to increase immediately contributions of both employer and employee to three per cent each to keep the reserve solvent, and be it further

Resolved—That copies of this resolution be submitted to the proper committees in the Senate and the House of Representatives and to the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Social Security.

(1955, p. 220) In its annual report, the E.C. covered efforts to improve the coverage and administration of the social security program, outlining achievements and future objectives. Attention was called to the importance of including a disability provision, and the following improvements in OASI:

1. To maintain a truly wage-related benefit system consistent with our private enterprise economy the wage base should be raised from the present \$4,200 to \$7,800.

2. An increment of one-half of one per cent should be added to the primary benefit for each year a worker participates in and contributes to the system.

3. For each year in which a worker continues in active employment beyond the age of 65 his primary benefit should be increased by two per cent.

4. Benefits should be computed on the worker's 10 best consecutive years of covered employment.

5. Provision should be made for compensation in case of illness or temporary disability.

6. Age of benefit eligibility should be lowered to 60 for women.

7. An advisory group representative of employers, employees, and the self-employed should be established to advise the appropriate committees of Congress periodically on the soundness of the financing and the adequacy of benefits.

8. Remuneration received in the form of tips should be included as wages for social security purposes.

South, Awakening of the—(1929, p. 59) An outstanding labor development of the year is the awakening of the South. It came in a spontaneous revolt. For the past 30 years the A. F. of L. and the United Textile Workers have been trying to organize Southern textile workers. Some results of this work were shown in scat-

tered organizations, but it was not until the stretch-out system lashed their sense of justice into action that they realized the need of unionism. Strikes in textile mills have not been uncommon, but this movement was different. It was general throughout the industry. Aggressive revolts occurred in Elizabethton, Tennessee, several cities in South Carolina, Georgia and North Carolina. The initiative to action came from the textile operatives. The Federation responded to their call for help by sending organizers to help direct efforts along constructive lines and by appeals for financial assistance from all unions.

Industrialization has progressed more slowly in the South than in most of the other sections of the United States. Unions had been generally formed in the printing and building trades and some other handicrafts. Such unions dealt largely with local companies and managements. With the industrialization of the South by textile, steel, tobacco, power, paper, furniture and other industries, has come the problem of dealing with large corporations, absentee capital, holding companies, mill villages, and related problems. Progress in power transmission has been followed by wider distribution of factories and has opened up factory employment to workers from agricultural and mountain districts. Thus the great majority of textile operatives in the South are persons not only with no union background but with no industrial experience or standards.

In a number of cases the company made an agreement with a committee of its employees. As these committees consisted mainly of leaders of new unions, the result was definite progress. These workers in the South are poor and they have suffered much by the recent strikes. It will take time to develop self-supporting unions. Responsibility of establishing higher wages and better conditions of employ-

ment must rest with national and international trade unions. The Federation can and has assisted with organizing literature, information, organizers, and suggestions. Upon national and international trade unions and local labor organizations must rest chief responsibility for sustained work.

It is a most opportune time for all organizations to strengthen their unions in the South. The development of unions simultaneously with further industrialization of the South, will assure sounder, better balanced progress. Permanent progress cannot be built up on low wages, long hours, and special concessions. The South has raw materials, American workers, power resources, and a need for more industries. But unless these industries are prepared to give a square deal to workers they are not only pillaging the resources of the South but are sowing the seeds of class conflict in most dangerous soil. The Southern worker will not meekly bear injustice when experience teaches him standards of justice.

We urge all organizations to include in their organizing plans for the coming year definite provisions for work in the South.

Organizing work in the South cannot stop until all industries are thoroughly organized.

(P. 266) The E.C. is directed to call a conference of national and international officials within 30 days for the purpose of devising a policy that will be acceptable to all interested parties in the proposed campaign of organization among southern workers regardless of craft or calling.

(P. 278) Statement by president of the A. F. of L.:

"North Carolina is developing into a great industrial state, and it is but natural that in this growth and development there would arise great economic, social and human problems.

It is impossible to settle these problems through the use of force, murder and the destruction of life. Men who love liberty and independence will fight and die for it, and every martyr is an inspiration to the others. And so, if there is to be peace and prosperity in the South, the rights of the workers must be recognized; their right to organize must be conceded, and there must be developed an understanding between all the forces of industries and the representatives of the public that will mean cooperation and efficiency.

"The A. F. of L. has endeavored most consistently to respond to this appeal from southern workers for help and assistance. I read yesterday into the records accounts of the millions of dollars in money that have been poured into the Southern States by the different organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. Our organizers have gone there, our representatives have held meetings there, we have responded to every appeal that has ever been made upon the A. F. of L. And we have not gone in for the purpose of dictating to the southern people, for the purpose of dictating to industry. The charge that has been made, in the press and otherwise, that we are influenced by the employers of the North to use our organization for the purpose of inflicting injury on the employers of the South is baseless and untrue. We are not in the South trying to force trade unionism upon the workers we are not there trying to impose our philosophy upon the people of that section; but we are there because the South is awakening and because the workers themselves appeal to us to go there and help them.

"In their extremity, the victims of injustice and greed, now that industry is developing in the South, where can they turn except to the great organized labor movement of our land? Can they appeal to civic organizations? Can they appeal to chambers

of commerce? Can they appeal to fraternal organizations? Can they appeal even to the political powers for justice and redress of wrong?

"The answer to each appeals would be, 'We have no authority,' or, 'We are not in sympathy with the appeal you make.' But when the appeal comes to the great heart of Labor and the men and women who toil, those who have gone through the sacrifice in defense of organization and for the right to organize, they find a response, and it is but natural that we should go to the place where these workers dwell, the victims of exploitation and greed, and in an unselfish manner give of our money our time and of our service to help them

"When the appeal came from Elizabethton I dispatched our representative there along with the representatives of other organizations. I instructed them to go there as quickly as possible and render all the assistance they could. You heard the story. Our representatives were kidnapped by those who classed themselves as respectable citizens, leaders in the church, bankers; not so-called racketeers or thugs, but those who paraded as Pharises—holier than thou.

"They took our representatives out and told them they were going to take them for a ride. In some places that statement strikes terror to the hearts of those who take a ride. Our representatives were terrorized; they did not know what it all meant; they suffered great mental anguish inflicted on them by those so-called representative citizens. When they came to me it so aroused my indignation that I said I would go there myself. I took the first train and went to Elizabethton. I addressed the people in that community and told them I considered the kidnapping of our representatives as a challenge to the A. F. of L. I said that, in so far as it lay within my power, I would endeavor to bring those guilty of that act to the bar of justice.

"We employed a firm of attorneys. We went before the grand jury in Elizabethton with all the evidence. We told the members of the grand jury and the court that a crime had been perpetrated upon peaceful citizens. The kidnappers were identified, they were named and pointed out. We were told by the grand jury that kidnapping in Tennessee was no crime unless the kidnappers demanded a ransom. In one case the grand jury did return an indictment for assault and battery against those who kidnapped the local man.

"When I returned from a council meeting in Florida I visited Savannah, Jacksonville, Atlanta and other sections of the South, addressing numerous meetings, delivering the message of Labor and appealing to the workers of the South to come with us.

"When the kidnapping occurred in Tennessee we prepared a resolution, and asked that it be introduced in the United States Senate, providing for an investigation of the terrible conditions that we knew existed in the southland. Senator Wheeler of Montana introduced the resolution and the Committee on Manufacture conducted a very extended hearing. We submitted evidence; we filled the record with incontrovertible evidence of the existence of intolerable conditions.

"I appeared before the Senate committee on behalf of Labor and there I told my story. Some of the Southern Senators objected. A majority report and a minority report were made. The majority report recommended that the Federal Trade Commission make an investigation of the entire textile situation throughout the country. The minority report, signed by Senator Wheeler, recommended that the Senate make the investigation. It was reported, it is on the calendar, it is there still while murder and exploitation go on in the southland. We told them the situation would get worse. We warned them that there was a

dynamic situation in the South; that it was a matter of public concern, so much so that this great legislative arm of the Federal Government should, in the interest of human protection, go into the South, secure the facts and let the world know what the situation really is. We wanted the pitiless light of publicity turned on these terrible conditions in the southland.

"I have done all that was humanly possible to bring this investigation about. The other day when this tragedy took place at Marion, North Carolina, I wired Senator Wheeler calling his attention to the situation. I said that in the beginning we had represented that these things would occur, and again in the name of Labor I appealed to the Senate to adopt a resolution and start the investigation. The record shows that Senator Wheeler immediately acted: that he interposed during the tariff discussion to request that this resolution be considered, that he applied to the Senate to make the investigation. Senator Overman and Senator Simmons of North Carolina interposed their usual objections, and under the rules of the Senate the investigation could not be considered.

"There is just one more observation I should like to make, and that is this: That, after all, the salvation of the southern worker lies within himself. The southern workers themselves must be willing to make the fight and the sacrifice, if necessary, for trade unionism and for the right to organize. We cannot carry to them, individually and collectively, the cloak of trade unionism and theoretically place it upon their shoulders; it must be woven and made and fabricated by themselves.

"The spirit of organization must be there; they must be willing to come. And so I wish that they might understand that, while we are ready to help and to give, we cannot pour

millions into the South without the South responding to our appeal themselves. They must be taught this lesson: that in the struggle and the strife they must rely largely upon their own resources, upon community help, upon the South itself. Their minds must be disabused of the fact that as soon as a strike occurs, figuratively speaking, the bread wagon of the North appears at the doors. We are willing to give, and to give until it hurts, to send our men there, to use the great moral and political influence of our movement to help them, but they, too, must make up their minds that the fight for themselves is their fight and that we will help to lead it.

"I think it appropriate to make this statement so that the southern worker may know that he can achieve his objective only along the same royal route pursued by the trade unions of the North—it must be along the highway of struggle, for the hosts of opposition are very great indeed."

South

Labor Chautauqua—(1926, p. 167) The workers of the South are showing a desire for organization under the banner of the A. F. of L. The men and women now organized believe the unorganized can be more speedily brought into the various national and international unions through the starting of a Labor Chautauqua. The E.C. is directed to call together representatives of all national and international unions for the purpose of discussing the benefits to the South of such a course and to devise ways and means to carry out the proposition.

Southern Organizing Campaign—(1930, pp. 83, 203)—In accord with the decision of the Toronto Convention of the A. F. of L., a general organizing campaign was launched in the Southern States last January. As the industrialization of these states

has been much slower than that of other sections, only since recent years has there been an increase of factory workers so as to make the situation urgent. There are in the South numbers of families living in the mountains and in agricultural regions that have not been able to make satisfactory progress. These persons constitute a supply of potential cheap labor which has been held out as an inducement to industrialists to move South. In addition, communities and even states have offered special bonuses, such as tax exemptions, free cities, roads, etc. As a result, southern factories, founded on a cheap labor basis, were threatening to disorganize standards in the textile industry.

Unions of craftsmen, central labor unions, state federations of labor, constituted a good framework of organizations to which needed to be added unions of factory workers.

To cope with the situation, a concentrated drive for unionization was held necessary. All national and international organizations were asked to join in this movement under Federation leadership.

A preliminary conference was held in Washington, D. C., November 14, 1929, to formulate plans. This conference adopted the following report:

The social and industrial unrest manifested by the workers in the unorganized industries of the South can only be interpreted as an expression of a deep-seated desire to secure and enjoy higher wages, proper and humane conditions of employment and the exercise of economic, industrial and social freedom. The southern worker has long been regarded by employers of labor as docile and submissive, satisfied if he received small compensation and susceptible to exploitation. This appraisement of southern working people was very largely created through the invitations

extended by so-called business and employers' organizations in the South to capital and industrialists outside the South to locate their mills and factories there. Many of the invitations thus extended emphasized the docility of southern workers, the opportunity to employ children, lack of legislation regulating the hours of employment of women in industry and the low wages which prevailed. These invitations could only be construed as a bid for outside capital to come South and exploit southern labor.

It is most extraordinary when groups of people residing in a section of our country invite capitalists to come into their respective communities and engage in the exploitation of their neighbors, their fellow-citizens and their unprotected labor. The natural and logical outcome of such representation is reflected in the construction of mill and industrial villages, employment of women and children at night, long hours of exacting service, the inauguration of cruel and inhuman 'stretch-out' systems and the domination, by the employers, of the religious, social and civic life of mill communities.

Evidently the mill and industrial owners and those who invited them to come south did not take into account the sociological and psychological change which was bound to follow the industrialization of the South, the erection of the mill and industrial villages and the mass association of the southern workers. Brought in touch with a new social and industrial order, the desire of southern workers for the enjoyment of higher living standards and for the possession of those attributes which are inseparably associated with a higher standard of living became quickened and intensified. They had been transferred from their isolated homes in the moun-

tains and small communities into a new environment where mass association and collective interest had been substituted for individualism.

Discontent and dissatisfaction, aggravated by the imposition of the "stretch - out" system in many places, caused strikes and disorder in a number of mills and factories. The area affected by industrial disturbances reached from Tennessee to South Carolina. State troops were ordered out in Elizabethton, Tenn., in several communities in North Carolina and in some places in South Carolina. Tragedy and loss of life occurred at Marion, N. C., and other places. It can all be regarded as a phase of the age-long struggle between exploiters and the exploited, between oppressors and the oppressed, between owners of mills and factories and their employees.

The A. F. of L. very quickly realized the seriousness of the situation and immediately appealed to the Senate of the United States to institute an investigation of the textile industry in the south and to make the result of such investigation public. By request of the A. F. of L. a resolution was introduced in the U.S. Senate on April 29, 1929, providing for such investigation. Because of strong opposition from southern mill owners and some southern Senators, no action has, thus far, been taken. Since the introduction of the resolution men and women have been killed at Marion, N. C., and elsewhere. If the U.S. Senate had acted promptly and had undertaken the investigation requested by the A. F. of L. the tragedy at Marion and elsewhere might have been averted and constructive steps might have been taken to allay the unrest and discontent which prevailed.

Organized labor has been eager to be helpful in the distressing sit-

uation which developed in the South. We have been ready to do constructive work and to assist in the establishment of collective bargaining, cooperation and a collective relationship between employers and employees.

Naturally the southern workers, oppressed and exploited, have appealed to the A. F. of L. and to national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. for sympathy, assistance and support. They asked the organization having jurisdiction to organize them and to assist them in their hour of distress. The trade union movement would have been false to its ideals and to the humane principles upon which it has been built if it had failed to respond to their appeal.

We have answered their call. We have helped them materially and morally. We are interested in their welfare and their happiness. We are striving for human betterment. We are ready to assist them further in their struggle for the establishment of better homes, better living conditions, for the exercise of the right to organize into trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and for a full and complete exercise of all their industrial, economic and political rights.

Organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. have most generously contributed many millions of dollars to assist southern working men and women to organize and to carry on strikes which were inaugurated for the purpose of securing higher wages and improved conditions of employment, and to resist encroachments upon the right of wage earners to organize and to engage in the normal activities of trade unionism. In continuation of this policy this conference of national and international officers, called by authority and direction of the Toronto Convention of the A. F. of L., pledges

its support, moral and material, to the southern workers in their efforts to organize into trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and to secure higher wages, reasonable hours of work and proper conditions of employment. In conformity with this policy we recommend:

1. That we call upon the Senate of the U.S. to adopt the Wheeler resolution providing for an investigation of the textile industry in the South. We believe that through an investigation such as provided for by the Wheeler resolution the causes of industrial unrest and social discontent can be ascertained and all the facts regarding working conditions, wages and hours of employment in the textile industry can be made public. With this information available and widely circulated public opinion will demand that justice be accorded southern working men and women.

2. That all national and international unions pledge themselves to assign at least one organizer and as many additional organizers as possible to Southern States for the purpose of organizing those who come under their respective jurisdictions and for the purpose of giving special service to the United Textile Workers' organization. It is urged that national and international unions advise the President of the American Federation of Labor of organizers assigned to this campaign within 30 days and that the President of the American Federation of Labor arrange for a conference of such organizers at the earliest date thereafter.

Under the autonomous authority conferred upon national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. each organization may determine its own policy regarding the assignment of organizers. However, because of the unusual interest in organization displayed by

the workers of the South we recommend that a plan of cooperation be developed by the President of the A. F. of L. so that organizers assigned by respective national and international unions may coordinate their efforts under the supervision of the President of the A. F. of L. To carry out this campaign efficiently and effectively it is further recommended that the President of the A. F. of L. appoint a committee to consist of not more than three persons to assist him in the direction of this campaign and that he be further authorized to develop an adequate educational and publicity campaign and consider the establishing of headquarters in some southern city, place to be named by him later and this work be carried on within the financial means available.

We call upon the state federations of labor and city central bodies of southern states to organize their forces, to put forth special efforts in cooperation with national and international unions under the supervision of the President of the A. F. of L. and to render all help possible in carrying forward the southern organization campaign.

4. That the officers of the A. F. of L. issue an appeal to the membership of organized labor for financial contributions to assist the United Textile Workers organization in its organizing campaign in the South and that the United Textile Workers' organization render a detailed and itemized report of moneys received and expended in this campaign to the secretary of the A. F. of L., who in turn is to furnish every affiliated national and international union with a copy of such an accounting.

5. That we call upon the responsible and legal authorities of North Carolina to bring to justice those who are responsible for the loss of

human life in different towns and places throughout the state.

A conference of organizers at Charlotte, North Carolina, on January 6, 1930, reviewed the work to be done in the South and how this plan may be adapted to the needs of southern industry. Since much of the work has been done in the textile industry, the Naumkeag cooperative plan, in operation at the Naumkeag textile mills of Salem, Massachusetts, has been taken as an illustration.

A number of employers have expressed interest in union-management cooperation and willingness for their workers to join a trade union with these constructive ends in view. We feel that this emphasis on constructive trade unionism, and our offer to assist in securing cooperative agreements and establishing union-management cooperation, are an essential part of the southern campaign.

An important part of the work has also been to educate the workers in the principles and methods of union-management cooperation. By explaining industrial problems and showing how wage earners may improve their conditions through cooperative action, we are laying the foundations for constructive unionism. It is essential that workers be prepared to enter at once into constructive union activity.

Education in trade unionism must of necessity be continued over a period of time. Intensive campaigns have therefore been planned to start educational work in a number of different localities. Labor chautauquas with educational meetings and classes to develop an understanding of trade unionism among wage earners and other members of the community, have been held in Danville, Virginia, and Columbus, Georgia, and a series of educational campaigns is being systematically carried forward in other cities.

Special classes in public speaking have been particularly successful. La-

bor songs and plays dramatized the problems these workers are facing and helped to unite them in organization for betterment. Churches have been especially cooperative in this educational work.

Publicity plays a most important part in the campaign. The news we give to the press is essentially educational, keeping the constructive nature of the campaign constantly before the public mind and clarifying any issues which may arise during organizing activities. This educational work is essential in securing public understanding and sympathy.

The director of publicity has made contracts with newspapers and editors in different southern centers and keeps them constantly supplied with news of campaign progress. Publicity released from the Birmingham office has emphasized the fundamental human issues at stake in the organizing campaign and has been influential in keeping public attention centered on the basic human needs of workers to be met by trade union organization.

(1947, p. 172) The organizing drive in 14 southern states, started 14 months previous to 1947 convention, was reported on in detail. Difficulties were encountered through raiding tactics of C.I.O. which were concentrated in the South during the A. F. of L. organizing campaign. Despite the problems encountered, however, great progress was reported in new members gained, new locals established, etc. The report closed with the following statement: While we have not reached all our goals or achieved all our hopes, a start has been made toward full organization and results of this good foundation will continue to show in the months and years ahead. The effect of the union spirit, morale and organization interest of our southern membership has been incalculable in any concrete terms. We shall continue to get dividends from this attitude of confidence and pride in

our American Federation of Labor heritage. We have been able to give practical organizing training and experience to hundreds of our trade unionists. All our organizations will know the benefit of this influence. The Southern Campaign has been good for the South and good for the American Federation of Labor. Its prestige factor in southern public life is everywhere apparent.

(P. 414) Convention action follows:

Your committee heartily concurs in this portion of the Executive Council's Report and wishes to commend the Executive Council for the extensive program of organization that has been carried on in the southern states. In spite of the disruptive tactics of the C.I.O., which were largely responsible for the enactment of unfavorable labor legislation in certain states, the A. F. of L. should now be able to consolidate and expand its gains in the south.

The Executive Council rightfully calls attention to the fact that their success in this campaign in the southern states was in great measure due to the continual cooperation of International Unions, State Federations of Labor and City Central Trades and Labor Bodies. Such unity and cooperation always brings results.

The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act makes it imperative that all agencies of the American Federation of Labor continue in complete harmony of action in all of our efforts to organize and advance the interests of labor.

Your committee on organization again urges that the Executive Council continue the intensive nation-wide campaign to organize the millions of unorganized workers throughout America with particular emphasis on the southern states, Canada, Alaska and Hawaii.

Your committee feels that the funds expended were well spent and that the Executive Council, the A. F. of L. regional representatives, and the or-

ganizers are to be congratulated upon the excellent results accomplished.

Soviet Russia (see: Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council; Communism; Russia; International Labor Organization; China, etc.)

Spain (Franco-Spain) — (1952, pp. 122, 542) Because we are convinced that Communist totalitarianism and Russian aggression cannot be defeated by relying on any force which is itself only another form of totalitarian tyranny, have we continued with redoubled vigor our opposition to our government rendering military or economic aid to or even the slightest indirect moral support of the Franco dictatorship over Spain. An arrangement with this admirer and creature of the Nazi-Fascist Axis can only weaken the world democratic cause, distort its purpose, and discredit its flag. No democratic government should traffic with the Falangist dictatorship. It has nothing to offer us—except loss of worthy friends and moral prestige and compromising of principles.

It is in this spirit that we have also been working to help the democratic Spanish fighters for freedom and free trade unionists exiled from their homeland. We have likewise been aiding the imprisoned heroic Barcelona strikers and the underground fighters for free trade unionism and freedom in impoverished and oppressed Spain.

Speed Up System—(1925, p. 320) (1927, p. 295) In the postal service and other government establishments there have been instituted highly objectionable practices, under the guise of "efficiency systems," which are harmful to the workers physically and destructive of service morale, and therefore add materially to labor costs on government employment.

These "speeding up" practices assume various forms and methods, all directed toward mechanical standardization by plans of weighing or count-

ing, or otherwise measuring output without regard to variations of work and other essential factors.

Experience has demonstrated in all lines of endeavor that any system of "speeding up" the workers beyond a reasonable standard is disastrous in its reactions upon both employer and employee.

The E.C. is directed to cooperate with the representatives of government employees and organizations whose members are subjected to these dehumanizing practices with a view of their elimination in the interest of the workers and the public service.

(1933, p. 474) The A. F. of L. is opposed to all so-called speed-up systems of whatsoever character, and it continues to insist upon the reduction of the work period and the extension of leisure time, and upon conditions that will give opportunity for continuity of employment at adequate wages for all workers as absolutely essential elements to national prosperity and well being.

(1946, pp. 195, 615) The E.C. reported success on the part of the A. F. of L. in preventing the adoption of legislation permitting the use of stop watches or other timekeeping devices in timing workmen employed by the Navy.

Spies, Labor—(see Oppressive Labor Practices)

Sprinkler Systems for Vessels — (1936, pp. 127, 462) One of the most needed and practical laws ever enacted by Congress was that providing for equipping all passenger vessels having stateroom accommodations for 50 or more passengers with automatic sprinkler systems.

This bill passed the Senate July 29, 1935, but it was not until June 15, 1936, that the House approved the measure. These sprinkler systems must protect all enclosed portions of such vessels accessible to passengers or crews.

While this legislation has been sought for several years, it was not brought home to the members of Congress until the Morro Castle burned at sea. The fact that a sprinkler system would have saved every life on that boat awakened the members of Congress to the necessity for the passage of S. 2127, which was immediately approved by the President.

The E.C. believes the enforcement of this Act will save many lives. Representatives of the A. F. of L. were credited with securing the enactment of the legislation with the assistance of Speaker Bankhead.

The United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the U.S. and Canada originated the campaign for this legislation.

St. John Cathedral Memorial — (1925, p. 280) The aim of the construction of this cathedral is to make it a house of worship for all peoples and Labor desires to place a suitable and fitting memorial to the labor movement of America, in order to forever silence the charge that Labor is selfish, biased and a non-communal organization

We request that the international organizations call attention to the importance of the work, cooperate with the committee to construct this great edifice and to urge their international organizations to assist wherever they can to place a suitable and fitting memorial to Labor in this national cathedral.

The American labor movement seeks to join hands with all forces of good will in the community. The organized church movement has already demonstrated their interest in the cause of Labor. It is therefore appropriate that we should reciprocate that spirit of cooperation.

Standards, Living (also see: Spec. Statement Under Hours—Government Employees; Wages; Hours; Housing; Walsh-Healy)

(1940, pp. 100, 553) The importance of elevating standards of living for all families up to an accepted American level was emphasized in the Report of the Executive Council to the convention. In approving the E.C. Report, the convention adopted the following:

Certainly \$1 per hour for 40 hours a week is not an extravagant standard and that standard is the least that will maintain a health and efficiency standard for a family of five. Yet only 15 per cent of all wage earners' families could maintain that standard in 1935-6. As the Executive Council points out this situation remains materially unchanged.

Your committee wishes to emphasize the fact that only increased business activity will enable us to raise living standards for more families to a health and efficiency level with the maintenance of existing work and pay standards. In addition to defense production there must be expansion of consumer and capital goods industries.

(In Defense Production)—(pp. 95-97, 553) Convention adopted following report of committee which considered portion of E.C. Report under above caption:

Our plans and efforts to defend democracy must be based on the concept that democracy is a way of life for all of our people including the workers as well as those devoted to other interests.

Our first concern in our program for expanded production is to absorb into our work program our army of unemployed. Although we have added our defense production controlled by the Federal Government, to production to serve the normal needs of our nation, we still have a reserve of over eight millions of persons without jobs.

The major and controlling fact in relation to war and defense programs is that there must be a total plan

covering all groups in the nation. In planning defense for the United States we have three major groups: enlisted persons operating our defense agencies, those engaged in defense production, and those carrying on the normal activities in our country. This section of the Executive Council's Report is concerned with the second and third groups.

The major and controlling fact with regard to plans for workers employed on defense work and standards of living for them and all other citizens lies in our capacity to produce. In the United States we have achieved the highest productivity per worker in the world, and have geared our labor and living standards accordingly. Highly mechanized tools geared to mechanical power, have made it possible for fewer workers to turn out a greatly increased production — output per worker has increased 25 per cent since 1935. As the report points out, in the past decade output of mines and factories increased six per cent while the work week was cut 10 hours and the work force cut by 800,000.

If we maintain our consumer industries at levels that will at least maintain established standards of living for those in both normal and defense production within the coming year, millions of additional workers will be employed in defense and consumer goods production.

To maintain our purchasing power, the real wage must be maintained. As prices increase, wages must likewise increase, or Labor suffers a reduction in its income. In addition, to maintain a sound economic balance, wages must increase with corresponding increased productivity.

(Wartime)—(1942, p. 120) The importance of raising workers to an adequate living standard now must not be underestimated. If this country is to return to private enterprise after the war, workers must have adequate reserves of buying power, stored up

in war bonds, so that their war savings may provide a market for private industry.

The budget of the Heller Committee, University of California, is generally recognized as representing an adequate living standard for a wage earner's family of four. The Heller Committee wartime budget stands, in round figures, at approximately \$2,500 per year when adjusted for the United States average at June, 1942, prices. This budget takes into account a reduction of slightly over \$275 a year in the goods a worker's family can buy, owing to stoppage of production on certain items. Purchases of automobiles, tires, and durable consumer goods have been properly eliminated, and account taken of great reduction in automobile mileage. This \$275 which cannot be spent for goods is counted as available for investment in war bonds and for payment of increased social security taxes to make possible a program of increased social security benefits.

This expresses in figures the constructive view of workers' living standards in wartime. A fully adequate living standard should be provided and money which cannot be spent for goods should be invested in war bonds and social security taxes, to provide for emergencies and for reserves to be spent after the war.

The bare subsistence living standard for a worker's family of four, as shown by the WPA budget, priced quarterly by the Labor Department, stood at \$1,578 in June, 1942, average for 33 cities.

(1951, p. 206) This is a time when increased taxes will cut away workers' living standards. We shall not be able to regain our present level of living until 1953, or later, when consumer production can resume. This sacrifice we make as the price of our freedom. We shall make it willingly. We insist however that other groups

of citizens make equal sacrifices.

As we look to the future the following facts stand out:

Employers are increasing their incomes because of the large increase in their sales volume. The OPS price stabilization formulas protect their profit margins. Corporation income taxes are not designed to take away all the additional profit that will flow into corporation coffers due to the defense program.

Workers must secure their rightful share in the increased income of their companies and industries. We urge that Wage Stabilization Board policies permit this, and include in their formula an allowance for workers' share in progress where it can be negotiated without raising prices. It is significant that since Korea the incomes of different groups (before taxes) have increased as follows: wages and salaried workers, 20%; unincorporated business, 16%; farmers 35%; corporations, 45%. (Figures compare the first half of 1950 with the first half of 1951.)

A proper share for workers is important not only as a matter of justice, but also because our country's economic future demands it. Workers need to develop large reserves of buying power which they can lay aside in savings against the time when defense production eventually slackens and flow of consumer goods increases again. Our country will then depend on workers' buying to keep industry busy and workers at work, just as it did after World War II. Without a large reserve of buying power, we would be threatened with business recession and unemployment when our country's military strength is built up and defense production declines to the level necessary to maintain it.

Stark, Louis, Tribute to Memory of—(1954, p. 515) The convention unanimously approved the following tribute to the memory of Louis Stark

veteran newspaper writer:

Louis Stark

We have spoken of our gains; we would pause now to speak of a great loss.

Last May, Louis Stark died. We have lost a great friend.

His vast knowledge, his profound wisdom, his sensitive appreciation of the meaning of events, his skillful and precisely accurate reporting of news made him a great reporter, the dean of Labor reporters.

But Louis Stark was more than that. He was a leader of men. Soft spoken, modest, gentle and kind, he was a fearless champion of all that is right and good. He did not seek popularity but he earned the respect and friendship of men of good will in all walks of life. He did not seek fame, but the excellence of his work brought him fame.

He knew the labor movement well. He knew hundreds of the delegates here personally and intimately. He shared their hopes to serve the public good. He shared their secrets and never betrayed one.

He has set a standard in reporting which all good newsmen may seek to achieve. He has left us a heritage—a proof that integrity, courage and kindness do repay the men to whom these virtues belong.

We mourn his loss.

State, County and Municipal Employees, Extension of Social Security—(1949, p. 35) Res. 1 called for an extension of the Social Security Act to workers who have been and are still working for various political subdivisions not covered by social security whereby such employees shall have credit allowed the same as though they had worked for covered employment.

(1949, p. 478) (All resolutions on social security amendments referred to permanent Committee on Social Security)

State, County and Municipal Employees vs. Operating Engineers (see *Engineers, Operating*)

State, County and Municipal Employees vs. Building Trades Department (see: *Building Trades Department*)

State, County and Municipal Employees (see: *Public Employees*)

State Departments of Labor—(1936, p. 140) The state federations of labor have played an active part during 1935-36 in the establishment of independent labor departments in a number of states where such departments have either been non-existent or have been combined with departments for agriculture, commerce, and industry. Bills creating labor departments have been passed in Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Rhode Island. Strong labor departments furnish an important source of protection both for organized and unorganized workers, for men, women and children. In every state, experience has shown the need of a basic department headed by an officer whose chief duty it is to investigate problems of working people and to enforce the safeguards provided by the labor laws of the state. Without statutory powers, even a well-intentioned labor commissioner cannot enforce existing laws or build up a case for future legislation. Upon the inspection staff of the labor department depends to a large extent the safety of the man or woman operating a dangerous machine. The inspector's insistence upon the installation of an adequate ventilation and exhaust system will prevent new cases of lead, benzol, or chromium poisoning, and the use of wet instead of dry drilling in quarries and tunnels will help protect the worker from silicosis. It is most encouraging to note the progress that has been made. The E.C. urges that efforts be continued in the remaining states to set

up labor departments adequately staffed, financed, and equipped with full power to administer the labor laws and to make rules and regulations supplementing the laws.

(P. 692) It is very encouraging to note by this report that five states have passed bills creating departments of labor and that considerable interest is manifested in securing adequate labor legislation to protect the health of workers in industry from occupational diseases.

We therefore urge that each international union make a survey to determine which of its local unions are not availing themselves of the opportunity to join with their fellow workers in state federations of labor and city central bodies for the purpose of protecting the interests of organized labor as represented through the A. F. of L., to the end that the city central bodies and state federations of labor shall be better able to perform the functions that have been duly delegated to them as a part of the A. F. of L., and particularly to place state federations of labor and city central bodies in a position to more ably assist the American Federation of Labor in furthering legislation placed before the national Congress.

We urge particularly that all state federations of labor undertake the passage of state legislation in conformity with the national Social Security Law; legislation to provide a state law modeled after the Wagner-Connery Labor Dispute Act; and amendments to their compensation laws to include full compensation for occupational diseases, and we urge that such latter program be prepared in such a way as to protect the interests of those who have already become victims of occupational diseases.

(1937, pp. 177, 311) Four additional states — Arkansas, Florida, Georgia and Indiana—have this year set up branches of state government

devoted to the protection of wage earners.

A single department responsible for the administration of the various laws and programs and equipped with the necessary power and authority is recognized as essential to promote intelligently the welfare of the workers. The inspection division of such a department can insist upon the installation of proper ventilating and exhaust systems and safe working conditions, so that the workers' health will not be destroyed.

The E.C. urges that efforts be continued in the remaining states to set up state labor departments, adequately staffed, financed, and equipped with full power to administer labor laws and to make rules and regulations supplementing these laws.

(1938, p. 173) Effective labor legislation cannot progress any faster than the process of building up an agency to administer the laws passed. In recent years a number of states where agencies administering labor laws were weak, scattered, or non-existent have adopted legislation consolidating and strengthening scattered bureaus and creating state labor departments. A number of states that have in recent years established labor departments have followed up that step by revising and enlarging their labor laws. All of the nine states meeting this year, except Mississippi, already have established labor departments. In Mississippi a bill passed one house with organized labor backing, but was defeated in the Senate. Louisiana this year added new powers and duties relating to boiler inspection, regulation of private employment agencies, minimum wage, and apprenticeship.

(1939, p. 155) Among the favorable results achieved in spite of the growing opposition to progressive legislation, are to be counted the creation of strong, unified labor departments, with rule-making powers in

Alabama and in the Territory of Hawaii. While these two laws lodge rule-making power in regard to safety and health in the labor department, where it belongs, Idaho and Montana, give similar authorization to the Department of Public Welfare and the State Board of Health, respectively, where, experience in other states indicates, it will probably lie dormant and inactive so far as occupational and industrial hazards are concerned.

Two state labor commissioners—Indiana and New Hampshire—were given power to take wage claim assignments for collection, bringing the number of state departments that can effectively assist wage earners in collecting their back wages to 15.

Four new states adopted apprenticeship laws, making 12 states that empower the state departments of labor to promote and supervise sound programs of apprentice training in cooperation with local labor and employer organizations.

(Relations with)—(1939, pp. 157, 385) The convention considered the E.C. Report outlining major state legislative objectives and enactments and adopted the following recommendation:

In that portion of the Executive Council's Report captioned, "State Labor Relations," your committee recommends that more support be given to the legislative committees of state federations of labor, with a view to more aggressive action being taken in defeating these restrictive bills, and further recommends that the American Federation of Labor issue a pamphlet to all national and international unions, state federations of labor, central labor unions and federal unions, calling to their attention the anti-labor legislation that has been presented or enacted, asking national and international unions that these pamphlets be reproduced in their official publications so that all

workers may be fully advised, and have full knowledge of this trend in legislation.

(State Secretaries of Labor, Selection from Organized Labor)—(1942, p. 644) Particular attention is called to the action of the State of Illinois in appointing a coal merchant as head of the state department of labor. This is a dangerous precedent and the governor's action is strictly condemned. The head of such a department should be selected from the ranks of organized labor and the department should not be used as a political football.

State Federations of Labor—(1928, pp. 65, 194) The next wider unit of cooperation on general labor interests is the state federation of labor which is concerned with statewide interests of Labor. These interests are broadly legislation, education and organization, as state problems.

The strength of the state federation depends upon the degree of cooperation between unions as represented by affiliation to the state federations. For influence in guiding developments as well as for protection it is of fundamental importance that cooperation shall be 100 per cent.

The state federation cannot, of course, do direct organization work. Its function is to watch the problem and to be able to point out where effective work can be done and to stimulate local interest and endeavor. It has the advantage of emphasizing and focusing attention on an essential problem.

The state legislative and political program is, of course, developed by the state federation of labor, guided by the policies and decisions of the A. F. of L. State federations safeguard the lives and well being of wage earners as their part in promoting the general welfare. Fundamental for the first objective is compensation legislation. In addition to having a law on the legislative records, it is

necessary for all workers to know that they have a right to compensation and how to go about getting it. To put this information in the simplest form and widely distributed is among the most valuable services a state federation could perform and would constitute a very favorable introduction to many non-unionists. Payments for injuries and disabilities is but one phase of this responsibility.

The report of the American Engineering Council on Safety and Production shows that the number of accidents that happen per individual have increased in number and in severity. Important as mechanical prevention is, of still greater effectiveness is safety as a personal habit. The key to safe habits is education—education in safe habits as a general practice and safe work habits as a part of all vocational, industrial and engineering training.

The greatest medium for the promotion of human well being is wide educational opportunities. The state federation has an essential part in improving the public school system and the university of the state. Labor should be represented in the state executive educational agency and in the board of directors of the state university so that Labor's views and needs may be presented to those responsible for central planning.

(1931, p. 65) Reports show that state federations of labor perform an indispensable service in organizing work. The nature of union organization makes the state federation logically the link between the A. F. of L. and local groups for statewide undertakings. In the past year some state federations stimulated organizing work, helping local groups to form organizing programs, keeping in touch with the work to give assistance in every possible way. Several methods were used. In Washington and in Wisconsin, a conference of local offi-

cers was called to plan the campaign. General policies were mapped out and arrangements made to start local campaigns. The interest thus stimulated was carried back to local groups, together with a practical work program.

(1935, p. 448) The A. F. of L. desires to direct attention to the need for continued activity on the part of the state federations and city central bodies to secure state legislation concurrent with federal legislation passed in recent years to bring to workers employed in strictly intrastate industries the protection obtained for those engaged in interstate commerce by the passage of federal legislation. We have in mind concurrent legislation covering the abuse of the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes, old age pensions, anti-prison labor, uniform child labor legislation, strengthening of workmen's compensation laws, state acts modeled after the Wagner-Connery Bill and approval of the child labor amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and to keep abreast with such further social and labor legislation as may be enacted by the Federal Congress.

We recognize the very valuable services rendered by state federations and city central bodies, not only in the furthering of state legislation affecting Labor, but the splendid support rendered to the A. F. of L. in its legislative program before Congress, and to that end recommend that this convention call upon all national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. to urge their local unions to affiliate with and support state federations of labor and city central bodies.

(1941, pp. 158, 262,, 395, 530) The convention decided that all national and international unions urge their locals to affiliate with state federations of labor—and further that the Executive Council direct the Director

of organization to instruct all organizers of the A. F. of L. to see that affiliation with each branch of the American Federation of Labor in the state is accomplished at the time federal labor and local unions are chartered.

The Executive Council was directed to take into consideration the feasibility of calling into a conference the officers of the state federations of labor, and to the end that uniformity may be developed in the carrying out of such legislative program as the convention may adopt.

(1942, p. 644) It is noted that there is a lack of affiliation of some of the local unions to the state federations of labor. This is particularly true of the railroad locals. We again urge all locals to affiliate at the earliest date with state federations of labor. They are doing splendid work in the legislative field in the various states and also in national legislation and they are very helpful to all branches of organized labor and deserve support of all local unions.

Your committee in conclusion repeats the recommendation made last year to the Executive Council—"that in the promulgation of the legislative program of the Federation they take into consideration the feasibility of calling into a conference the officers of the state federations of labor, to the end that uniformity may be developed in the carrying out of such legislative programs as the convention may adopt.

(Mandatory Affiliation)—(1948, p. 253)

Whereas—The growth and strength of state federations of labor and central labor unions are of utmost importance to each and every member of the American Federation of Labor, and

Whereas—Many locals are not affiliated with either or both bodies, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention go on record as favoring affiliation of all locals with both the state federation and the central labor unions within their respective districts, and be it further

Resolved—That this convention of the American Federation of Labor recommends that all locals must affiliate with both the state and central bodies, amending such articles of the constitution and by-laws as may be required to make such affiliation mandatory rather than optional.

(P. 304) Referred to the E.C. for further study.

(Fund)—(1950, pp. 35, 480) Res. 41:

Whereas—Now, as never before labor leaders write and talk solidarity, and we should be together and present a unified front, but nothing seems to materialize, and

Whereas—National and international unions through their officers and conventions consider questions of business in connection with their trade, craft, or own affairs, such as raising dues and assessments, and

Whereas—This question of a united front is most important and vital to all in the labor movement, and

Whereas—One of the most important links in this organization of the American Federation of Labor are the state federations, and

Whereas—The state federations do not receive the union cooperation from many lodges and locals in the states, regardless of them being asked to do so by their national and international officers, therefore, be it

Resolved—That we call upon the American Federation of Labor to ask the national and international unions to assess their membership an additional five (5) cents per month, paying same to the American Federation of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor, in turn, pay the pro rata to each state federation accord-

ing to the membership therein; this will bring about full cooperation and supply to many of these starved state federations a working capital to do the things that needs to be done for the good of the labor movement.

(1952, p. 48) Res. 72:

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated international unions are urged to help the state federations of labor carry out a political education program effectively by mandating the respective local unions who are still unaffiliated with their respective federations to do so at once, and thus solidify our ranks and enable us to make effective gains particularly in the field of national and state legislation, and

Whereas—We deem it of the utmost importance to the wage earners of America that the A. F. of L. be in a strong position, through its state federations of labor, to implement thoroughly its political education program, elect its friends to public office, and defeat Labor's foes in Congress as well as in the various state legislatures, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor at its annual Convention in New York City in September 1952, take necessary steps to bring home to its affiliated international unions the need for their local affiliates to be members of the federations of labor in their respective states, and be it further

Resolved—That we impress upon the various international unions the fact that all A. F. of L. affiliates should be part of their federation and bear their fair share of the financial and moral obligation of promoting the objectives of organized labor, the protection of its membership, and in particular, the successful implementation of its political education program.

(P. 499) Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution,

with the inclusion of central labor unions.

There is usually in a city where there is a large membership of the American Federation of Labor duly chartered a central body which is the coordinating body for that particular locality, and at all times ready to give assistance to aid affiliated locals of the international unions and federal labor unions, in view of the many local activities in which a central body is required to participate, including the many local and civic bodies.

Your committee wishes to stress this point, that at one time there was only one central body and that was chartered by the American Federation of Labor. Today we have the competition of a dual organization in many of our cities and our local unions are not free from the methods used by said dual organizations. However, when difficulties arise and our local unions are affected, they then turn to whatever agency of the American Federation of Labor there is in their community for the protection of their interests. The ability to carry out this work depends in a large degree upon affiliations of the local unions in the various central bodies.

With the activities carried out daily by the central bodies and their various contacts with local activity their meetings are held monthly and semi-monthly where the delegates assemble, make their reports and request whatever help they may be in need of on behalf of their local unions.

We may add further that the central bodies cooperate with the various legislative committees in preparing the program to be presented to their legislative bodies. Their functions also are to be on the lookout for legislation that is detrimental to the best interests of the workers. Therefore, the local unions who are not in affiliation share in the benefits put forth by the local central body at the expense

of those local unions which are affiliated and attend the meetings of the central bodies and work for the interests of organized labor.

Further activities are those of visiting and meeting personally with the political parties to request their help to vote in favor of our legislative program, and also to defeat measures that are not in the best interest of organized labor. During the past year the American Federation of Labor has been confronted with the introduction of anti-labor legislation in many cities and states. Therefore, the central bodies, through their activities put forth by Labor's League for Political Education, promoted a campaign of registration with this slogan: "Register or you cannot vote."

The inauguration of this campaign of education among our local unions resulted in not alone having the head of the family register, but all members who were eligible to vote, then continuing to organize its committees, prepare for the defeat on election day of those members who voted for the Taft-Hartley Law and to elect friends of Labor who would vote for the repeal of this measure. We can report that we believe that work of Labor's League for Political Education has proved successful and should be continued among the workers of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee, being mindful of the anti-labor legislation that may be introduced in the various cities and states, feels that the central bodies and Labor's League for Political Education can be a strong factor in bringing about the defeat of this legislation.

May we therefore recommend that the American Federation of Labor forward a communication to all national and international unions to request that they urge their local unions in the various localities to affiliate with the central bodies and state federa-

tions of labor, also to the federal labor unions to the end that strong central bodies and state federations of labor may work for the help of all trade unionists.

State Labor Conferences — (1950, pp. 200, 454) The E.C. reported that the A. F. of L. had cooperated with the 16th State Labor Conference held in Washington, D. C., under the auspices of the U.S. Department of Labor, in all matters of moment to organized labor in the respective states.

(P. 454) The committee report to the convention on this subject was unanimously approved as follows:

The practice of conferences between the U.S. Department of Labor and representatives of state commissioners of labor, and state federations of labor, are an excellent method of sharing information and experience. We suggest that these gatherings would gain in effectiveness and in stimulating exchange of views if they were strictly informative and did not venture into policy determination which is a function of the labor movement.

"State Labor News" Denounced — (1953, pp. 493, 657) Res. 149 called attention to the anti-labor campaign being conducted through a publication titled *State Labor News* (Columbus, Ohio) and contained the following provisions:

Resolved—By the 72nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened at St. Louis, Mo., that we hereby go on record calling upon the officers and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to launch an investigation into the anti-labor campaign of the *State Labor News* and its sponsors, in cooperation with the International Labor Press of America, to the end that these enemies of Labor may be exposed, and the rank and file of the labor movement as well as the general public be warned of the sinister motives of that publication.

State Labor Relations Bills—(1937, pp. 178, 311) The A. F. of L. this year drafted and circulated to its constituent bodies a bill to promote equality of bargaining power between employer and employee by creating state labor commissions, defining unfair labor practices, etc., and also a bill to prohibit labor espionage and regulate private detectives and armed guards. The former was based on the Wagner Act, but went into more detail than the federal statute in defining unfair labor practices of employers and the procedure for holding elections. This bill, or bills very similar to it, was introduced in 19 states and enacted in five: Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Utah, and Wisconsin.

The measure prohibiting espionage and regulating private detective agencies was introduced in a number of states including Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania, but was not so successful. The New York bill passed the senate only. The Pennsylvania bill made no progress. The Illinois measure was enacted in a very much altered form.

Pennsylvania enacted a series of measures dealing with various phases of industrial relations: A State Labor Relations Act, an Act setting up additional machinery in the state labor department for the mediation, conciliation, and voluntary arbitration of labor disputes; a new anti-injunction law, and a law limiting the number of deputy sheriffs that may be deputized and providing a procedure to be observed in making appointments. This Act, if adopted in other states and well enforced, would put an end to the practice of donations of arms, tear gas, and munitions by industrial companies for the purpose of breaking strikes. It would prevent the swearing in of unlimited number of deputy sheriffs, recruited from criminal elements.

The new anti-injunction law differs from the earlier statute in Pennsylvania and from the laws in other states, in that its language is more specific, the list of actions which may not be enjoined is more inclusive, and proof is required, without the aid of presumptions of law or fact, that the acts to be enjoined were actually performed, authorized, or ratified by the persons named in the injunction. It is furthermore stipulated that an injunction shall not be issued to an employer who is employing strikebreakers, nor to one who has failed to comply with all obligations imposed by law, and made every effort to settle the dispute by negotiation or with the aid of governmental machinery.

Since Pennsylvania has, at the same time, set up some important new governmental machinery to aid in the settlement of disputes and the negotiation of agreements, this law should help to increase the effectiveness of both the state and federal labor relations boards, and the new mediation facilities of the Department of Labor and Industry. And all of these institutions taken together should prove of great assistance to the labor organizations of the state in winning recognition and improved standards of wages, hours, and working conditions.

(1938, p. 171) While no further enactments of state labor relations bills are to be recorded this year, New York passed a law which considerably tightens the state's regulation of private detectives and detective agencies, and attempts to restrict their espionage, strike-breaking and union-smashing activities. The required surety bond has been raised to \$10,000, and persons injured by an action which violates the law are permitted to bring suit against either principal or employer. Specific acts which are forbidden include: inciting to strike, in-

citing to do unlawful acts, interfering with peaceful picketing during a strike, interfering with the exercise of the employees' right to join or to assist a labor organization, interfering with collective bargaining, procuring reports on lawful union activities, circulating lists of union members, recruiting advertising for, or furnishing armed guards or strike-breakers, and tear gas or munitions. The business of detective agency may not be combined with that of employment agency. All detectives and detective agencies are required to hold licenses from the department of state, which must be renewed biennially and may be revoked after a hearing. The industrial commissioner is given the right to inspect all applications and records connected with the administration of the law. The names of licensed detective agencies are to be published annually, and lists of applicants for license, licenses issued, and licenses revoked are to be posted weekly in the office of the department of state.

In Kentucky the appointment of deputy sheriffs has been regulated by two laws, one setting up certain personnel qualifications, and the other prohibiting compensation by private parties. These regulations are not as stringent as those adopted last year in Pennsylvania. Rhode Island has prohibited the use of tear gas in labor disputes by any individual, firm, or corporation.

(1939, p. 157) Connecticut this year enacted an anti-injunction law modeled on the Norris-LaGuardia Act, and New Mexico passed a more limited type of restriction requiring the hearing of witnesses in open court and certain findings of fact before the issuance of temporary or permanent injunctions. In most states, however, efforts were centered on defeating restrictive bills; some of the worst proposals were considerably modified before passage, notably in Michigan and

Minnesota. While the total number of restrictive bills introduced in 1939 was actually no greater than two years ago, the bills were more aggressively pushed and a number passed or came near passage. Oregon led off with the adoption of an anti-picketing statute by popular referendum in November, 1938. At the same time two measures were defeated in neighboring states, California and Washington. The A. F. of L. joined with the state federation of labor in bringing suit for a declaratory judgment to have the Oregon law ruled unconstitutional. Although the decision rendered upholds the law, it does at least in some measure clarify the rights of disputants in labor disputes. An appeal has been taken to the higher court in an effort to have the law set aside altogether.

An anti-picketing bill was passed by both houses in Idaho, but vetoed, upon the demand of Labor, by the governor.

Restrictions on picketing, boycotting, and persuasion of non-unionists in connection with labor disputes and organizing campaigns are contained in the new State Labor Relations Acts of Minnesota and Michigan, in the amended Act of Pennsylvania, and in the new Wisconsin Act that was substituted for the 1937 Little Wagner Act. These restrictions are generally couched in such elastic and ambiguous terms as to leave the boundaries of permissible action extremely uncertain. Therein lies, perhaps, their chief nuisance value. Ample new grounds are opened up for the issuance of injunctions, even in states like Wisconsin and Pennsylvania where this abuse of judicial power had been curbed; and in some cases union members and sympathizers may run the additional risks of damage suits and criminal prosecutions. In Wisconsin a three-fourths vote is now required to enter into a closed shop contract, instead of a simple majority. The check-

off of union dues must be individually authorized by a secret majority vote.

The Minnesota and Michigan laws require notification of intention to strike, lockout, or change agreements, and allow a fixed period for mediation and negotiation before a strike may be called. The 1939 State Labor Relations Acts as a whole contain so many uncertain and dangerous features that the net result may be counted unfavorable. As individual cases arise under these laws they should be most carefully watched and handled lest a new series of court decisions fasten again upon the labor movement many of the outworn and castoff decisions of the old common law.

St. Lawrence Seaway Project — (1940, p. 492) A proposal to construct the St. Lawrence Deep Seaway as a part of the defense program of the nation was presented to the convention and referred to the Executive Council. The resolution provided that the American Federation of Labor and affiliated organizations be requested to support this movement to obtain the water rights needed by the United States and to construct the same as a self-liquidating project to be paid for out of tolls and power sales, and to be maintained on a cost of operation basis and with equitable rights to both Canada and the United States.

(1941, pp. 99, 602) The Executive Council reported that its opposition to the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Waterways Project is based on the fact that projects within the United States States should be given prior consideration.

The convention instructed the Executive Council to give further study to the St. Lawrence Waterway Project and to consult with labor organizations who are concerned.

(1948, pp. 135, 419) The E.C. reported continued opposition to the proposed St. Lawrence Waterway. Convention approved.

(1950, p. 21) Res. 7 presented additional arguments favoring construction of St. Lawrence Seaway and called upon the A. F. of L. to actively support legislation that will bring about immediate construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway Power Project.

(P. 28) Res. 22 called upon A. F. of L. to go on record for and to actively support legislation that will bring about the immediate construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project.

(P. 469) The subject embraced in these two resolutions has been considered at previous conventions and by the Executive Council, and the St. Lawrence Seaway has been disapproved by both bodies on all occasions.

Representations have been made by the introducers of these resolutions that new and important developments are in the making which warrant inquiry and further consideration and which in the judgment of the introducers of the resolution warrant a change of attitude.

Because of representations of new and important developments referred to it is recommended these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for inquiry into these alleged new developments and that opportunity be accorded to all affiliated unions interested and concerned of presenting their respective points of view before, either by communication or reference, final disposition is made of these resolutions by the Executive Council.

(1951, p. 116) Res. 37 and 38: The Executive Council reported continued opposition to the proposed St. Lawrence Seaway. A brief but comprehensive report on efforts made to secure enactment of such legislation was presented by the E.C.

Res. 37 and 38 requested the A. F. of L. to change its original position and to support the project. However, the convention refused to reverse position of the E.C. and rejected the resolutions.

(1952, pp. 256, 453) The Executive Council reports on the proposal made in the last session of Congress for construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. Our National Legislative Committee, carrying out previous convention action, testified against this proposal which was not adopted.

(1953, pp. 176, 636) The E.C. reported continued opposition to the development of the proposed St. Lawrence Waterway. The convention approved action taken by the council.

(1954, pp. 121, 543) The E.C. reported the final enactment of legislation authorizing construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway despite A. F. of L. opposition. The convention adopted its committee report and recommendation that "Our Federation should watch closely the development of this project to assure that the interests and welfare of American workers are fully protected."

Statistical and Information Service—(1929, p. 101) On the request of affiliated organizations, we have made a few special studies of wages and hours. We have also made special studies by request of member organizations on development of hours and wages. Two of these, "A Scientific Basis for Shorter Hours of Work," and a "Comparison of Wages North and South" are available for general distribution.

The Federation hopes to supply information and to respond to special requests of unions. Washington is the center for much labor and economic information collected by governmental bureaus and private agencies. To make this information of service to unions, practically all of it must be adapted to our specific problems.

It is equally the Federation's responsibility to keep these various agencies advised as to Labor's needs and points of view. Research, like other undertakings, must rest upon a balanced understanding of all fac-

tors involved. Probably the chief reason why Labor has not benefited more through government fact-finding is because we have not been more insistent in pointing out inadequacies and shortcomings of labor statistics. Following the interest and concern the Federation has shown in recent months for getting labor information from the statistical material of the Census Bureau, the Secretary of Commerce appointed representatives of the Federation on the advisory committees on manufactures and distribution and on unemployment. These committees made recommendations as to questions to be included in questionnaires to be used in the coming census.

Statistical Standards (Division of) (Labor Advisory Committee to)—(1947, p. 278) This Division of the U.S. Bureau of the Budget is responsible for coordinating the entire research and statistical work of the Federal Government. Research programs of all federal departments and other agencies are reviewed by it to make sure that adequate and accurate statistical information is secured and that duplication of effort is avoided.

The Division of Statistical Standards has made consistent efforts to see that different groups using statistics, such as business, farmers, Labor, are securing the information they require. Since an advisory committee of business men had already been set up to work with the Division, its program of cooperation with representative organizations required the creation of a labor advisory committee. Such a committee was set up at the request of the division early in 1945, consisting of research representatives from the American Federation of Labor, the Railway Labor Executives Association and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The opportunity to represent Labor's informational needs before this

top government statistical agency has been of value. By meeting at intervals of about three months, the Labor Advisory Committee to the Division of Statistical Standards has kept constantly in touch with the whole program of statistical research of the Federal Government, has discussed proposals for new work and urged changes which will result in giving labor information not previously available. Our committee has found government representatives most cooperative and ready to work with us. They are charged with developing a fully rounded program of accurate economic measurements which will enable all groups to watch and understand economic developments. They look upon the cooperation of those who use statistics, both business and Labor, as essential in accomplishing this purpose.

Progress of the Labor Advisory Committee's work has brought first expansion, then specialization. Starting with a small committee of six labor representatives (two from each national labor organization), our meetings with government representatives expanded during 1945 and 1946 so that research directors of all national and international unions had an opportunity to join in them and become familiar with the statistical work of the Federal Government on which all unions depend for essential information.

During 1947 technical subcommittees were set up on different phases of the work, such as wages and income, employment, health and welfare plans, industrial relations, productivity, international statistics, and other subjects. This subdivision and specialization has made it possible for labor research representatives to work with government bureaus on the technical details of statistical work and thus make sure that questionnaires and tabulations will be so planned as to give us the information we need.

A special group has been set up to work with the Bureau of Labor Statistics since the major part of our statistical information comes from this bureau. Work of the subcommittees has been coordinated, so that each subcommittee deals with all government agencies doing research work in its subject. The employment subcommittee, for instance, meets with representatives from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Census Bureau or any other agency dealing with information on employment.

To improve statistics on productivity a special conference was called in October, 1946, bringing together representatives of business, Labor, universities, research agencies, and government. Two days of discussion brought out technical suggestions and aroused interest in this subject so important to unions and management. The Federation has secured cooperation of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in a plan for joint Labor-Management measurement of productivity in individual plants with the assistance of technicians from the bureau.

The Legislative Committee of the Federation has placed before Congress urgent requests for appropriations to provide adequate statistical work. With this year's budget cuts, many important programs were seriously curtailed, but the legislative department has been successful in getting a few serious cuts restored, at least in part.

Status of Workers—(1928, p. 37) What standing wage earners have in the world of industry, is the first concern of the trade union. The problem is two-fold: the achievement of economic status, and legal status.

Economic status comes through what we are accustomed to call "recognition of the union." This means that the right of workers to join the union is recognized and the union is accepted as the regular method

through which matters of joint relations are determined. An individual worker can have no real standing in a modern highly organized industry, but workers organized in a union can have that intelligent part in the industry that constitutes real partnership in the work. The union makes possible representative conferences with management for collective bargaining or decision upon the terms and conditions of work. The existence of a joint agreement, mutually satisfactory to the organized groups concerned, together with provisions for the adjustment of grievances, sets up the agencies for justice to wage earners that assure confidence in a square deal.

Through the collective agreement the workers have a recognized function in industry that makes them definitely an organized unit of the industry as a going concern. The only way that this definite economic status may be achieved is through the trade union. This is a vital objection that workers make against the substitution of employee representation plans for employees known as company unions. Such plans come from management while the union is the agency of the workers that enables them to have representation and functions.

Trade unions have been building up the practice of collective bargaining during the past four decades. The results have been substantial benefits both to workers and to industry; wages have increased and hours of work decreased, thus providing opportunities for better life. In addition to the service which the union renders by effective collective bargaining are union benefits which add measurably to the workers' status of members of economic society.

(Pp. 50, 237) At no time in its history has the trade union had greater influence in industrial circles. The constructive policies which we advocate and follow challenge the atten-

tion and respect of employers in this country and abroad. The trade union rests its claim to recognition upon its capacity to do the things that are good for industry and for human beings. It is a stabilizing unifying agency responsible for keeping Labor's progress abreast of that of other groups. It is not our purpose to usurp the functions of other groups or to establish domination over them, but to further uniform progress for all. We believe that progress comes from using and improving what we have, hence we have no revolutionary purpose to overthrow the present social system to establish a group control. Our purpose then is exactly the same as that of other intelligent progressive persons. The union, therefore, is an agency which employers may turn to for cooperation for mutual benefit. Steadfastly trade unions have insisted that high wages, regular work and that prevention of waste of human work capacity were necessary to both social and industrial progress. Wherever these standards have been established they constitute proof of the correctness of our contentions, and some of our contentions have become accepted business policy. Our employers are gratified that America is a high wage country of the world and that high wages mean increased ability to buy things produced. Steadily increased production can be sustained only with increasing capacity to buy.

Because American labor policies are constructive and beneficial they set standards that definitely influence the thinking and decisions of all employers and employees. In times of crisis industrial leaders are quick to realize that the constructive ideals of Labor are a tremendous asset. While not all are so ready to acknowledge that these ideals are an equal industrial asset when conditions are normal, those who look to the trade union movement for leadership are increas-

ing. Leading opinion-making agencies realize that discussion of labor problems must be upon a plane of intelligence and presentation of fact.

Steel Formula, Little (see: War Labor Board)

Steel Workers Organization—(1924, p. 149) A. F. of L. Convention voted to give support and encouragement to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers to thoroughly organize the steel industry. A request of the steel workers that the craft unions relinquish jurisdiction was refused as it would interfere with the autonomy rights of organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Stevenson and Sparkman Endorsed—(1952, pp. 61, 520) Democratic candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States were unanimously endorsed by the Convention of the A. F. of L.

Stock Dividends and Employee Ownership—(1926, p. 341) Modern industrial development has gone forward so rapidly that even the closest observers are unable to keep fully abreast of it. In some aspects this development has taken the form of financing on a basis that is leading to a point where no one may say exactly what will happen. Able men have pointed out the extreme danger that lies in the direction along which our business affairs are now traveling. Before this new era dawned, the business world was familiar with the device known as the stock dividend. Originally, this was resorted to for the legitimate purpose of permanently fixing in the capital employed the accretion accumulated and held as surplus. Any such stock dividend was accepted as notice to all, and sundry, that the business had been profitable beyond the sum needed for defraying reasonable dividends, and the excess earnings had been employed in the work of carrying on the enterprise,

to the end that even greater dividends might be declared and a large surplus accumulated. This was also a notice that the wage rate in any such enterprise might be advanced without jeopardizing the success of the undertaking.

Since the dawn of the post war era we have known such manipulation of enterprise as makes the high finance of the earlier part of the century appear like an innocent amusement of amateurs. One of the most elastic and readily controlled agencies for this form of jugglery is the stock issue of "no par value." It means exactly what it says, that the purchaser of that stock buys nothing. He pays his money for the prospect of accumulating dividends at whatever rate a board of directors may determine. Through the issue of non-voting stock, or the central control device, the purchaser of stock has no voice whatever in the management or direction of the affairs of the concern to which he has turned over his money. The danger residing in such a practice is so apparent that only the most reckless of investors or the most gullible will resort to the purchase of such stock for the employment of their savings.

Another dangerous practice is that form of stock issue which is commonly referred to as "employee ownership." Thousands of employees of the various great manufacturing or transportation concerns of the country have invested large portions of their savings in these concerns, lured on by specious and attractive promises from stock promoters or from the management.

The A. F. of L. would not in the remotest sense discredit thrift among the workers of America, nor discourage any ambitious worker from trying to make himself secure against possible want in the future, but we would urge that all give careful consideration to the subject that is so tremendously important to them.

When it is possible for a man of standing to publish in one of the most conservative American magazines the names of one after another of great corporations whose financial statements to the public and to their stockholders are inaccurate, misleading and in some cases contain downright untruths, it is time for the ordinary mortal to "Stop, Look and Listen."

The A. F. of L. also wishes to call attention to a practice that is prevalent and which exemplifies one of the most unsound and dangerous contrivances known to high finance. We refer to the capitalization of prospective earnings. Under this process it is the common practice for financial buccaneers to secure control of a prosperous business and then through the process of reorganization or reincorporation to increase the capital stock by two or three times the original sum, basing this increase on the earning capacity of the plant and the anticipation of future sales of its product. This is such an extreme form of speculation that it amounts in the end to downright gambling, presenting to the stock purchaser only the prospect of winning a return on his investment in the event that the anticipated increased sales of output be realized. Such stock issues are dependent for value entirely upon the ability of the manipulating group to maintain the enterprise at its full productive capacity. In the event of any diminution or cessation of purchases by the public the payment of dividends must cease or be provided for from a surplus which has been created through the accumulation of excessive profits. When such adversity overtakes one of these companies the device most swiftly applied to preserve the shrinking surplus is that of reduction in wages. At the same time the investor will note the decrease in the quoted price of his shares in the stock list and may easily compute for himself the extent of the

loss he is incurring through having "taken a chance" in the game that is being played by the financial capitalists of the day.

The A. F. of L. would urge, therefore, that all workers wherever situated proceed in their purchases of corporation shares with the same caution and prudence that they would exercise in other investments.

Stockholm Peace Petition — (1950, p. 27) Res. 19 and 87:

Whereas — The Stockholm Peace Offensive through the mass signing of petitions, while the mailed fist of Northern Korea, sponsored by Soviet Russia, was striking at the heart of South Korea, the only government recognized by the United Nations in Korea, must be branded as a colossal hoax and fraud perpetrated upon peoples, everywhere, hungry for peace, and

Whereas — The Stockholm Peace camouflage stresses the banning of atomic bombs, which Russia probably does not now have in as large piles as the United States but is silent on aggression against peaceful countries like South Korea, and

Whereas — Undoubtedly millions of well-meaning but misguided people in the Western democracies, Asia and Africa have and still are signing the petitions, reports indicating that 50 township councils in Quebec, Canada, have signed them and the powerful National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain adopted a similar resolution virtually unanimously, which shows that people will follow a phony peace rather than none at all because of the fear of war and hope for peace, therefore, be it

Resolved — That the 69th Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Houston, Texas, September, 1950, go on record as advocating and proposing a peace crusade, sponsored by the American Federation of Labor, the C.I.O. and non-

Communist civic, women's, youth, business, educational, church, and even children, Republicans, Democratic and Socialist groups, which will constitute a positive mass educational program for peace in which the "little man" can be enlisted to take an active part in backing the action of the USA and UN in sending armed forces into Korea to drive North Korea behind the 38th Parallel, as well as to support the fight of the Western democracies for peace all over the world and thereby take the ball for world peace out of the hands of Soviet Russia which will be a powerful weapon in the cold war against Russian Communism.

(P. 53):

Whereas—The "Stockholm Peace Petition" was inaugurated by the agents of the international Communist conspiracy, and

Whereas—It is merely a trick and device to cause confusion in every state and county where the Communists have been unsuccessful either by outright aggression or by intimidation to gain control, and

Whereas—World Communism constitutes the greatest military threat the world has ever known, and

Whereas—The Stockholm Peace Petition has been created and used to mislead innocent people who have a sincere desire for peace, to the end that there may be discord and friction amongst democratic people the world over, and

Whereas—We recognize this false trick and device for what it is, therefore, be it

Resolved—By the 69th Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we hereby condemn and reject the Stockholm Peace Petition as a complete fraud, intended to weaken the democratic nations and not to establish peace, and we urge all loyal and devoted Americans not only to reject this phony peace petition but to

stand up as men and women and speak up against it, and be it further

Resolved—That every effort be made to overcome the vicious propaganda of the international Communist conspiracy and that Congress and the National Administration be urged to increase the funds allotted to the "Voice of America" so that its effective fight against the vicious propaganda of the Kremlin agents the world over may be successfully overcome

(P. 472) These two resolutions deal with the exposure and condemnation of the Stockholm Peace Petition being promoted and circulated by various agencies of Soviet Russia and her satellites and agencies throughout the world and designed to confuse and mislead well meaning peoples throughout the free nations of the world.

Your committee concurs in the suggestion of an effective campaign of merciless exposure of these fraudulent petitions, indeed we commend the officers of the Federation, its representatives and the Free Trade Union Committee for splendid efforts made in that direction.

In considering the suggestion of a united labor and all-inclusive crusade and council by the A. F. of L., your committee is of the opinion that since this petition is receiving worldwide distribution, to meet the issue presented fully, adequately and effectually, there must be coordination among all the free labor movements of the world and steps are being taken to have the ICFTU proceed accordingly.

It is therefore recommended these resolutions be referred for further consideration to the Free Trade Union Committee.

Stowaways—(1940, pp. 91, 408) Prior to enactment of H.R. 9492 (Public 601, 1940) there was no penalty provided for stealing a ride on a vessel within the jurisdiction of the U.S. Under the law as enacted stowaways will be subject to a fine up to

\$500 or imprisonment up to one year, or both. Similar penalties are provided against those who aid, abet or assist a stowaway. Penalties for such acts was thought to discourage aliens from stowing away for trips to the U.S. Legislation supported by A. F. of L.

Street Cars, One-Man—(1936, p. 611) In view of the fact that the workers constitute the great body of street car and bus riders, not only in Washington but in every American city, the Capital Transit Company and other transportation companies are advised that the A. F. of L. has gone on record as opposed in principle to the dangerous and unwise policy of using only one man instead of two in the operation of street cars and buses through our crowded streets.

Strikes, "No Strike Pledge" (also see: War Production)

Strikes, Interstate Commerce and— (1927, p. 87) Where an association comprises all the merchant vessels of American registry engaged in interstate and foreign commerce among the ports of the Pacific Coast and of foreign countries, entered into a combination to control the employment of all seamen upon such vessels, the Supreme Court, in the case of *Anderson vs. Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast*, has held that ships and those who operate them are instrumentalities of commerce and within the commerce laws, and the actions complained of in the case constitute a violation of the Anti-Trust Act.

In *Lewis et al. vs. Red Jacket Coal and Coke Company*, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, said that when trade unions turn aside from their normal and legitimate objects and purposes and engage in an actual combination or conspiracy in restraint of trade, they are accountable therefore in the same manner as other organizations.

A conspiracy was held to violate the statute where there exists an intent to restrain interstate trade and commerce and a scheme appropriate for that purpose, even though it did not act directly upon the instrumentalities of commerce. Referring to the case of the *U.S. vs. Brims*, and quoting it with approval, the court held that the conspiracy established by the testimony in this case was one in restraint of interstate trade and commerce in violation of the Sherman Act. It did express the opinion, however, that the United Mine Workers of America did not constitute, of itself, an unlawful conspiracy in restraint of interstate trade and commerce because it embraced a large percentage of the mine workers of this country or because its purpose is to extend its membership so as to embrace all of the workers in the mines of the continent.

Strike, Right to—(1927, p. 86) The United States Supreme Court, in deciding the case of *Dorsey vs. Kansas*, held that the right to carry on business has value and to interfere with that right without just cause is unlawful. Dorsey was convicted of calling a strike in violation of the Kansas Industrial Relations Act, the strike being called to collect a claim for back pay. According to the court, this strike was unlawful because of its purpose, and to attempt to enforce such a claim was held to be clearly coercion. The court also held that the Kansas Legislature may make such action punishable criminally and that neither the common law nor the 14th Amendment conferred the absolute right to strike. (Later the Supreme Court declared the Kansas Industrial Labor Act unconstitutional.)

The Open Port Law of Texas was enacted for the purpose of outlawing strikes. Under its provisions it was made a felony for one to assault another or threaten another who was engaged in the work of loading or unloading or transporting any com-

merce within the state. Written communications to such a person, or the members of his family, for the purpose of having such employee desist from this work would constitute intimidation. The Act wholly omitted any reference to the purpose, intent or knowledge of the person penalized for making the assault. The law of Texas formerly made the use of physical violence without circumstances of aggravation, merely simple assault, punishable only by fine. By the Open Port Law such actions were made felonies and punishable by imprisonment. The Supreme Court of Texas, in the case of *Ratliffe vs. Texas*, held that the general law was not changed by the passage of the Open Port Act and that the latter was a violation of the 14th Amendment, was class legislation and, in some necessary parts, was unintelligible.

In Cleveland, contracts were in existence between all the crafts in the building trades industry except that of the painters. The parties to the contracts agreed that they would be governed and bound by the contract. The contract provided there would be no strikes or lockouts pending a decision of arbitrators, but it was understood that union men should not be compelled to work with nonunion men in the same trade or on the same building. Later, nonunion glaziers were employed and the workmen in the other crafts quit their employment, whereupon the company having the general contract obtained an order requiring the officers of the unions to rescind the strike order and these officers were also enjoined from doing anything to influence the men not to go back to work. In *Lundoff-Bicknell Company vs. Smith*, the Court of Appeals of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, held that the men had a right to strike but for their contracts and that the only wrongful act done by them was to violate their contracts by collectively quitting. It further held that the con-

tracts to which the Bicknell Company was not a party cannot be enforced by it nor can it maintain a suit against those who induced the men to violate their contracts.

(P. 307) The U.S. Supreme Court has recently held in the case of *Bedford Cut Stone Co. et al. vs. Journeymen Stonecutters' Association, et al.*, that it is a conspiracy in restraint of trade for union workmen to refuse to work on material which has been partially prepared by nonunion workmen.

There is now pending in the U.S. District Court at Chicago, a suit in which the Western Union Telegraph Company has procured a temporary injunction restraining members of several building trade unions from quitting work when nonunion electricians in the employ of the Western Union Telegraph Company come to work on the same job.

In numerous other decisions of the federal courts the right of union workmen to go on strike has been limited or denied.

The right of workmen to quit work for any reason is guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S., and is the only effective means which Labor has for resisting oppression and for making economic progress.

The A. F. of L. protests against this tendency of the federal courts to deprive workmen of their right to quit work for any reason they see fit, as being an invasion of the constitutional right of all men to freedom from involuntary servitude.

Strikebreakers Transportation—(1924, p. 71) A bill was introduced in Congress to regulate the transportation of labor to any point where labor disturbance or strike is in progress. The bill provides a penalty for transporting workers from one state to another for the purpose of replacing men who are on strike unless such men are notified of the conditions under which they are required to work

and of the fact that there is a strike or lockout at the point where they are expected to work. It was referred to the Committee on Labor. Hearings were held and representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of other labor organizations appeared in favor of the bill. It was favorably reported to the House by the committee and will come up in the next session.

(P. 187) Convention requested E.C. to seek early passage of the bill.

(1925, p. 55) A bill introduced in Congress provided a penalty against employers of labor or their agents or private employment agencies to induce men to go from state to state on the promise of employment unless they informed the applicants there was a strike at the point where they were to be employed.

It was reported favorably by the Committee on Labor but failed to come to a vote because of the objection to its consideration on a day when unanimous consent was required.

(1936, p. 130) Congress in passing S. 2039 did more to prevent disturbances in labor disputes than could be accomplished in any other way. The law provides that whoever shall knowingly transport, or cause to be transported in interstate or foreign commerce, any person with intent to employ such person to obstruct or interfere with the right of peaceful picketing during any labor controversy affecting wages, hours, or conditions of labor, or the right of organization for the purpose of collective bargaining, shall be deemed guilty of a felony and shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both in the discretion of the court.

According to the evidence submitted to the Committees on the Judiciary of both Houses, strike-breaking agencies have been the cause of riots and the deaths of many strikers. It appears

that wherever there is peaceful picketing the scene changes when spies and thugs arrive on the scene.

According to the report of the Committee on Education and Labor to the Senate these organizations sometimes drum up business by fomenting industrial disorder where none exists in order to secure a contract to suppress it. Disputes can be settled, the report states, more amicably without the injection of professional thugs from the outside in an unfortunate situation.

(1937, pp. 171, 319) Because the Byrnes Act which prohibited the transportation of persons in interstate commerce for the purpose of interfering with peaceful picketing was misunderstood, a new bill was introduced in the 75th Congress. It provided:

That (a) it shall be unlawful to transport or cause to be transported in interstate or foreign commerce any person who is employed or is to be employed for the purpose of obstructing or interfering by force or threats with (1) peaceful picketing by employees during any labor controversy affecting wages, hours, or conditions of labor; or (2) the exercise by employees of any of the rights of self-organization, collective bargaining, or other concerted activities for mutual aid or protection.

Violators of the law, upon conviction, shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than two years or both.

The bill passed the Senate August 14 but no action was taken by the House.

(1938, pp. 162, 551) Public No. 779 prohibits the transportation of certain persons in interstate or foreign commerce during labor controversies. The law is intended to clarify the provisions of the Act of June 24, 1936, prohibiting the transportation of strike breakers in interstate commerce.

The law makes it clear that inter-

ference with peaceful picketing and interference with the exercise by employees of any of the rights of self-organization or collective bargaining are both included. The old law was not clear on this point.

The new law provides that any person who transports or causes to be transported in interstate or foreign commerce any person who is employed or is to be employed for the purpose of obstructing or interfering by force or threats with (1) peaceful picketing by employees during any labor controversy affecting wages, hours, or conditions of labor; or (2) the exercise by employees of any of the rights of self-organization, collective bargaining, shall be deemed guilty of a felony and shall upon conviction thereof be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than two years or both.

Subcontractors—(1938, pp. 163, 543) H.R. 146, to require contractors on public-building projects to name their subcontractors, passed both Houses, but was given a "pocket veto" by the President.

The objective of the proposed legislation was to eliminate or curtail a vicious practice variously known as "bid shopping" or "bid peddling" in connection with government contracts.

It is the practice of a general contractor in making up his successful bid to utilize figures submitted by several subcontractors in each phase of the contract, such as foundation, plumbing, electrical fixtures, etc. The contractor would use the lowest bids of the subcontractors in obtaining the contract. The contractor then informs the other subcontractors who bid on the various phases of the work that he will give them the subcontract if they are willing to shave the low figure presented.

According to a report made by the Public Buildings and Grounds Committee the cut-throat competition be-

tween the several concerns makes the cost of the work much lower to the general contractor than he figures in his bid, the difference being additional profit. It was found by the committee that these conditions often brought about the failure of the subcontractor.

The bill will be reintroduced in the next session of Congress as it is of great importance to the building trades workmen that the bill become a law.

Subsidies to Business Protested—(1952, p. 38) Res. 48:

Whereas—Plants are moving from New York State stimulated by promises of cheap labor and free, or no, taxation for many years at the expense of the taxpayer, who is also a worker, and

Whereas—Large profits from such out-of-town enterprises are made in New York State, and

Whereas—Organized labor is not opposed to the freedom of movement of business enterprises nor to the industrialization of new areas, but rather to the exploitation of workers and of taxpayers, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention call upon Congress and the state legislatures to enact legislation outlawing the direct and indirect subsidization of municipalities of business enterprises which subsidization works to exploit workers and taxpayers.

(P. 467) Convention approved the resolution "in spirit and substance" and referred the matter to the officers of the A. F. of L. "to find methods that will discourage and stop this practice."

Subversive Activities Control Board—(1949, p. 212) The Executive Council pointed out the traditional opposition of the A. F. of L. to Communism, Fascism and other un-American ideologies; that A. F. of L. affiliates had repeatedly been warned against such organizations and insisted that our affiliates deny admission to Commu-

nists. It was explained in the report, however, that the A. F. of L. felt impelled to oppose proposed legislation known as S. 1194 for the following reasons:

S. 1194 sets up a subversive activities control board of three with extraordinary powers over minority political parties and voluntary organizations of citizens. The board is permitted to designate political parties or voluntary organizations as Communists or Communist-front organizations. If the bill becomes law, such political organizations must register with the Attorney General and disclose the names of their membership and the Communist-front organizations must register and name their officers publicly. All material sent out by them, by air or ordinary mail, must be designated as coming from a "Commy" source. Members of these political organizations could not hold non-elective federal positions or secure passports. While the board would not have the authority to outlaw organizations as designated by the board, such organizations so designated would be terribly hampered. The bill would permit the setting of precedents which might result disastrously to labor organizations themselves and for these reasons, as above stated, we opposed it.

(P. 464) The difficulty of enacting legislative protection against the activities of the Communist Party and their agents lies in defining such acts and providing penalties without also restricting the rights and liberty of free citizens. The most effective action and defense against these subversive groups and persons lie with voluntary organization. Each organization has the responsibility of keeping its own membership free of these subversive agents of foreign governments and its prestige unembarrassed by those who work to destroy the freedom of democracy. Each organization must keep its membership in-

formed on Communist tactics, Communist Party undertakings, and Communist-front organizations. With dependable information free citizens can protect themselves. We have a right to expect equally great care on the part of the government in selecting personnel and enforcing immigration and passport law.

Sugar Industry—(1936, p. 133) S. 4413 was a bill to protect the welfare of domestic producers and processors of sugar beets and sugar cane, and domestic consumers of sugar. Section 202 provided for grants to tenants, adherent planters and share croppers under certain conditions. Section 203 fixes the hours at which children shall be worked. As it is of great importance, that part of the section referred to is herewith quoted:

Sec. 203. The payment authorized by section 202 may be conditioned upon . . . the producer not employing, or suffering or permitting the employment, by any other person, directly or indirectly, in the production, cultivation, or harvesting of sugar beets or sugar cane on his farm, of any child under the age of fourteen years, except a member of his own immediate family, whether for gain to such child or any other person, and the producer not employing or permitting such employment of a child between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years, inclusive, except a member of his immediate family, for a longer period than eight hours each day, *except students enrolled in vocational and agricultural classes in the public schools, where the directed and supervised practice work on sugar cane plantations or sugar beet farms is done with and under the direction of vocational agricultural teachers employed by the State or any political subdivision thereof* (the word "State" being inclusive of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin

Islands); (c) the payment of minimum wages by producers to workers, the number of working hours, and, where necessary, the time and method of payment of wages, in connection with the production, cultivation, or harvesting of sugar beets or sugar cane; (d) the submission to the Secretary of Labor of any labor dispute involving the producer in connection with the production, cultivation, or harvesting of sugar beets or sugar cane, when any such dispute has been presented to the Secretary by the producer, or any other person and, after the Secretary has determined to adjudicate such dispute, the abiding by the decision of the Secretary with respect to such labor dispute; (e) the producer not reducing the number or area of sharecroppers, adherent planters, or tenants.

Objection has been raised to that portion of the section italicized. Another fault found with the section is that no limit is fixed to the age of a child who is a member of the producer's own immediate family.

(1938, p. 431) The A. F. of L. records its allegiance to the many workers in the sugar beet industry, and expresses the hope to the government officials charged with the administration of the Sugar Act of 1937, that this Act be administered, as was clearly intended by Congress at the time of its passage, in such a way as to maintain the American sugar industry and thereby protect the welfare of the many workers dependent upon it for a livelihood.

(1939, p. 449) The A. F. of L. as evidence of its allegiance to the many workers in the beet sugar industry of the United States, hereby pledges assistance and help in securing the legislation, and the proper administration of such legislation, as is necessary to maintain the domestic sugar industry and to protect the livelihood and

prosperity of the workers engaged therein.

(Child Labor)—(1940, pp. 83-84, 408) In considering report of E.C. on subject of legislation proposed to permit payments of subsidies to certain sugar producers who had unknowingly violated child labor provisions of Sugar Act of 1930, convention directed continuance of efforts of A. F. of L. to abolish child labor in industry.

(Surplus Disposal) (Puerto Rico)—(1949, pp. 337, 497) The sale of surplus Puerto Rican sugar through the channels of the Marshall Plan Organization or through some plan fixed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, was proposed in Res. 106. An amendment to the Sugar Act of 1948 was requested. The original resolution was amended and approved with the following "resolves":

Resolved—By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in the City of St. Paul, Minn.:

1. That in view of the prevailing economic conditions of the Island of Puerto Rico, it vigorously and earnestly urges from the U.S. Department of Agriculture and from the Marshall Plan Organization that steps be taken so that the American Territory of Puerto Rico could find the way to sell its surplus production of sugar through the channels of said Marshall Plan Organization or through those that could be appropriately fixed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

2. That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to order a thorough study of the Sugar Act of 1948 in order to recommend to the U.S. Congress the corresponding amendment to said Act to protect not only the domestic area of Puerto Rico but thousands and thousands of workers employed in the sugar industry in the United States.

(Investigation)—(1951, p. 290) Res. 42 directed attention to the problems of the domestic sugar industry and

called upon the A. F. of L. to convene a conference of representatives of all the labor organizations concerned for the purpose of instituting an investigation of the Sugar Act of 1948, and to prepare a program to be submitted to the Executive Council.

(P. 562) Convention expressed sympathy with the resolution and referred it to the officers of the Federation for such consideration and action as seems warranted in order to be helpful to the employees in the sugar producing areas.

(Marketing Quotas)—(1955, p. 129) The E.C. reported renewed efforts to amend the Sugar Act of 1948 creating new formulas for sugar marketing quotas. . . .

These proposals were inspired by southern cane growers and the beet sugar producers of the West. It is claimed that the present quotas are too low and that the proposed adjustments are necessary in order to maintain a stabilized economy in the American sugar industry. Under these proposals, the increase in mainland quotas would be charged against the Cuban quota. This would mean a reduction of approximately 300,000 tons in the Cuban quota. Such action, it is indicated, would cause a serious unemployment problem in Cuba.

The American Federation of Labor has a special interest in this legislation because members of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. work for both the beet sugar and cane sugar industries in this country. In addition, the A. F. of L. has developed fraternal bonds of friendship with the workers in the sugar fields of Cuba, the Philippines, and other Latin American countries.

(P. 130) Many interests have to be considered when sugar legislation is being worked out. The best way to get the job done is to work for equity and fairness with full consideration for all interests. . . .

We believe that considerations of equity suggest that all producers should share proportionately in the increase in sugar consumption that will naturally develop during the coming years with the growth of U.S. population. As a matter of principle, we believe that both domestic and foreign producers should share in this increase.

Supply, Ministry of, Proposed (see: War Production Board)

Suspension of National and International Unions (Forming Dual Organizations)—(1940, pp. 59, 446) The convention carefully considered and debated the recommendation of the Executive Council relative to the power of the E.C. to suspend national and international unions who conspire to create organizations dual to the A. F. of L. The following recommendation of the convention Committee on Laws was finally adopted and became the policy of the Federation in such cases:

The American Federation of Labor is definitely committed to the preservation as well as the practice of democracy. Our great organization seeks to apply the principles of democracy in a broad and comprehensive way in the administration of its affairs. We firmly believe in majority rule in the formulation and execution of administrative and organizational policies in accordance with democratic rules and procedure. We maintain that the membership of the American Federation of Labor shall formulate its policies, control and administer its affairs and determine its course through majority decisions arrived at in thorough democratic fashion at annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

In conformity with this principle, the Executive Council recommends to the 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that a national or international union char-

tered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention; except in cases where two or more national and international unions unite and conspire to create and launch an organization for any purpose dual to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, if two or more organizations conspire to create or form a movement dual to the American Federation of Labor, charges may be legally and properly filed against said organizations, a hearing held upon said charges, and if found guilty, said organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, as provided for by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

The foregoing subject matter submitted by the Executive Council dealing with the democratic principles and procedure of the Federation, in the formulation of policy to control its affairs by majority vote, as well as practice to be observed in the suspension of national and international unions, received lengthy and careful consideration by your committee which, after due deliberation recommends concurrence in the proposal as submitted to the effect—

that a national or international union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention; except in cases where two or more national or international unions unite and conspire to create and

launch an organization for any purpose dual to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, if two or more organizations conspire to create and form a dual movement to the American Federation of Labor, charges may be legally and properly filed against said organizations, a hearing held upon said charges, and if found guilty, said organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, as provided for by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

We further recommend that the secretary-treasurer with approval of the Executive Council be empowered to make the necessary insertions and amendments in the constitution to make these proposals effective.

Taft-Hartley Act (also see: Anti-Labor Legislation; Anti-Communist Affidavits)—(1947, pp. 241, 587) Under the title "Anti-Labor Legislation" the E.C. reported on the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Law as follows:

In January, the new Congress was deluged with a flood of anti-labor bills upon which protracted hearings were held in both the House and Senate. During the time the House Committee was engaged in hearings, it had attorneys engaged in drafting legislation which was introduced and known as the Hartley Bill, H.R. 3020. While on the Senate side, an anti-labor bill was reported from the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, introduced by Senator Taft, carrying the number of S. 1126.

Sponsors of these bills claimed that the Congress had received a mandate in the November, 1946, election to enact them. Facts are that the bills are the culmination of a protracted campaign covering years by anti-labor House and Senate members and

by unfriendly newspapers and radio commentators.

A committee appeared before the Congressional Committees and stated our opposition, but the Hartley Bill, H.R. 3020, was enacted after considerable modification because of the Senate's action in passing the Taft Bill. (Public Law 101.)

Every effort was made to defeat this legislation with the support of our national and international affiliates, our departments, our state federations of labor, our city central bodies, and our directly affiliated federal locals. Thirty-two state federations of labor and 43 central labor unions sent their officers and representatives to Washington to aid in the fight against the bill, at their own expense, as did many national and international unions and all of the railroad brotherhoods.

Title IV of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act creates a joint committee to be appointed from among the members of the House and Senate Committees who drafted, reported, and passed the Act, to make an exhaustive investigation of industrial relations . . . Thus those who are principally responsible for the legislation are to investigate and report its results.

They have announced that their studies, in brief, will be along the following lines:

1. The history of labor relations in 20 selected firms.
2. Industry-wide bargaining.
3. Welfare funds.
4. The operation of the new law, with a view to recommending any needed changes.
5. Constitutions and internal organization of unions.

An analysis of the bill and a detailed legal report upon it is made elsewhere in this report, but the law is very unfair and so complicated that court decisions will be necessary before anyone knows what it really means.

(P. 587) The report of the convention committee was unanimously adopted, containing the following statement:

. . . Suffice it to say that the law attempts by every open and subtle means to destroy every right organized labor has gained over the years. The union security principle has been repudiated, the right to strike and picket has been severely curtailed, the principle of mutual aid has been denied, the era of "government by injunction" has been revived, and protection of the right to organize has been deliberately weakened. As if that were not enough, the framers of the Act have deliberately sought to discourage and sabotage collective bargaining itself in entire reversal of the principles and philosophy underlying the Wagner Act of 1935. The American Federation of Labor has pledged its every resource to obtain the repeal of this iniquitous law through defeat at the polls of every Congressman who, by voting for this outrageous legislation, has sought to weaken if not destroy the labor movement.

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's Report, your committee includes Resolution No. 34:

Whereas—Many Republicans, along with the Southern Poll Tax Democrats in the Congress of the United States, have intensified their drive to adopt vicious anti-labor legislation, and

Whereas—This drive is supposedly designed to give the worker his "bill of rights" or to "equalize the responsibility of both Labor and management," but its true aim is to destroy the organized labor movement and establish the open shop, and

Whereas—These bills are being developed and pushed by the National Association of Manufacturers at the cost of millions of dollars which should rightfully be given to their employees in the form of wage increases, therefore, be it

Resolved—That every member of the American Federation of Labor be urged to mobilize with other members of organized labor to resist with all their might this onslaught against the working people in our country, and that we go on record as determined to fight every anti-labor law already passed, to eliminate these laws from the statute books.

(P. 405) A strong moving desire on the part of working men and women for the realization of higher standards of living has served to establish and stimulate the growth and expansion of labor unions. The progress and development of labor unions have run parallel to the steady ever increasing demand of the workers for higher wages, improved conditions of employment, security and social justice.

Time and experience have shown that the labor union is the instrumentality which served to promote the economic, social and industrial welfare of the workers everywhere. Even non-union workers have been the beneficiaries of the gains made by the organized labor movement.

The organization of working men and women means the mobilization of their economic strength so that they may substitute collective action for individual action. The material, educational, and cultural well being of all classes of people depend upon an adequate financial income. To workers that means wages, high enough to enable them to maintain themselves in decency and comfort and to establish a standard of living commensurate with the requirements of American citizenship.

This is a noble objective. It squares with the American way of life. Workers everywhere should be encouraged, not hampered or hindered, in their efforts to realize such a high and lofty purpose. Such an economic and social order would serve to perpetuate our free democratic form of government,

to prevent the spread of Communism, or the acceptance of any totalitarian philosophy and to serve as a guarantee of the preservation of our free enterprise system.

Apparently the authors and supporters of the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law ignored all these facts. Their actions must be interpreted as meaning that strong serviceable labor unions must not be permitted to exist within our economic and social life, that only weak and impotent labor unions shall be allowed to survive and that Labor may have the shadow of a labor movement but not the substance.

This fact is reflected in every word, line, sentence and paragraph of the notorious Taft-Hartley Law. It seeks to weaken, render impotent and destroy labor unions. It does so by striking a vital blow at free collective bargaining and substitute a process of government domination over employer-employee relationships. The negotiation of closed shop agreements are forbidden and the regulations, limitations and prescribed methods which must be followed regarding union membership are all designed to make it impossible for labor unions to live and function effectively.

In addition to the classification of Unfair Labor Practices in this Act, some stated and others vague, which employers charge against labor unions, the Act provides that damage suits may be instituted for alleged violation of contracts, and there is re-established the abhorrent principle and practice of government by injunction. The purpose of those who supported the Taft-Hartley Act to effectively destroy labor unions, is made crystal clear in this provision of it.

The revision and reconstruction of the National Labor Relations Board has created confusion and uncertainty. Its real meaning will never be clearly understood until it has been defined by the courts. Employers and employees will vehemently differ as to the

real meaning of the provisions of the revised and newly created National Labor Relations Board. All of this will serve to promote strife between employers and employees—the expenditure of large sums of money in court proceedings and woeful lack of cooperation between management and Labor. President Truman emphasized this fact in his veto message when he stated:

I find that the National Labor Relations Act would be converted from an instrument with the major purpose of protecting the rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively into a maze of pitfalls and complex procedures. As a result of these complexities employers and workers would find new barriers to mutual understanding.

The bill time and again would remove the settlement of differences from the bargaining table to courts of law. Instead of learning to live together, employers and unions are invited to engage in costly, time-consuming litigation, inevitably embittering both parties.

Here the President set forth in simple language the evils of the new National Labor Relations Board and the great disservice to human relations in industry which is bound to follow the enforcement of said amended National Labor Relations Act. Because the amendments to the National Labor Relations Act, as set forth in the Taft-Hartley Bill, are susceptible of varied interpretations and are confusing to the highest degree, we would prefer no National Labor Relations Board than the National Labor Relations Board with its administrative authority as set forth in the Taft-Hartley Law.

The Taft-Hartley Law is filled with "Thou Shall Nots" and "Thou Must" to the officers and members of labor unions. The supporters of the Taft-Hartley Law virtually declare "Labor

Unions in the United States must be made weak and ineffective. Their ability to serve working people, to preserve economic freedom and to establish higher standards of living for the wage earners of the nation must be limited and defined."

The provision of the Taft-Hartley Bill which provides that it shall be unlawful for any labor organization to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with the election of members of Congress, strikes a vital blow at freedom of speech and freedom of press. This section must be interpreted as meaning that the supporters of the Taft-Hartley Bill sought to make it a crime for Labor to exercise the right of freedom of the press and freedom of speech in order to prevent them from being re-elected to Congress.

The vicious feature of this section is reflected in the fact that it provides any officer of a labor organization or any labor organization which exercises the right of freedom of speech or freedom of the press in opposing a Member of Congress who voted for the Taft-Hartley Bill for re-election, shall be guilty of a criminal offense punishable by a fine or imprisonment, or both. Here in this section is reflected the hatred of Members of Congress toward labor unions and their fixed bitter determination to destroy them if possible.

The National Association of Manufacturers and other employer organizations may function and serve their respective membership without any substantial interference on the part of government. They are practically free from legislative restraints and limitations. The attorneys who serve the National Association of Manufacturers and who prepared and wrote the Taft-Hartley Bill saw to it that their clients were exempt from many of the provisions of the Act to which unions and their members are subjected.

The Taft-Hartley Act is a strike and

strife-provoking Act. It should be properly classified as such. It will serve to prevent the workers from agreeing to incorporate a no-strike pledge in written contracts. It means the end of sound Labor-management relations and the substitution therefor of distrust, suspicion, and class hatred.

And now, we the representatives of 7,500,000 members of the American Federation of Labor, after giving solemn consideration to all the facts herein stated, the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act and its legal analysis prepared by the Legal Department of the American Federation of Labor, herewith declare that the following shall be our pledge and uncompromising purpose.

1. Because we believe many of the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Bill are unconstitutional, we will challenge the validity of said sections in the courts. In doing so, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity to appeal in accordance with court procedure to the Supreme Court of the United States. We shall exhaust every legal recourse at our command in the efforts we put forth to test the validity of this Act.

2. The repeal of this notorious legislation shall be our fixed objective. We shall never be reconciled to the acceptance of this legislation. We shall oppose it—fight it at every step and every opportunity—until we succeed in our efforts to bring about its repeal. Our action in this respect will be based upon the fact that we regard the Taft-Hartley Bill as a slave measure, un-American, vicious and destructive of Labor's constitutional rights.

3. We will organize, unite and concentrate our efforts toward bringing about the defeat of every member of Congress for reelection who voted in favor a final enactment of the Taft-Hartley Bill.

4. To protect our organizations against possible suits for damages and

other vexatious and destructive litigation under this law, it is recommended that no-strike provisions be omitted from all future agreements, written or oral.

5. In order that the workers of the nation may be accorded a full and complete opportunity to vote in national elections, we recommend that our organizations set aside this day as a holiday to be devoted solely to election purposes.

6. We recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give full and complete consideration to the declarations of this conference and in addition, prepare for the consideration of the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor a program giving full effect to these purposes.

(Pp. 583, 587) In addition to the report of the E.C. on this subject, five resolutions were presented to the convention for consideration. The resolutions were referred to the appropriate committee which reported on them, together with the section of the E.C. report jointly. The report and action of the convention follow:

Your committee in studying this portion of the Executive Council's report, finds that the council has presented a most effective summary of the valid reasons for our objection to a law which was evidently intended to weaken collective bargaining, handicap the work of organizing the unorganized, and then make it more difficult to establish and maintain satisfactory relations with their employers.

In view of the comprehensive character of the Executive Council's report, your committee believes it unnecessary to attempt any additional presentation, and therefore recommends full approval of the declarations and recommendations adopted by the Conference of National and International Unions held July 9, 1947, in Washington, D. C., upon the call

of the American Federation of Labor.

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, your committee has considered Resolutions Nos. 7, 40, 44, 56, 59, which we recommend be referred to the Executive Council.

(Publicity Campaign)—(1947, p. 260) The Executive Council at its meeting held in April decided to supplement the work being done by our legislative representatives in Washington against the enactment of anti-labor legislation by conducting a nationwide publicity campaign acquainting the general public with the vicious anti-democratic character of the Taft-Hartley Bill.

At the time of the council meeting the Hartley bill had already passed the House of Representatives by a large majority and the Senate bill sponsored by Senator Taft had been reported to the Senate by the Committee on Labor and Education.

The council authorized the levying of a voluntary assessment of fifteen cents (15c) a member to conduct an intensive radio and newspaper campaign against this legislation. A committee was appointed by the council which was authorized to give full effect to the purpose of the council in publicizing the dangers inherent to the nation as a whole in the Taft and Hartley bills.

On April 22nd the Executive Council wired the various affiliates of the A. F. of L. informing them of the council action and requesting their support through the medium of the voluntary assessment referred to above. The response to this appeal of the A. F. of L. was immediate and gratifying. Within 48 hours more than \$300,000 was raised through this assessment. Approximately \$1,000,000 was contributed during the entire campaign.

On Monday, April 28th, President Green at the suggestion of the committee called a meeting of a number

of representatives of the A. F. of L. who represent unions in the theatrical, radio and amusement field. At that meeting arrangements were made for an extensive radio campaign. In addition, the publicity director was authorized to secure additional help and to arrange for the publication of newspaper advertisements in the leading newspapers of the country to present the A. F. of L. position in regard to this legislation.

The newspaper campaign started Monday, May 5, with a full page ad appearing in 212 newspapers in the leading cities of the country, and following it up with seven five-column ads, special ads and a final appeal for Senate support of a veto when the bill was on the President's desk.

That this advertising campaign was effective was attested by the huge volume of mail it elicited and by the widespread comment it evoked.

Nevertheless, it goes without saying that the advertising could have achieved far greater results if there had been more time to prepare the material and chart its distribution. Careful advance planning is essential to obtaining the best results from advertising. This fact should be given due consideration in any future public relations program formulated by the A. F. of L.

In the radio field an Entertainment Unions Committee was formed of the representatives of the A. F. of L. unions in the amusement business. This committee was given authority to prepare and supervise an extensive radio campaign. . . .

Beginning with the week of June 5 an A. F. of L. program was broadcast every week-day afternoon for a period of seven weeks. This program featured the outstanding stars in the theatrical and radio fields and covered a total of 239 stations over the ABC coast-to-coast network.

In addition, there was a fifteen-minute program featuring various

prominent people in political, industrial and religious life of the nation which appeared every Tuesday night from May 13 to June 10 and covered 229 stations.

The participating unions, including the Actors Equity Association, the American Federation of Musicians, the American Federation of Radio Artists, the Screen Actors Guild, the American Guild of Musical Artists, the Chorus Equity Association, the American Guild of Variety Artists, the Radio Directors Guild and the Association of Theatrical Press Agents and Managers. The Radio Writers Guild of the Authors League of America, although an independent guild, also cooperated and participated in the activities of the Entertainment Unions Committee.

Further, a one-half hour program every Thursday night for a period of six weeks covered 229 stations and presented the top artists in the amusement field. Included on this program were America's outstanding actors and actresses and the very finest bands and orchestras that Hollywood had to offer.

Every Sunday afternoon during this period over 406 stations of the Mutual network there was another half-hour program which was a rebroadcast of the Thursday night program mentioned above.

The results of this campaign and its effect on public opinion were highly gratifying. While the Taft-Hartley Bill was eventually enacted into law we feel sure from the flood of mail received by the President and by the members of Congress that public opinion was against this bill.

The newspaper and radio programs of the A. F. of L. served a tremendously useful purpose and pointed to the future possibilities for Labor in this particular field.

(1948, p. 234) (Conference of Independent Unions)

Res. 3 called upon the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Railroad Brotherhoods, The United Mine Workers, The International Association of Machinists and other independent unions to convene a National Emergency Congress in Washington for the purpose of working out joint plans to combat anti-union injunctions and all other attacks by the present National Labor Relations Board as well as a concerted campaign for the repeal of this vicious legislation.

(P. 522) Res. 3, 23, 26, 38, 87, 107 referred to officers of A. F. of L. "for such consideration and disposition as time and circumstances deem best."

(P. 238) Res. 23:

Whereas—The past year has clearly established that the Taft-Hartley Act is in fact an instrument to disrupt and destroy long-established union conditions, and

Whereas—The National Labor Relations Board . . . has been converted into an agency for anti-union employer organizations, and

Whereas—Government injunctions in labor disputes have been issued against American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations and independent unions, with the sole purpose of destroying historic collective bargaining rights of labor, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Railroad Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers, the International Association of Machinists and other independent unions convene a national emergency Congress in Washington for the purpose of working out joint plans to combat anti-union injunctions and all other attacks by the present National Labor Relations Board, as well as a concerted campaign for the repeal of the vicious law itself.

(P. 322) Res. 107 proposed that a conference be convened of all labor groups (unaffiliated as well as A. F. of L. and independent) for the purpose of working out plans for combating anti-union injunctions and other attacks by the NLRB, as well as a concerted campaign for the repeal of all anti-labor laws.

(Union Elections)—(P. 240) Res. 26 called upon the A. F. of L. "to demand the repeal of the requirements for union shop elections in the Taft-Hartley Law and that the next Congress be made cognizant of this demand at the earliest possible opportunity".

(Clearing House Proposed)—(p. 244) Res. 38:

Whereas—Many legal actions are already pending under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law, and it is apparent that many more such actions will be instituted by or against labor organizations, and

Whereas—The outcome of these suits will create legal precedents which will be binding not only on the particular litigants but on other labor unions as well, and

Whereas—It is therefore in the interests of the organized labor movement that legal actions under the Taft-Hartley Law be considered in the light of their impact on the labor movement as well as on the particular litigants, and should be carried on in the light of the effect and possible outcome of such legal actions on unions other than the litigants, and

Whereas—Under these circumstances, it is also desirable that unions and their legal counsel be kept fully informed concerning the litigation in which other trade unions are involved, and

Whereas—These objectives can best be obtained by the coordination of labor litigation under the law, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to canvass the possibilities of setting up a central legal clearing house which shall be kept informed by American Federation of Labor unions of all pending litigation under the Taft-Hartley Law and which in turn shall, from time to time, inform the unions of the nature, character, and significance of pending litigation under the law.

(P. 514) The following special report of the convention Committee on Resolutions, was unanimously adopted:

The American people have spoken. The mandate of a free people, in a free election, has been recorded. The verdict of the ballot box is clear, concise, and convincing.

The major issue of the 1948 presidential campaign was the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. It was submitted to the electorate in one of the greatest series of debates in American political history. What is most significant is that these history-making debates were carried on, not only in the campaign tours of the presidential aspirants, but in every state and city of our land by thousands of speakers. Many of these were candidates for public office, and countless others, including trade union representatives, sought no office but realized what was at stake, and were determined to keep this issue close to the grass roots of our republic.

The Taft-Hartley Act amended the Clayton amendments to the Anti-Trust Law, in a manner which eliminated the labor rights which had been established.

The Taft-Hartley Act amended the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-injunction Act by making it mandatory that the board in control of the NLRB in certain cases, go to the Federal Court to secure injunctions against labor. It also provided that in other types of cases, the board could use discre-

tionary authority in applying for injunctions.

Before the enactment of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, employers seeking injunctions in connection with labor disputes, employed their own attorneys. Under the Taft-Hartley Act the Federal Government, the tax-payers, met the cost.

The Taft-Hartley Act contains many provisions making collective bargaining more difficult. It made it impossible for trade unions to secure union shop provisions in a collective bargaining agreement, until an election of the employees had been held.

The Taft-Hartley Act places exclusive authority in the Chief Counsel of the NLRB, in the determination of all that should be done in a large majority of labor cases.

The Taft-Hartley Act was so drawn that many chains were forged which would not be used, except by a national administration determined to shackle labor hand and foot, or when an industrial collapse threw hundreds of thousands out of employment.

There was in the Act definite unfriendliness to organized labor. It was injurious to employers who believed in maintaining contractual relations with employes through collective bargaining.

It did not give prime consideration to public welfare. It did not safeguard labor's rights. The Act was a definite piece of class legislation, and for that reason it was intolerable to fair-thinking men, whether in industry or labor. Its operation was rigidly driving a wedge between fair-minded and thoughtful employers and their organized employes.

This issue on the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, having been taken to the people for their decision, and having been decided in the affirmative, places the question squarely upon the elected representatives of the Congress of the United States. Will they now carry

out the will of the majority of the people as expressed at the polls?

While 9 Senators and 57 Representatives—Republicans and Democrats alike, who voted for the Act were defeated for re-election, not a single member of Congress who voted to sustain the presidential veto of the Act, failed to be re-elected.

The action of the voters made it clear that they were convinced that the Act was conceived in a narrow spirit of retaliation, and passed in a mood of defiance. It must not remain on the statute books to provide disturbance for open-handed and well-considered effort of reasonable men within the labor movement, to provide for cooperation with management, and establish a more orderly basis for industrial relations in our country.

In the British House of Commons, often described as the "mother of parliaments," when a government or an administration is defeated in a majority vote of confidence, it resigns and a new government is formed.

American politics provide for no such prompt retirement of a government defeated at the polls, but the spirit of true parliamentary government should prevail in our land.

Members of Congress who voted for the Act, and voted to over-ride the presidential veto, would do well to consider the temper of time, and the clear mandate of the people in November, 1948. In true American spirit these Congressmen and Senators should now accept the will of the majority by repealing the obnoxious Taft-Hartley Act, and re-establishing the Wagner Act with such further Congressional action as is necessary to completely restore the labor guarantees of the Clayton amendments to the Anti-trust Act, and all of the provisions of the original Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act.

There must however, be no hiatus between the repeal of the Taft-Hartley

Act and the re-enactment of the Wagner Act. The public welfare, as well as that of management and labor, is paramount. The economic health, safety, and welfare of the nation must not again be placed in jeopardy by the irresponsible action of anyone.

Your committee believes that this is not the time for recrimination, political or otherwise. The critical conditions in the world require that we be united as a people, and increase our strength as a nation. We need to close our ranks, to build for a better future upon the basis of cooperation. Between management and labor there must be mutual respect and acceptance by both, of their responsibilities to the public.

While we are unyielding in our fixed determination to secure the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and the full restoration of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, and other Acts hereinbefore referred to, as American citizens we are as deeply conscious of our responsibility to the general public as we are to our membership. After the Wagner Labor Relations Act is restored, we will be ready to consider any amendments that may be desirable to improve this Act and to strengthen collective bargaining procedures.

We realize that any activity on the part of management, or on the part of labor, which fails to secure a generous measure of public approval and support, will be used as a reason for the enactment of repressive Federal and State legislation. In taking this position we are conscious of the fact that for every right we enjoy, there exists a corresponding responsibility, and it is with this consciousness that we prepare ourselves for the repeal of the most obnoxious and unsound labor measure which has ever been enacted by Congress.

(1949, pp. 44, 339, 485, 497) Res. 26:

Whereas—The Taft-Hartley Act and the Labor Relations Act of the 80th Congress in 1947 has weakened and partly destroyed the functions of the Department of Labor and its services to both management and Labor, and

Whereas—There has been widespread disorder and dissatisfaction throughout the land since the enactment of these Acts, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled demand the repeal of the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, the reenactment of the Wagner Labor Relations Act; the passage of the amendment of the Fair Labor Standards Act as proposed in Committee Print of January 20, 1949, House Committee on Education and Labor, and in S. 563; and the return of the Conciliation Service and all other Federal agencies which deal with labor to the United States Department of Labor.

(Pp. 339, 497) Res. 109:

Whereas—The struggle of organized workers for the protection of their fundamental rights has been marked by the most determined opposition of reactionary elements, and

Whereas—The recognition of the right to freely organize and to collectively bargain for workers was finally realized in the enactment of the Wagner Act, which appropriately enough was called Labor's Magna Charta, and

Whereas—The reactionary elements which dominated the 80th Congress and which represented a combination of Tory Republicans and Dixiecrat Democrats dealt a severe blow to all labor, organized and unorganized, by enacting the infamous Taft-Hartley Act, and

Whereas—The voters of our country expressed their collective indignation against this infamous law by successfully electing Harry S. Truman as

President upon his pledge to repeal this infamous Taft-Hartley Act, and

Whereas—The present 81st Congress has shown an utter disregard for the expressed will of the people, therefore, be it

Resolved—By the 68th Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we demand the forthwith and immediate repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the reenactment of the Wagner Act, in the manner recommended by President Truman in his message to the 81st Congress.

(P. 463) Last November, as we met in annual convention in Cincinnati we declared: "The American people have spoken. The mandates of a free people, in a free election, has been recorded. The verdict of the ballot box is clear, concise and convincing."

We had reason to be elated. We had reason to believe that members of Congress who voted for the Act would do well to consider the temper of the nation and accept the will of the majority by repealing this obnoxious, vindictive, anti-labor legislation.

Regrettably, our expectations have not been fulfilled. The popular verdict of the electorate of 1948 has been distorted and trampled upon. By a resort to adroit maneuvering, double-dealing and brazen horse-trading on the part of the die-hard reactionaries in both Houses of Congress the Taft-Hartley Act is still on the statute books of the land, hobbling and obstructing collective bargaining, legitimate union activities and normal labor-management relations.

A brief resume of the deadening effect of the Taft-Hartley Law on labor bargaining power and its status vis-a-vis industry, should suffice to convince every unbiased observer of the indefensible partiality of its sponsors and supporters.

Since the Taft-Hartley Law went into effect, late in August, 1947,

through July 1949, a total of 56 court injunctions have been sought under that Act, 54 against labor unions and only 2 against employers. The threat of injunctions, however, in countless of unreported cases has proven an even more effective anti-union weapon.

The broad prohibitions in the Act against "secondary boycotts" have continued to prevent many heretofore legitimate and peaceful efforts by labor organizations to lend assistance to a sister organization.

The closed-shop agreement with the protection and security which accompany such contracts, is rapidly becoming a thing of the past with the expiration of numerous contracts entered into prior to August 1947.

So-called "mass-picketing" has been declared illegal without an attempt to prescribe just what number of pickets may or may not constitute mass picketing.

Finally, the "free speech" provision of the Act has well served employers and their hostile intentions during the course of organizing campaigns or immediately preceding plant elections in villifying or discrediting trade unions.

The Cincinnati convention, fresh from a victorious nation-wide referendum on the Taft-Hartley Act, authorized the Executive Council to proceed at once in having that Act repealed by Congress and as the American voters had decreed at the ballot box. The Executive Council placed Taft-Hartley repeal on the top of its agenda at the very outset of the 81st Congress. A National Legislative Council was created. All national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. were at once drawn into an over-all campaign.

It soon became evident however that organized labor was facing heavy odds in its drive for Taft-Hartley repeal. The arithmetic of the situation was confronting us with the cold fact that there were still in Congress 54 Senators and 225 House members who vot-

ed the Taft-Hartley bill into law in 1947. We redoubled our efforts summoning and receiving aid from every organizational reservoir we could reach. But by March of this year, it became clear that repeal at this session, at least, without crippling amendments was only a remote possibility.

The pro-Taft-Hartley alliance held fast. We lost the first engagement for Taft-Hartley repeal. We lost it also because men in Congress who, though belonging to the party which carried the last election on a program which included Taft-Hartley repeal, joined hands with the arch-enemies of labor in both houses of Congress, mocking party loyalty, frustrating temporarily the Administration they sometime call their own—for strictly patronage purposes and flouting to the winds the expressed will of the people.

We rest confident, nevertheless, that the torrent of abuse loosed upon the labor movement by the turncoat politicians and their press and radio allies in an effort to prove that the 1948 election carried no mandate for Taft-Hartley repeal, has not succeeded in selling this legal monstrosity to the American people.

We are looking ahead. The next immediate battlefield is the Congressional campaign of 1950. If the 81st Congress persists in its refusal to act affirmatively, we are prepared again to take our appeal to the people of this country and to make Taft-Hartley repeal the paramount issue of the 1950 Congressional election campaign. Though defeated in our first attempt because our adversaries had a few more votes in Congress than we, it is our determination to redouble our efforts in wiping out this majority and elect to Congress men who will heed and carry out the will of the people.

Borrowing a phrase from President Truman's message to this convention—"Taft-Hartley repeal is America's unfinished business now—not the busi-

ness alone of the labor movement but that of every fair minded citizen of our land."

With magnificent cooperation manifested on the part of each and every division of our great American Federation of Labor—both spiritual and material—throughout the first stages of this campaign, we are confident that we shall enter the next stage of this battle for Taft-Hartley repeal better armed, stronger prepared, and with assurance of success and victory in the cause for the Rights of the Workers of our Land.

(1950, pp. 50, 484) Res. 80 reaffirmed previous position of A. F. of L. with regard to the inroads being made by the forces of reaction and totalitarianism and called for continued efforts to secure repeal of Taft-Hartley.

(Pp. 53, 484) Res. 88 demanded immediate repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the reenactment of the Wagner Act.

(P. 61) The Introduction to the E.C. Report stated: We grow increasingly restive under the Taft-Hartley Act and of the continued failure of Congress to give us relief from provisions of a law which prevents unions from performing normal and necessary functions and imposes provisions which the administrators cannot apply. The Taft-Hartley law is repressive not constructive and enervating.

(P. 184) The position of the American Federation of Labor on repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, expressed by positive language of the 1949 Convention, continued to be our guide for the legislative action during the second session of the 81st Congress.

Resolution No. 109, adopted unanimously at the St. Paul Convention, provided as follows:

* * * that we demand the forthwith and immediate repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the enactment

of the Wagner Act, in the manner recommended by President Truman in his message to the 81st Congress.

It was evident in the beginning of the second session of the Congress that the general complexion of the membership remained substantially unchanged from that of the first session of the 81st Congress. For this reason it was deemed advisable to take no further steps for the present toward complete repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. In addition, the Chairman of both the Labor Committees agreed that there would be no further activity during 1950, looking toward possible repeal, but would wait until a Congress had been elected which would include a sufficient number of members, both House and Senate, who would be more friendly to the program of the President for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and of the program of the American Federation of Labor in this respect.

During the second session, hearings were held on S. 2196, a bill to legalize maritime hiring halls. This bill was reported by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare with Senators Taft, Smith (N. J.) and Donnell submitting their individual views.

A number of our International Unions enthusiastically supported S. 2196 and for this reason we interposed no objection to the bill. Our Convention position continued to be our guide on this legislation and on any other legislation which might be construed to constitute repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act piecemeal rather than in its entirety.

Our position on Reorganization Plan No. 12 likewise was taken with special regard to the expressions voiced at the St. Paul Convention.

(Building Trades) (1951, p. 123)—The E.C. had agreed to support efforts of the Building and Construction Trades Department to secure exemption from certain provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law.

(P. 528) Convention approved action of the Executive Council and expressed the "hope that this effort will aid in full repeal of the law."

(1952, p. 157) A comprehensive survey of developments under Taft-Hartley was included in the Report of the E.C. In the introduction to this section the E.C. made the following statement:

With every year of its operation, Labor's criticism of the Taft-Hartley law, made at the time of its consideration by Congress, received further confirmation. The law has proved to be not only unfair and inequitable to workers while favoring employers, not only a threat to the economic security and welfare of Labor, but also a dismal failure as a means for settlement of labor-management disputes.

New decisions of the courts and of the National Labor Relations Board have shown unmistakably that the Taft-Hartley Act puts a powerful weapon in the hands of anti-Labor employers while it seriously handicaps unions in carrying on legitimate time-tested activities essential to the welfare of their own members and, indeed, of all workers. The whole atmosphere surrounding the Taft-Hartley Act places trade unions under a cloud of suspicion and relegates workers to a status of inferior citizens.

(P. 402) The convention approved the report of its committee which considered this subject as follows:

Concrete evidence is provided by the Executive Council of the way in which recent actions by the courts and the National Labor Relations Board have abridged the rights of workers, imposed ruinous financial burdens upon unions, and have invaded the workers' freedom of association and the right of collective bargaining.

Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act is a clear and urgent necessity, not only for the preservation of the rights of Labor, but also for the maintenance of

sound labor-management relations and of industrial peace. Board procedures and court decisions which today are a burden and a threat to organized labor may tomorrow become the source of the destruction of the labor movement itself if unemployment should become widespread with workers competing for jobs.

Before the 83rd Congress convenes, labor must have ready factual evidence bringing out specifically the injustices, inequities and dangers of the Taft-Hartley Act. This should become the basis for our legislative program in the next Congress whereby the obnoxious, dangerous and unjust provisions of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 could be removed and proposals for sound and equitable enactments could be placed before Congress.

We realize divergent views are entertained by some of our affiliates as how best to meet the emergencies and exigencies experienced under the Taft-Hartley Law and of future difficulties to be experienced. Then, too, differences exist regarding provisions that should replace those of this restrictive law. All are in agreement that unity of approach as well as in spirit are essential to success.

To this end, the Building Trades Department proposed and the Executive Council approved the appointment of a Special Committee representative of every segment of our affiliates as to trades and callings, assigned to make a comprehensive study of experiences had and dangers anticipated, compile and consolidate this knowledge and information, devise and prepare a constructive, fair, and equitable legislative proposal for Congressional consideration and enactment after having received approval by the Executive Council—and to formulate a program to secure the early enactment of such Congressional proposal into law.

We are, indeed, indebted to the Building Trades Department for the

submission of this proposal to the officers of the Executive Council for their immediate, responsive and full compliance, and we look with confidence to the cooperation and support of all our affiliated unions in the furtherance of this study and in their support of the program to be outlined to bring about an early, fair, and equitable law.

(1953, pp. 116, 616) The Executive Council reported in detail on A. F. of L. projected amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act. The convention committee which considered this subject, submitted a report and recommendations which were unanimously adopted as follows:

Of overwhelming concern to labor and of deep significance to the national welfare is the struggle to revise and rectify the viciously one-sided anti-labor provisions of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, known as the Taft-Hartley Law.

The American Federation of Labor approached the problem of presenting its case for revision and correction of the Taft-Hartley law with a sense of grave public responsibility. We were deeply conscious of the fact that the unfairness and inequities of this statute as applied thus far, have reflected only a fraction of the punitive and destructive intent of the Taft-Hartley law. The full brunt of its restrictive and union-breaking provisions will not be felt until substantial unemployment drives desperate men into willingness to accept jobs on substandard terms and gives anti-union employers strategic advantage for attack on unions.

It was our purpose to present to the incoming 83rd Congress our case for making the labor law of the land just and equitable, on the firm basis of factual evidence and of the best judgment of all of our affiliates. Accordingly, the special committee designated by the 71st Convention, under-

took a questionnaire survey to enable all of our national and international unions to supply factual experience in the operation of the Taft-Hartley law and to submit their recommendations regarding the most urgently needed changes. The special committee completed a detailed analysis of the evidence and recommendations received and submitted a comprehensive report to the Executive Council last February.

Having agreed upon the broad terms in which the American Federation of Labor's presentation to Congress should be framed, the Executive Council charged President Meany with the responsibility of formulating the detailed A. F. of L. case and of presenting it to Congress, making provision for a 5-member strategy committee to assist President Meany in the development of plans to secure action on the Taft-Hartley amendments.

President Meany deserves a wholehearted tribute from the entire American Federation of Labor for his forceful and brilliant testimony before the Labor Committee of the House and the Senate and for the statesmanlike manner in which he handled the A. F. of L.'s proposals.

We are gratified that the Executive Council incorporated in its report to this Convention the full text of President Meany's recommendations on behalf of the A. F. of L. for the amendment of the Taft-Hartley law. This document details the A. F. of L.'s recommendations and the reasons on which they are based. It also underlines the great complexity of the problems involved in the Taft-Hartley revision and their importance to labor and to the public generally. We recommend the text of this presentation to our members for careful study.

Despite extensive hearings no action on the revision of the Taft-Hartley law was obtained in either house in the first session of the 83rd Congress.

As we all know, General Eisenhower both pledged as a candidate in his address to the A. F. of L. Convention in 1952 and advocated as the President of the United States in his State of the Union message to Congress, changes in the Taft-Hartley law which would eliminate its "union-busting" and anti-labor features. Despite these pledges and the constitutional prerogative of the President of the United States to recommend legislation to Congress, no such recommendations were ever submitted by the Chief Executive for Congressional consideration. We can only express the hope that when the second session of this Congress convenes, President Eisenhower will transmit legislative recommendations reflecting his initially declared purpose and making good on his pledge to the American people.

In this connection your Committee desires to make it clear that the controversial 19 proposed amendments which were divulged to certain newspapers by the White House, but never given official approval or transmitted to Congress, do not meet the objectives of the labor movement and have no A. F. of L. sanction or approval. Whatever their origin, we can regard their substance only as a first step in the right direction, but by no means as the attainment of the needed revisions we are seeking.

The burden of securing favorable action on our proposals in the next session of Congress rests on organized labor. Our whole movement must back our officers to the hilt with unstinted support of their efforts to correct the Taft-Hartley law.

We commend President Meany for carrying the burden of this difficult assignment with forthrightness and distinction.

We ask that the Executive Council extend the services of the five-member strategy committee on Taft-Hartley Amendments to continue to assist the President of the American Federation

of Labor in further efforts to secure desired action to amend the Taft-Hartley law.

(1954, pp. 89, 535) The section of the E.C. Report covering the Taft-Hartley Law was acted upon by the convention as follows:

In reviewing the report of the Executive Council on the Taft-Hartley Act, your Committee believes that it would be desirable to consider briefly the history of legislative efforts to give once more to the public and to wage earners and employers a fair labor law.

For seven years the Taft-Hartley Act has been the law of the land. Despite the repeated and excellent presentations made by the American Federation of Labor to the Congress showing the basic unfairness of the statute, only one minor amendment has been enacted into law. This amendment repealed an unnecessary and costly requirement for union shop authorization elections but left untouched the areas of deepest controversy under the Act.

In 1949, when an effort to correct these areas ended in failure, even the late Senator Taft recognized a great many shortcomings in the statute and proposed to change at least some of them. In 1954, the Smith Bill (S. 2650), referred to by the Report of the Executive Council as "so objectionable that it was necessary for us to oppose it in its entirety," contained few of the 1949 proposals of Senator Taft and would have added to the Act other features conferring upon each State new authority to meddle in its own way with union activities in industries covered uniformly by the Federal law.

The Smith Bill (S. 2650) came as a great disappointment, not only because it fell so far short of other prior Republican proposals, but also because it ran directly contrary to the solemn campaign commitments of President Eisenhower to this convention in 1952

when the President was appealing to the American people for their support in the election. It is fitting to quote here the words of President Eisenhower:

"I believe your own Executive Council has stated that it was prepared to take what it called a 'realistic' view of amendments to the law. And that is my position too. I give it to you simply and clearly. I am not in favor of repealing but amending the law.

"I will not support any amendments which weaken the rights of working men and women. In seeking desirable amendments I will ask the advice and suggestions of all groups—public, management and labor. * * * In my own mind, I have complete confidence that this job of amending the law can be worked out so that no fair minded member of your group will consider the results unreasonable. * * *

"I have talked about the Taft-Hartley Act with both labor and industry people. I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union busting."

Encouraged by the stand taken by President Eisenhower, the American Federation of Labor presented to Congressional Committees in 1953 its views on revision of the Taft-Hartley Act. President George Meany then declared:

"The present Congress of the United States has embarked upon an extensive review of the Labor-Management Relations Law on the statute books. It is reasonable to expect that the study given to the operation of the existing national labor law by this committee and by its sister-committee on the House side, will result in recommendations for a substantial revision of the Taft-Hartley law.

"I appear before this committee on behalf of the American Federation of Labor to urge the enactment of substantial changes in the present statute. I believe I can demonstrate to the

committee, or to any group of reasonable and judicious men, that in many respects the present law is not a good law. Evidence is plentiful that, in many of its provisions, the present law is unjust and wrong headed, in addition to being tremendously cumbersome, not conducive to good and peaceful industrial relations and just plain ineffective."

President Meany then analyzed the five titles, 46 major provisions, 102 basic subsections and numerous additional specific provisions of the law. He presented 40 specific proposals for revision. This analysis and these proposals are presented in detail in the 1953 Executive Council Report and the proceedings of the 1953 Convention. They are as valid today as they were then.

The course of events following these Congressional hearings is now a familiar story to the delegates to this Convention. In the late summer of 1953, after months of extensive review and detailed negotiations between the White House and the Congressional leaders, President Eisenhower repudiated even the modest 19 points for revision of the Taft-Hartley Act to which administration officials had obtained the consent of former Secretary of Labor Martin P. Durkin and which the President promised Mr. Durkin to support.

This event and the inevitable resignation of Mr. Durkin produced the Smith Bill as a logical course of legislative action consistent with a policy of appeasing and pleasing the right wing of the Republican Party and of ignoring the welfare of American working men and women.

The Smith Bill, which fortunately failed of passage, has not, however, been the final example of the radical disparity between campaign promises and Administration policy hostile to workers' rights. Two other trends must be clearly presented to the dele-

gates to this Convention and to the public.

Not content merely with retaining the Taft-Hartley Act and strengthening by legislation its restrictive effect upon workers, the Administration has embarked upon a further policy of carrying out this very objective by changing the law without going to Congress. This is being done through the decisions of the newly appointed Republican majority on the National Labor Relations Board.

Since the newly reconstituted Board began operating effectively in December of 1953, it has been deliberately reexamining, case by case, the entire structure of Board interpretation of the Taft-Hartley Act and of its predecessor, the Wagner Act, of which the Taft-Hartley Act is, for the most part, an extension and amendment. Even in the short period that this process has been in operation, the results have been alarming. Time-tested applications of the law developed during 15 years of experience in safeguarding the rights of workers to choose their own unions and acts for their mutual protection have been abandoned. Instead, the Board has devised new policies which can only give further aid and assistance to management in resisting the organizing efforts of workers, in frustrating their effectiveness at the bargaining table and in impairing their ability to act in concert for protection or attainment of their legitimate rights and objectives.

This process is still going on. Daily it is producing new decisions and new law, apparently with the acquiescence and approval of the Administration and certainly with the blessing and gratitude of politically effective segments of our national business community, marshaled by the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Here are some of the major changes during the past year:

1. "Free Speech" in Elections.

The Board has changed its rule so as to permit veiled threats by employers in representation elections such as "If the union wins the election, we will be forced to move the plant." This type of statement is now held to be protected by the Taft-Hartley Act even though the provisions of the law do not say so. In ruling this way the Board has carried out an amendment contained in the Smith Bill (S. 2650) even though Congress failed to pass the amendment.

2. The Captive Audience.

The Board has now ruled that generally employers are free to force workers to listen to anti-union tirades on company time and property without giving the union an equal chance to reply.

3. Lockouts.

The Board has now ruled for the first time in history that a mere strike threat can justify a lockout shutting down the job and depriving union members of employment.

4. Strikes During the Contract.

The Board has now indicated that a strike during the contract term, to enforce wage demands under a wage reopening clause, is outlawed by the Taft-Hartley Act. This ruling automatically writes a "no strike clause" into the contract even where the parties reserve the right to strike.

5. Narrowing Board Jurisdiction.

During the past year the Board has drastically limited the types of cases it will consider. The result is to deprive millions of workers of any protection of their rights to organize and bargain collectively, even though these workers are entitled to protection under the Federal law. These are the rights guaranteed by the original Wagner Act.

Now losing their protection are workers in retail stores, power stations, TV and radio stations, daily and weekly newspapers, utilities, defense plants, service companies, and

in every type of small business covered by the Federal law.

6. No Relief for the Construction Industry.

Even though the Board has deprived millions of workers of their "Wagner Act" rights, it refuses to use the same authority to grant relief to the construction industry. This authority was used in effect to exempt the construction industry from the Wagner Act before the Taft-Hartley Act was enacted and could still be used for this purpose today.

Furthermore, the declared policy of the Eisenhower administration has been to favor and foster the rights of the state to the detriment of recognized Federal power and authority. There is nothing new in this idea. It has been given new emphasis, however, as a guiding rule of government in broad fields, with resulting detriment to the welfare of wage earners and to the public interest. Of immediate concern is the use of this policy to encourage states to regulate legitimate union action on a more severe basis than that provided for interstate industries under Federal law. This is especially true respecting state "Right to Work Laws."

The Taft-Hartley Act established a uniform Federal rule permitting the "30-day union shop" in industries affecting interstate commerce. It then gave permission to the States, under Section 14(b) of the Act, to apply any more restrictive state legislation prohibiting insistence upon membership or non-membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment. President Meany, in his testimony before Congressional Committees, referred to above, pointed out the inconsistency, hypocrisy, and the disrupting effects of this provision. He asked for its repeal.

Section 14(b) has not been repealed. It has been perpetuated. The key provision of the original Eisenhower

legislative program for amending the Taft-Hartley Act contained in the "19 points" was the repeal of Section 14(b). After this program was repudiated, the Smith Bill (S. 2650) carefully left the section untouched. Since this bill was the Administration's most recent program for revision of the Act, it is reasonable to assume that the conscious policy of the Administration is to preserve Section 14(b).

This trend has not been limited to Section 14(b) and State "right to work" laws. It has covered the entire area of Federal-State action in the field of labor relations.

The trend has not stopped with the Smith Bill. It has found even more extreme expression in the NAM-sponsored Goldwater amendment to the Smith Bill which would have given to the States blanket authority over all areas of labor relations covered by the Federal law. As examples of the lengths to which this proposal would have gone, Senator Goldwater admitted, in questioning on the floor of the Senate, that his amendment would permit the states (1) to "pass a law forbidding collective bargaining in manufacturing," (2) to require "compulsory arbitration in all disputes as a substitute for collective bargaining" and (3) to require "union membership by 95 per cent of the employees eligible for membership in the union, before it would be recognized."

Thus the record of the past seven years is a chronicle of frustration and defeat for working men and women of America in their efforts to convince our Government of the justice and fairness of their position against the Taft-Hartley Act and against the forces which have created and perpetuated that law. Ultimate success seems only to lie in defeating at the polls those who oppose justice and fairness and in electing to public office at every level men and women who will listen

to truth and reason and will act with courage unfettered by selfishness or bias.

Meanwhile, as the full meaning and harmful effects of the Taft-Hartley Act become more clear each day and each year, we must continue with vigor to press for very substantial amendments to that law with confident hope of success and with faith in the justice of our cause.

Tampa Flogging Cases—(1939, p. 636) On November 30th, 1935, in Tampa, Florida, there was a kidnapping, flogging, tarring and feathering of Joseph A. Shoemaker, Eugene F. Poulnot and Dr. S. J. Rogers, which resulted in the tragic death of Joseph A. Shoemaker. The only crime of the above victims was their consistent efforts to aid and assist their fellow workingmen in improving their living conditions. Through the efforts of the A. F. of L., other interested organizations and prominent individuals the public was thoroughly aroused which resulted in an investigation leading to the indictment of eleven men, including the Tampa Chief of Police, six other policemen, and several Klansmen from Orlando, Florida.

The first trial held, for the kidnapping of Poulnot, resulted in conviction of five of the defendants and sentences of four years each at hard labor, although these convicted men are now free on moderate bail pending decision on an appeal to the Florida Supreme Court.

Several of the indicted men have not yet had to stand trial on the charges against them and the most serious charges of murder have not been set for date although the crimes happened almost a year ago.

The A. F. of L. goes on record as urging prompt and vigorous prosecution of the balance of these cases to the end that full justice may be obtained and that such action shall serve as a warning to all terrorist groups

intent on destroying our fundamental American liberties.

Tariff (also see: Listing by Subjects Concerned, i.e., Fishing, Pulp, etc.)

(Philippine Imports)—(1924, p. 57) Immediately upon adjournment of the convention of the A. F. of L., held in Portland, Oreg, the E.C. considered and acted upon Resolution No. 84, approved by that convention. This resolution set forth the complaint that by reason of lower standards of working conditions and payment for services rendered by the wage earners in the Philippine Islands, many of the products of Oriental and other sorts of lower paid labor were being imported duty free and in direct competition with products of the workers in the U.S. It likewise contained the recommendation and instruction that the E.C. should appoint a special committee to visit the Philippine Islands and report on conditions against which complaint was made.

Thoughtful consideration of the resolution led the E.C. to reach the conclusion that for the time being at least it was inadvisable and undesirable to send a special committee to the Philippine Islands especially in view of the fact that other methods might be invoked before such a comprehensive undertaking should be entered into. Consequently, the E.C. directed an inquiry to be made of this subject by the organizations directly and primarily interested.

As a result of this inquiry a conference was called for the purpose herein indicated and as outlined in the resolution.

This conference was called on February 11, 1924, at a time when the E.C. was meeting, thus making it possible for the E.C. to render such further assistance as the conference might determine. . . .

Upon the recommendation of this conference and after further consideration of the entire subject matter,

the E.C. adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved—That the Congress of the United States be, and is hereby respectfully and earnestly urged to amend the import laws, insofar as they relate to the importation of manufactured products, from the Philippine Islands, to the effect that all manufactured products from the Islands shall be subject to the same import duty provided for and collected from all foreign countries.

Resolved—That we respectfully petition and urge the Congress of the United States to forthwith grant the earnest prayer and petitions of the Filipinos—the right to exercise in full, liberty, freedom and self-government.

Representatives of the A. F. of L. appeared before the Committee on Insular Affairs and urged the adoption of the resolution for Philippine independence. No action has been taken by Congress up to the present time.

(1925, p. 312) Inasmuch as the A. F. of L. has accorded to individual organizations the free determination of attitude on the tariff question within their own industries the E.C. is authorized to render such aid to organizations which are concerned in tariff legislation for their individual industries as seems best to the E.C. It is to be understood that in so responding the A. F. of L. is not to be committed to any question of principle relating to general tariff legislation.

(1931, p. 303) It shall be the practice of the A. F. of L. when tariff legislation is being considered by Congress, to cooperate with national and international unions interested in any particular schedule, to have those who are seeking to secure changes in tariff for their industry subjected to questioning which will make public the rates of wages paid to their employees, the hours of labor they are compelled to work, whether they believe

in the right of wage earners to organize for self-protection; whether there are trade unions among their employees with whose representatives they are accustomed to discuss terms of employment and conditions of labor, and whether this is by means of collective action, without interference, influence or coercion exercised by either party over the other, or designation of representatives by the other.

(1939, p. 430) European countries, because of low wages, depreciated currency, and subsidized industries, are able to dump commodities into the U.S. at prices below the cost of production here.

If the Anti-Dumping Act of 1921 were strengthened by the enactment into law of H.R. 7312, it would prove of immeasurable benefit to American wage earners, not only to those employed in non-dutiable industries, like pulp and newsprint paper, but also to all the workers employed in industries that have to meet what is tantamount to subsidized competition from European countries.

The E.C. is directed to urge upon Congress the enactment of this legislation.

(P. 431) The A. F. of L. recommends that legislative action be taken to protect the wood pulp industry from foreign competition.

(1949, p. 64) Protest against the practice of some American employers in establishing duplicate facilities in Europe in order to produce cheaper goods for the American market in competition with American labor, was called for in Res. 78, which requested that the A. F. of L. foster legislation preventing a lowering of tariff which would result in an unfair competitive advantage for European products.

(P. 485) In lieu of Res. 25 (Buy American) and Res. 78, the convention adopted the following committee recommendations:

Your committee has considered

these resolutions as related to a common objective and expression of a growing unrest. Your committee is of the opinion that the situation presented and apprehensions manifested are not to be viewed lightly or to be disregarded. Neither do we believe that it presents cause for undue alarm and holds that final conclusions should be drawn on matters of such grave international importance only after having first inquired into all elements and factors affecting international relations and world trade.

Your committee therefore recommends that the president of the Federation cause an inquiry to be made into all trends and factors affecting international and world trade as well as relationships particularly with reference to ultimate consequences upon our domestic employment opportunities and trade conditions. It is also recommended that affiliated organizations most directly affected by any change or disturbance in our international and foreign trade be observant of future developments due to possible foreign competition and the resultant effects upon the employment situation and opportunities of their respective trades and callings to the end that appropriate measures may be considered to safeguard the employment and trade opportunities of their people. In the interim it is recommended that members and friends of organized labor favor the purchase of commodities bearing the union label and patronize union shop card establishments and as well union button services.

(Protest Against Foreign Competition)—(1950, p. 20) Res. 4 called attention to the increasing importance of demanding union label goods and services, and protested against the influx of foreign made goods from European and Asiatic countries whose low cost of production is a serious threat to the wage rates established by the A. F. of L.

(P. 24) Res. 11 and 12 contained nu-

merous reasons for pressing Congress for protective tariff legislation and concluded with the following:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, while fully recognizing the many economic benefits of a healthy foreign trade, declare its disapproval of such competitive imports as derive their competitive advantage from low wages prevailing abroad, unless this unfair advantage is appropriately offset or guarded against to assure competitive parity; that the undermining of labor standards through wage competition on an international scale cannot be accepted as a legitimate form of economic improvement; that it is not necessary, as a condition of selling successfully in the United States, to offer goods at prices that substantially undercut the market; that the most healthy and voluminous trade can be built around fair competitive methods rather than seeking to base it upon price advantages that threaten loss of employment and reduction in wages; and finally that the American Federation of Labor express its concern over further tariff reductions that will expose our workers to unfair competition from foreign wages and thus undermine the wage standards built up in this country over the years.

(P. 375) Res. 126:

Whereas—New and drastic reductions in the United States import duties on wines, fresh grapes and raisins are proposed in negotiations to be conducted with foreign countries at Torquay, England, beginning on September 28th, and

Whereas—500,000 Americans in wine wholesaling and retailing, and in the transportation, printing, lithography, glass, closure, packaging, advertising, winery equipment and farm equipment industries derive all or part of their income from supplying or serving the grape and wine industry, in addition to the 158,000 American

farm families which grow grapes for wine, and

Whereas—The loss of adequate tariff protection would admit large volumes of the products of cheap foreign labor and would displace grapes, raisins and wines from their home markets, thereby throwing many American workers out of employment and injuring the economy of many United States communities, and

Whereas—The grape and wine industry and the many industries which serve and supply it already have been grievously injured by previous cuts in the tariffs on foreign wines and by the repeated devaluations of foreign currencies, and

Whereas—Such countries as Spain and Portugal, which are not even parties to the tariff negotiations, would be the principal beneficiaries of any reductions in the wine tariffs, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor goes on record as opposing any reductions in present tariffs on grapes, raisins and wines and as recommending restoration of adequate tariff protection for these products grown and distributed by American labor, and be it further

Resolved—That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information, the United States Tariff Commission, the United States Department of Agriculture, the United States Department of State, the United States Department of Labor, and members of the Congress of the United States.

(P. 459) Resolutions 4, 11, 12 and 126 all deal with the subject of unfair foreign competition, calling for greater use of the union label, shop card and button, disapproving competitive disadvantage from low wage areas, seeking competitive parity and assurance against still further reductions in import duties.

Your committee is in accord with and approves the principles involved

and the objectives sought in these several resolutions. We fully recognize the many economic benefits of a healthy foreign trade. World economic stability cannot be regained without a large volume of sound international trade.

However we must not forget that competitive imports that derive their market advantage from low wages prevailing in other countries are a constant threat to our labor standards, unless this unfair advantage is offset or guarded against to assure competitive parity.

We cannot accept international wage competition as a method of economic improvement since such competition, wherever it occurs, inevitably undermines the higher of the competing standards. International trade like domestic trade can be expanded most soundly on the basis of fair competition.

Our import duties should prevent low-wage rivalry from abroad as our state and national minimum wage laws seek to avoid such rivalry at home, to the end that our labor standards may be maintained and further improved.

(1951, pp. 307, 549) Res. 83 called attention to the problems posed by unfair competition of foreign made products as follows:

Whereas—It never was the intention of the reciprocal trade treaty policy of the Federal Government to permit foreign made products to be imported in this country under circumstances that will result in complete ruination of competitive American industry, and

Whereas—Such situation is in fact developing in the motorcycle industry as shown by the following facts: England is shipping into this country motorcycles which sell for an average of 25 to 30% less than comparable American made products; this price differential results in part from the fact

that the average wage rate in the automotive industry in England is 58c an hour, while the average wage rate in motorcycle manufacturing in this country for workers who are members of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, A. F. of L., is \$1.84 per hour, plus generally superior working conditions and social benefits, this price differential is also due in part to the devaluation of the value of the English pound by approximately 30%; such price differential has resulted in the loss of 25% of sales of one company, Harley-Davidson Motorcycle Company of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, during the current manufacturing season, which loss of sales is directly accounted for by the sales made in this country of the English-made motorcycle and such loss of sales has also resulted in the loss of jobs by 1400 American working men and women at the Harley-Davidson Company, and

Whereas—In addition to the unfair competitive advantage enjoyed by the imported English-made motorcycles, the British Empire has made it impossible for American manufacturers to sell their products in the British Empire with the result that while such British-made product is freely sold here to the ruination of the American workingman, American made products of the same type are excluded from the British market, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at San Francisco, September 17, 1951, go on record as being vigorously opposed to the granting of any tariff or import duty preferences which will permit continuation of the intolerable condition described above, and as supporting any reasonable changes in such import duty or import quota regulations which will permit American-made motorcycles to compete on a fair and equal basis with English-made motorcycles for American sales.

(P. 550) The convention considered four resolutions (Nos. 13, 16, 21, and 23) jointly inasmuch as all dealt with competition between American workers and those in substandard countries whose products are brought into the U.S. for sale. The committee report was unanimously approved as follows:

In reporting on these resolutions, your committee recommends reaffirmation of the repeatedly asserted opposition to unfair competition as a threat to wage standards and conditions of work. We do not oppose a high volume of international trade; we favor it. But we cannot look with indifference when the very objectives of our long effort and struggle in the economic and social field are threatened by imports that derive their competitive advantage from lower wage payments and inferior working conditions.

We reassert the principle that fair competition as contrasted with sweatshop or cut-throat competition assures both the highest and healthiest flow of trade, whether domestic or international.

Our minimum wage laws, both state and federal, our social security laws, our system of unemployment insurance and our collective bargaining guarantees, all are evidence of our conviction that foreign competition based on wages and standards of employment is destructive of a sound social, industrial and commercial system. It is our judgment that the American market and the interest of America's workers can best be maintained in its expanded and expanding condition by continued adherence to this conviction.

In keeping with the foregoing, your committee recommends these resolutions be referred to the officers of the American Federation of Labor for consideration and action and as hereinafter outlined. It is our further recommendation that all efforts be made to the end that authentic cases of unfair

import competition are eliminated, fully recognizing that removal of unfair trade will not restrict trade in general but will promote it. It is, likewise, recommended that we endeavor to help shape our foreign trade legislation to assure fair and equitable import conditions where the imported goods compete with the products of our members and do not tend to undermine our standards of work and compensation for services rendered.

(*And Immigration*)—(1952, pp. 39, 468):

Whereas—Continued employment at fair wages is dependent upon a steady market for the products of Labor at fair prices, and

Whereas—Our extremely high national financial obligations, including outlays for national defense, interest on the national debt, foreign aid, assistance to veterans and price support of agricultural products require a high national income, and

Whereas—Such a level of national income can be maintained only if employment and wages remain at or near the present high level, thus producing a large volume of goods salable only in a strong market backed by a high purchasing power, and

Whereas—We are conscious of the need to maintain democratic governments and prevent them from gravitating toward totalitarianism and we are mindful of the fact that as workers in the United States we benefit by an expanding world trade in two particular aspects: (1) Over two million workers in this country are dependent upon exports for their jobs; the most recent analysis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates that the employment of nearly 2,400,000 workers in the first half of 1947 were dependent upon exports; (2) As consumers we are able to purchase foreign-made goods, which otherwise would not be available, for consumption in this country, and

Whereas—What is true for American industry as a whole is not true for each specific product made in this country. There are some instances in which foreign competitors utilizing substandard conditions of employment can and do compete directly with American products and could, in the absence of reasonable protection by import duties, drive these producers to lower levels and deprive American workers of employment, therefore, be it

Resolved—That we condemn as unfair and unjustifiable any foreign competition that derives its competitive advantage in our markets from payment of lower wages and imposition of inferior working conditions in the countries shipping their products to us, and be it further

Resolved—That we support all efforts to establish reasonable safeguards against such unfair foreign competition either through the tariff or import quotas to the extent necessary to assure fairness of competition, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor be accorded full and adequate representation on all agencies set up to effectuate the above purposes.

Referred to the officers of the A. F. of L.

(Narrow Fabrics)—1953, pp. 446, 649) Res. 129 protested against free importation of competitive narrow fabric textile products as follows:

Whereas—There are thousands of members in good standing who are gainfully employed in the narrow fabrics textile industry, and

Whereas — Free importation of competitive narrow fabric textile products from low-wage areas constitutes a continuing threat to the perpetual employment of these members, and

Whereas — Legislation to permit free import of woven narrow fabrics from low-wage areas abroad in com-

petition with similar products manufactured by the textile industry in Connecticut and other states by high-wage labor would foster unemployment, and

Whereas—Direct aid programs are made possible in large part by our national full employment and prosperity which, in turn, would be seriously jeopardized in the narrow fabric textile industry if low-price narrow fabrics were imported without suitable tariffs, and

Whereas — The conception of imports being beneficial to United States business and employment is valid only to the extent that free trade must be highly selective and should exclude woven fabrics and other products, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor objects strenuously to the programs of the United States Congress and the Federal Administration reducing import tariffs and advocating free trade in certain products such as, for example, woven narrow fabrics, and be it further

Resolved—That the meaning of the foregoing, and the sentiment of this convention with regard thereto, be communicated to the appropriate bodies in the Congress of the United States and the appropriate departments of the National Administration.

Referred to officers of A. F. of L. for consideration and aid to organizations concerned.

(Handbags, Luggage, Etc.) — (Pp. 408, 649) Res. 42:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in St. Louis, Missouri, go on record to instruct its officers and Executive Council to use all their efforts in favor of the restoration of the 35% tariff on handbags made of reptile and leathers regardless of from what country they may be brought to the United States, and be it further

Resolved—That all state federations, city central bodies, federal unions and local unions extend all moral support to the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, a constituent and integral part of the Federation, in its national campaign to eliminate said unfair and cut-throat competition which endangers the working and living standards of the handbag and pocketbook workers, and be it further

Resolved—That this convention assembled of the American Federation of Labor go on record to urge each and every international union affiliated with the Federation to pass appropriate resolutions appealing to Congress to restore the 35% tariff on handbags made of reptile and leathers and to 50% on handbags made of straw and other materials, as was the case prior to the 50% cut effected in the reciprocity agreements.

Referred to A. F. of L. officers for consideration and aid to organizational interest.

(Japanese Imports)—(1955, p. 120) Domestic textile and apparel industries are facing a rapidly growing unfair competition from products imported from Japan. At the moment, competition to domestic manufacturing is seriously affecting cotton blouse production. The growth in these imports in the last two years has been spectacular. According to the sources in the trade, in 1954 cotton blouse imports from Japan amounted to 10,000 dozens; the 1955 rate of imports, however, advanced to over 2,000,000 dozens. In terms of domestic manufacture, the 1954 imports of cotton blouses represented about 0.1 per cent, in 1955—20 per cent. Most of this increase took place before the tariff concessions granted to Japan under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade became effective on September 10, 1955. The threat of this unfair low-wage competition, which enables Japan to dump cotton

blouses on the American market at a fraction of the prices charged by domestic manufacturers, is apt therefore to become intensified. Vigilance must be exercised and remedies found to safeguard the employment of American workers and their labor standards.

Taxation (also see: Aliens; Income Tax; Seamen's Income Tax; Poll Tax; Sales Tax; Social Security)

(Tax Exempt Securities)—(1924, p. 71) An amendment to the constitution was introduced in the House proposing that the U.S. shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes derived from securities issued by the federal, state, county and municipal governments in the various sections of the country. This amendment was reported favorably by the Committee on Ways and Means. It was debated and rejected by the House, failing the necessary two-thirds majority. The vote was 247 yeas and 133 nays.

(P. 187) The convention requested the E.C. to have the 69th Congress approve an amendment to the Constitution that would give the U.S. power to tax securities now exempt.

(1925, p. 55) H.J. Res. 315, proposing an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress the power to levy and collect taxes on now tax-free securities, was reported favorably in the House but failed of passage. It provided also that states would be given power to tax such securities.

(1931, p. 467) The A. F. of L. approves in principle a tax on incomes for the benefit of states, levied by the states in like manner as the federal income tax, to be so graduated that it will be levied in increasing percentages on progressively larger incomes.

(Estate Tax)—(1928, pp. 82, 216) For several Congresses a determined effort has been made to repeal the estate tax. As is well known the object of this is eventually to repeal all taxes and establish what is known as

the sales tax, otherwise the buyers' tax. The Administration favored the repeal of the estate tax and many witnesses appeared before the Ways and Means Committee urging that that recommendation be made to the House.

Representatives of the A. F. of L. entered vigorous protest and the committee finally refused to approve of the repeal of the estate tax.

When the revenue bill reached the Senate an attempt was made to include the repeal of the estate tax but failed.

(Financing U. S. Government)—(1932, p. 74) In 1789 our Federal Government had these administrative departments: State, Treasury, War, and Justice. To these were added: Post Office Department, 1789; Department of the Navy, 1798; Department of the Interior, 1849; Department of Agriculture, 1889; Department of Commerce, 1903; Department of Labor, 1913.

The number of independent offices, commissions, bureaus, etc., has grown steadily. These include Civil Service Commission, Personnel Classification Board, Employees Compensation Commission, General Accounting Office, Federal Coordinating Service, Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Reserve Board, Federal Trade Commission, Tariff Commission, Federal Farm Board, Radio Commission, Veterans Administration, Federal Board for Vocational Education, U.S. Shipping Board, Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, etc.

The increase in governmental activities reflects the growing public interest in various economic undertakings; the need for protecting the consumer; the need for advising producers who must sell and buy in world markets; the need for conserving natural resources; the need for having standard weights and measures, etc. The fact that governmental activities, employ-

ees and costs have steadily increased is not in itself a reason for alarm and an argument for curtailing such expenditures. Each item of expenditure should be evaluated on a basis of service, efficiency, relation to social welfare. What we do need to guard against is watertight compartments, doing things that can best be done by some other agency, bad business management.

Because governmental activities are so comprehensive, there should be some method of considering these expenditures as a whole and reviewing developments. In other words we have developed the budget system. The budget is intended to serve as a work and tax program. It affects economies while it adds its own expenses to governmental costs.

In the early days of this country, government was a very simple matter. Individual citizens and communities took care of their needs, looking to the government chiefly for the recording of deeds, transfer of property, the regulation of relations with outside countries. As our population increased and became denser, as our business enterprises increased, as the country was more closely united by railways, telegraph, telephone, airways, radio, the mechanisms used in living are more inter-related and individual well being inter-dependent. We no longer use the candle or the oil lamp. Cheap transportation must be provided within a city. The household is no longer dependent on the home well or wood pile or its individual garden.

Government which formerly was confined chiefly to activities which required compulsion found it necessary to undertake services, to regulate, to furnish information and technical data.

In this complicated modern age we are finding it necessary to do many things collectively; some through vol-

untary agencies, and some by delegating new functions to the government. The choice of agency depends upon conditions and the work to be done.

As a result of activities of various interested groups in Labor, agriculture, industry, commerce, finance, etc., governmental departments and bureaus have been established and developed. The government is our agency to do those costly and unremunerative undertakings which are indispensable to future progress and which benefit the nation as a whole.

In the Federal Government there are undoubtedly inefficiencies, duplications, waste through lack of coordination, inflexibility, inept management, etc. But these are matters to be dealt with upon a basis of fact and efficiency, and not matters of expediency. The work of the government should be the promotion of national welfare for which legislators should make adequate appropriation covering considerable periods of time.

To carry on our governmental work, federal employees have been employed from practically every state in the Union. The greater number of these employees are under the Civil Service and have won their positions in competitive examinations. While as competent as those in private employment many work for much lower salaries than are paid to those in private positions. Many have invested years in developing capacities for the distinctive needs of government work. This group of workers has been made the football of politics, together with the activities of various governmental agencies.

Propaganda from those who wish to curtail their personal tax payments by restriction of government work, curtailment of federal appropriations, salary cuts for government workers, should not be allowed to stampede legislators into uneconomic curtailment of work, and neglect of

the fundamental purposes for which our government was created.

The increased costs of government have not been due to increase in the percentage going to operating costs, but to more and better services to the nation. We cannot get very far in understanding governmental costs and economies until we apply informing methods of accountancy.

Trends indicate the government will increasingly serve as the coordinating agency for more groups and more undertakings and that governmental expenditures will increase. We shall meet the bills collectively through taxation instead of attempting to do the same work as individually paying private bills. In deciding any of these matters we must apply measuring rods of money costs and social costs.

Our state governments which were formerly mainly concerned with maintaining order, collecting taxes, and protecting property, now are concerned with public works, including highways, supervising insurance, banking, education, agriculture, forests, fish, game, public health, welfare, charitable and reformatory institutions; there are special boards for Labor, mines, registrations, sanitation, tenements and housing, licensing boards, etc. These new functions represent a developing concept of what society should be organized to do in promoting social welfare.

Municipal functions have added to the maintenance of public safety the various activities of community house-keeping—sewers and sewage, garbage disposal, water supply, city lighting, public utilities, construction, repairing and cleaning of streets, public schools, libraries, control of traffic, public health, parks and recreation centers, markets, welfare departments, school attendance administration, transportation, etc. The services rendered help to raise standards of community living. Their costs increase

taxes but represent the most economical method of doing what society wants done. . . .

A detailed study of the reports of the United States Treasury on receipts, expenditures and deficit will disclose the essential solvency of our nation and its capacity to meet emergencies. Our national wealth is the basis of our fiscal planning and policies. Government expenditures have increased, paralleling growing needs and broadening concepts of national service.

Depression has reduced the national income from \$89,584,000,000, for 1929, to \$52,446,000,000 for 1931. New demands made upon the government for aid to the unemployed in the form of work and relief as well as relief for banks, agriculture, and business, debts arising from the World War, have brought the problems of taxation before our citizens with force. In the various demands and movements for tax reduction there has been much confusion and misstatement.

Declining national income and rising need for relief occasioned the demand for a "balanced budget"—in the sense that expenditures should be paid out of current income. Such procedure is unprecedented in our fiscal policies and unjustifiable. Our nation has always made use of its credit and our government has long made use of deficiency appropriations. Apparently, the primary purpose of the proposal was to reduce the costs of normal government. But government is not a business institution that can expand or contract its activities in accord with the ups and downs of the business cycle.

The government cannot abandon its functions temporarily. It must continue to keep the peace, protect property, promote the general welfare in good times as well as bad. Its capital investments must be maintained; child welfare, workmen's compensation, statistical services, crime prevention, edu-

cation, highways, airways, and all the services and agencies necessary to modern life. The normal trend of such expenditures is steadily upward, unless national decline sets in. These are not things we can do more or less, as business management is more or less successful. The costs must be provided for by fiscal planning covering a decade or more, differentiating between capital expenditure and operating expenses.

There are those who regard the mounting costs of government as something wholly undesirable. There comes under consideration the sweep of changing functions of government to conform to the needs of the citizens under changing ways of working and living. Mistrust of many proposals for retrenchment in government expenditure is based on the fact that they come from those corporations that would profit by escaping regulation in general interests and from groups representing concentration of wealth.

In the U.S. taxation is divided into three general groups according to the agency levying and expending the taxes: federal, state, and local. In 1890, the combined gross governmental expenditures were \$855,000,000, of which 34% was disbursed by federal authority; 9% by state, and 57% by local. By 1930, the total gross governmental expenditures had mounted to \$13,048,000,000, with the following percentage distribution: federal, 31.0%; state, 15.3%; local, 54.6%.

The U.S. takes a smaller levy from national income than do the chief European countries.

In Great Britain the government took 25.2% of national income; in France, 16.1%; in Italy, 14.2%; in Germany, 13.6%; in the United States, 10.4%. The percentages are for 1928, the latest year for which figures for all countries could be obtained.

(1936, p. 571) The E.C. is directed to undertake a study of the base and structure of taxation—national, state

and local—with a view to determining the deterrent effect of present taxes upon enterprise and employment, and recommending such changes as will produce the maximum tax revenue with the minimum burden upon labor, industry and the consuming public.

(1938, p. 424) The E.C. is instructed to establish a committee for the purpose of study and appropriate action concerning the crucial problem of equitable distribution of the tax burden with especial reference to taxes of discriminatory and punitive character.

(Whiskey Tax)—(1938, pp. 167, 552) Congress increased the revenue tax on each proof gallon of newly distilled liquor 25 cents after July 1, 1938. It then developed that arrangements were being made to manufacture great amounts of liquor so that when the law went into effect they would be exempt from the increased tax on all liquor manufactured before July 1. This would have thrown many thousands of the workers out of employment after July 1.

Therefore, a bill was introduced in Congress to place a floor tax of 25 cents on each proof gallon. This would prevent holders of whiskey from taking advantage of the original law taxing only newly manufactured whiskey 25 cents per gallon after July 1.

In order to protect the distillery workers the A. F. of L. urged the passage of the floor tax bill and it was signed June 16, 1938.

(1952, pp. 38, 467) Res. 49 protested against steadily rising tax rate on distilled liquor, threatening the stability and security of the industry and the workers engaged therein and called upon the affiliates of the A. F. of L. to seek the enactment of proposed legislation reducing the tax rate applicable to distilled spirits. Referred to the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation.

(Machinery) (Labor-Displacing) — (1940, p. 533) Resolution calling for

the imposition of a tax on machinery which displaces workers, was referred to the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation.

(1949, pp. 343, 501) Res. 117 proposed that Congress enact necessary tax measures to adequately tax labor-saving machinery which is taking the place of manpower and contributing to the ranks of the unemployed and requiring that such moneys provide increased benefits to unemployed workers. Referred to Tax Committee.

(1942, p. 165) Presentations of the A. F. of L. to Congressional committees on this subject were predicated upon reports made by our Committee on Taxation.

We opposed a general sales tax, a manufacturers' sales tax, or a spending tax and none of these were adopted.

In regard to war costs, we recommended a pay-as-we-go policy, insofar as possible, depending mainly on taxation of incomes in accordance with ability to pay.

The committees were requested in connection with the entire tax plan, to consider payments made by employees to Social Security and the need for increased contributions, with a parallel plan for industry refunding approximately 20 per cent of excess profits taxes for post-war industries giving employment to workers.

The Senate Finance Committee has superimposed upon the income taxes, which are 6 per cent of the net income, plus a surplus tax of 13 per cent to 93 per cent, a 5 per cent tax on gross annual earnings exceeding \$624.

This gross tax will evidently apply on earnings invested in savings or War Bonds.

While the bill is still unreported to the Senate, action by its Committee to date assures the adoption of the highest income tax rates in the history of this country. This is, no doubt, necessary, but the present danger to

workers is that in the effort to secure additional revenue there will be enacted a specific tax of 5 per cent on all gross earnings, except \$12 weekly, in addition to the normal tax and surtax on net incomes, and, while the need is great, when to this is added payroll deductions of 10 per cent for War Bonds, Red Cross, etc., Social Security deductions, the results will be crushing and may lower earnings below the point necessary to maintain health and efficiency.

(State and Local Government Securities—(1942, p. 557) Convention unanimously approved Res. 19 opposing federal tax on state and local government securities.

(1943, pp. 60, 338) The convention adopted the following:

Attention is directed to the proposals for higher tax levies to increase the tax yield from thirty-eight billions of dollars, as estimated for present laws, to forty billions of dollars in the next year. Also that different methods proposed include forced loans to the Government, increased pay-roll deductions, ranging as high as 41 per cent, and a general sales tax.

This convention instructs the Executive Council to continue its efforts in behalf of just and equitable taxation based upon ability to pay and in unremitting opposition to a sales tax. Executive Council is instructed to oppose any increase in taxes levied upon wages or compensation of the workers and that any increase in the amounts withheld from such wages or compensation be in the form of savings represented by Government bonds.

(1944, p. 166) The war has made practically every self-supporting person keenly aware that the Federal Government collects revenues. The number of persons paying income tax has risen from 4 to 50 millions. The size of payments has risen both because of changes in exemptions and increases in rates.

Personal exemption for single persons has dropped from \$1,000 in 1939 to \$500; for couples from \$2,500 in 1939 to \$1,200. The normal rate has increased from 4 per cent to 22 per cent; the surtax from a top of 75 per cent on incomes in excess of \$5,000,000 to 90 per cent on incomes in excess of \$200,000. Corporation tax rates have increased from a range of 12½ to 19 per cent to 40 per cent plus a 95 per cent excess profits tax.

These tax rates make a heavy burden on wage earners and small salaried persons, who in addition pay this direct income tax into old-age insurance and have plans for more adequate social insurance in order to provide against dependency. Such social insurance contributions are based on earnings.

The needs of Government will remain high after the war. The costs of the war are piling up a huge national debt which together with annual interest will have to be paid in the coming years. It is variously estimated that the post-war annual budget will be between \$16 and \$25 billions. Obviously, unless we can maintain a national income, approximating present levels, such a budget will amount to a capital levy. If there are jobs for all, the national income will remain high and more incomes will fall within the taxable levels, so that adequate revenues can be secured and rates materially reduced.

It is obvious that we must have a permanent federal tax program to reduce our national obligation which can remain in operation with minor changes during the difficult years ahead. Since enterprise provides the employment that creates income, our tax proposals should encourage the expansion of industry.

Since income tax is a main dependence for revenue, it is important that rates paid by low income families do not deprive them of the essentials of

living and that they are adjusted so that these families can also make contributions for social insurance.

The American Federation of Labor Tax Committee is studying the proposed post-war tax programs for the purpose of making recommendations.

(P. 587) A sound tax policy is indispensable for the government to meet its obligations and equally necessary to enable private enterprise to provide the employment basic for economic prosperity.

We note that the American Federation of Labor is studying proposals and urge that wide publicity be given its findings.

(Reporting by Labor Organizations) —(P. 411) Under this caption the Executive Council reports its activities in the formation and enactment of the federal tax law. The Executive Council vigorously opposed the provision in the law requiring organizations, including labor organizations, to file annually itemized statements of receipts and disbursements. A letter by the President of the A. F. of L. was read into the Congressional Record during consideration of the bill in the House of Representatives. The opposition was continued when the bill was under consideration by the Senate but, as finally enacted, that provision was retained.

The opposition to a general sales tax was successful.

The bill was vetoed by the President and subsequently passed over his veto.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report and that the Executive Council be instructed to use every possible means to secure the repeal of the provisions in the tax law requiring labor organizations to make periodic financial reports to any Government agency.

(Tax Credits on Bond Purchases)—(P. 426) The following resolution,

No. 82, was unanimously adopted by the convention.

Whereas—The present federal tax structure provides for a withholding tax of 20% of the gross income of wage workers, and

Whereas—Other taxpayers, including industry, are asked to pay their taxes only on a net income basis, and

Whereas—The 20% withholding tax has seriously cut into the wages of many thousands of American working people, who have been unable to get any relief from the mounting increased cost of living, and

Whereas—It is now evident that the employers and businessmen of America contemplate further reducing the tax burden on business, and keeping the burden on the pay envelopes of the wage worker, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor ask the United States Congress to revise the tax laws and provide that the wage worker subjected to the 20% withholding tax be given credit on defense bond purchases to the extent of 50% of the withholding tax, as this is the only way that many of them now have of providing savings for their future security.

(1946, pp. 185, 610) The size of the public debt is already causing anxiety, for the debt is a considerable factor in our inflation problem as well as cause of high tax rates. However, the war and the war situation still exist. It is unsafe to reduce military expenses too drastically and our nation must assume new responsibilities in international fields and for the United Nations.

Our own Federal agencies must have funds with which to perform needed social services. In the coming year expensive war agencies will doubtless be liquidated and economies in administration can be made.

Congress and the Treasury must find ways to reduce the national debt before taxation can be materially de-

creased. In the meanwhile there should be more equitable distribution of the tax burden.

(Pp. 221, 614) H.R. 3633, a bill to facilitate reconversion, provides an increase in the excess profits tax exemption from \$10,000 to \$25,000, a 10% credit of 10% of the excess profits tax to be taken currently with respect to 1944 taxes and subsequent years. Advanced to 1946 the maturity date of postwar refund bonds, speeds up refunds from carry-backs, net operating losses, and speeds up refunds of recomputations of deductions for amortization of emergency facilities.

Reconversion and readjustment to peacetime operation, it is claimed, will be facilitated by enactment of the bill as business men could intelligently plan for postwar business

The bill passed Congress and was approved by the President on July 31, 1945 (Public Law No. 172—79th Congress).

We approved the extension to business of some measure of relief from the burden of taxation in the amount of five billion dollars by this bill, but some relief should also have been extended to the great mass of taxpayers by increasing the amount of exemptions approximately as follows:

Single individual.....	\$1,200.00
Married couple	2,000.00
Credit for each dependent....	500.00

Tax laws should be equitable and practical and the purchasing power of the mass of the people should not be reduced to such a level by heavy taxes and low exemptions that business is retarded and living standards lowered.

This section reports tax legislation relieving business by refund provisions. The American Federation of Labor tried also to secure more equitable exemptions for those in the lower income brackets.

(Program of Labor)—(1947, p. 262)
—The Executive Council directed at-

tention to the continued necessity for heavy federal taxes. Their report stated in part: . . . by pre-war standards federal taxes will continue to be heavy. Federal debt charges, defense needs, continued service for war veterans, and current and future social security costs will all require substantial revenues. A federal program of aid to public schools much more extensive than anything proposed up to this time is urgently needed. Provision for health services and adequate housing will require government aid. It is probable, too, that our assumption of increased international obligations may involve us in additional financial commitments before any degree of economic stability abroad is assured. Finally, with the prospect of wage and price levels higher than those prevailing before the war, it is reasonable to assume that the ordinary services of the federal government will cost considerably more than they did in the pre-war years.

Added together, all these factors point to the need for keeping federal revenue at a level sufficiently high to meet the foregoing requirements during the immediately foreseeable future. The tax structure therefore in our opinion should balance the budget and yield substantial surpluses during periods of high employment. Looking ahead, however, we all recognize that certain modifications in the tax structure may be made that will contribute much toward determining the degree of prosperity we maintain.

Any and all such modifications in the federal tax structure should be made with the following objectives in mind:

1. The proposed taxes should be adequate to provide for necessary services and to maintain the federal credit.
2. The proposed taxes should be equitable, increasing progressively as individual income in-

creases with due regard for the necessity of exempting the incomes of those at below minimum-subsistence levels.

3. The proposed taxes should operate so as to keep the buying power of consumers at the highest possible level, so that production and employment may be maintained.
4. The proposed taxes should not combine with other economic measures to depress or retard the development of any area, or place it at an economic disadvantage in relation to other areas.

In line with these objectives, we believe future federal tax programs should be based on the following considerations:

Personal income taxes must provide the bulk of revenue; excise taxes should be reduced; taxes on consumption should be opposed; revenue from business profits should be maintained; social security income and expenditures should be segregated from the remainder of the federal budget; estate and gift taxes should be re-studied with a view to increasing revenues; there should be integration of federal-state tax policies.

Excise Taxes—(1947, p. 264) As total revenue needs will permit we urge the repeal of all excise taxes except those on liquor, tobacco, and gasoline (providing income from gasoline tax is needed and used for highway developments). These reductions in excise taxes which should be second in priority to income tax reduction for those at below subsistence level income, would mean tax savings of approximately \$3.3 billion dollars based on excise tax revenue estimates for 1947. Approximately \$4.4 billion dollars in revenue from excise taxes on liquor, tobacco, and gasoline would then continue to accrue at present levels of income and spending. Rates on liquor and gasoline should also be re-

duced to the pre-war level as federal revenue needs permit. The new excise taxes levied during the war were for the most part levied on commodities and services which in ordinary times must be regarded as essential to the proper functioning of our economy. Heavy taxes on telegraph and telephone service, passenger fares, transportation of goods and many other services and commodities, however justified they may be in time of national emergency as contributing to the conservation of manpower and necessary materials can be regarded only as discriminatory in normal times. Their perpetuation results only in an inequitable distribution of a hidden tax burden. Removal of these war-time taxes would result in a substantial decrease in the tax load on low and medium incomes which would contribute considerably to the establishment of a healthy post-war economy.

(1949, pp. 240, 476) Reference to the enactment of a sales tax in the District of Columbia in the face of overwhelming evidence that it was not necessary, in the legislative section of the Council's Report underscores the importance of the recommendation Taxation.

The Executive Council's reference to the continued need for close integration of the federal, state and local tax systems is particularly timely. Cities, in addition to paying high local taxes, continue to bear the major part of state tax burdens; they also continue to receive a disproportionately small portion of state and federal aid. The consequence is our cities are having increasing difficulty in supporting their own long-deferred means for capital improvements and services because of the combined burden of local, state and federal taxes which in so many respects discriminates in favor of taxpayers in small towns and rural areas. Tax competition between states and between communities within states continues to provide further reason for

an integration of federal, state and local tax systems as proposed by the Executive Council. Your committee recommends careful study of this section of the Executive Council's report by every delegate.

The statement of the Executive Council that gains to workers in bargaining for wages or in price reductions may be lost if unwise tax policies are adopted certainly has been borne out by the experience during the past four years. Your committee heartily endorses the recommendation of the Council that all affiliated bodies actively oppose proposals to continue or enact taxes on pay rolls, amusements, sales, etc., and initiate and support progressive programs based on the ability-to-pay principle.

(Cooking and Heating Equipment) — (Pp. 67, 494) Removal of the excise tax on heating and cooking equipment was sought through Res. 88 as follows:

Whereas—There has been a considerable slump in the sales of cooking and heating equipment, and

Whereas—The thousands of people employed in the industries which manufacture this cooking and heating equipment have been either layed off, or the time employed has been reduced to such an extent that they are unable to earn a living for themselves and families, and

Whereas—The purchase price of this equipment has increased because of the increase in manufacturing costs and taxes, to such an extent that the average citizen is unable to pay the sale price, and

Whereas—The removal of the excise tax would bring about a reduction in these prices and would be an inducement to the public to buy cooking and heating equipment, and thereby furnish employment to the thousands of unemployed and short-time workers in this industry, and

Whereas—The manufacturers have reduced the prices to the limit, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor call upon the United States Government to remove the excise tax from the cooking and heating equipment, which is a necessity and not a luxury, and would also be an inducement to the public to buy said equipment, thereby giving steadier employment to the workers of that industry and thereby reduce the number drawing unemployment compensation, and helping the unemployment situation in general.

Referred to Tax Committee, A. F. of L.

(Pp. 317, 494) A. F. of L. requested to call upon the President of the United States and Congress to remove all excise taxes. (Res. 98.)

Referred to Tax Committee.

(Distilled Spirits) — (Pp. 345, 392) Res. 125 requested the A. F. of L. to instruct its legislative representatives and E.C. to use every effort to secure enactment of proposed legislation to permit collection of the Federal excise tax on distilled spirits after rectification and bottling processes at the time of shipment. Such legislation would stimulate employment of members of Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union and other unions employed in the industry, and thereby promote a sustained purchasing power in many communities throughout the country.

The convention committee made the following recommendation which was unanimously approved:

It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor and its officers to render aid to every affiliated group where such aid is not inconsistent with the policies of the Federation. In line with this policy, the Committee recommends that Resolution No. 125 be referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

Handbags, Luggage and Leather)—(Pp. 341, 494) Res. 113 sought support of the A. F. of L. for the campaign of international union concerned, for the elimination of wartime excise tax on luggage and handbags. Referred to Tax Committee.

(1951, pp. 279, 551) Res. 15 proposed that support be given to the efforts of the Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union to secure repeal of excise tax on products on which their workers are employed. Convention expressed sympathy with the purposes and objectives of the resolution and referred it to the Tax Committee for consideration.

(1953, p. 407) Res. 41 called upon the A. F. of L. to seek the removal of excise tax on personal luggage such as ladies' handbags, luggage, belts and novelties. The convention expressed sympathy with the resolution and referred the subject matter to the Tax Committee and be given every possible aid.

(Integration of Federal-State Tax Policies)—(1947, p. 265) We would point out in conclusion, that the present high level of federal tax revenue emphasizes the need for serious consideration and action on studies that have been made carrying recommendation for integrating Federal and State policies and programs in certain fields. Such integration could result in eliminating much needless overlapping and duplication, would make for a high degree of progression, and could do much to eliminate conflicts among states, and between states and the Federal Government, in the tax field.

(P. 624) The problems of the workers in connection with the several areas of taxation were covered in the E.C. Report and in Resolutions 38, 123 and 142. The convention committee made the following recommendations which were unanimously adopted:

Your committee recommends that Central Labor Bodies, State Federations of Labor, and all International Officers give increasing attention to the need for developing an informed and active membership to promote the adoption of sound programs of taxation at the local, state and national levels. Informed members of organized labor know that tax revenue requirements will continue at a high level for the indefinite future. This question, then, is one just as important as the question affecting wages and prices. The problem is how will high tax revenues be raised in the most equitable manner with a minimum of disturbance to our economy?

It is the recommendation of your committee, therefore, that the Committee on Taxation, A. F. of L., should increase its efforts to bring timely and pertinent information regarding issues and developments in the field of taxation to the attention of all A. F. of L. affiliates, so that the necessary program of education may be carried on more effectively.

The resolutions were referred to the permanent Committee on Taxation of the A. F. of L.

(Business Profits Tax) — (P. 265) In considering future tax measures as they apply to business it should be borne in mind that business has been relieved of a considerable tax burden much sooner after the cessation of hostilities than many economists thought advisable. In the face of a definitely favorable post war market for both durable and non-durable goods, the removal of price controls combined with the repeal of the excess profits tax and reduction in the surtax rate contributed considerably to bringing about the inflationary conditions now prevailing. Discussions of further reduction in corporate tax rates at this time we consider premature and ill-advised.

(Estate and Gift Taxes)—(P. 265)

Present estate and gift tax schedules and laws should be restudied with a view to increasing revenues. Loopholes made possible by the creation of trusts, gifts, and powers of appointment should be closed.

(Consumption Taxes) — (P. 264) During the war many state and local governments accumulated surpluses because of inability to secure needed materials and personnel. These surpluses are being rapidly exhausted and in a great many instances increased taxes and new taxes have been levied to take care of servicemen's bonuses and accumulated building, material, and personnel needs.

Unfortunately these new and increased taxes levied by state and local governments have in many instances taken the form of sales taxes, cigarette taxes, and other taxes that still further increase the load of taxes on consumption levied at the local, state, and national level. Approximately 29 percent of the \$48 billion in taxes collected by all levels of government are currently being derived from taxes on sales. State federations and local central bodies should vigorously oppose current campaigns that are being waged to decrease federal and state personal and business income taxes based on ability to pay, thereby throwing the burden for necessary governmental support increasingly on sales, excise, and nuisance taxes which are most burdensome to taxpayers in the lower income groups.

Efforts in industrial communities to shift the tax burden from property to consumption taxes should likewise be resisted.

(Multiple, Government Employees) (P. 542) Res. No. 170:

Whereas—There is an increase in the number of taxes Government employees are being forced to pay, and

Whereas — Certain municipalities, notably Philadelphia, have imposed so-called wage taxes, the burden of which,

particularly during wartime, has fallen heavily upon Government employees in those cities, and

Whereas — Government employees have been given no choice in the matter when their jobs have been sent to other cities under decentralization programs and are forced to abandon their homes or lose their jobs, and

Whereas — Government employees, as result, have found themselves beset with tax systems not of their own choosing, and

Whereas—The United States Government, including the Congress, has not provided any relief against multiple taxation against its own employees, and

Whereas — The purpose of the O'Hara bill which would have brought some relief against such oppressive taxation was denied final passage in the Congress, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor now records its unreserved approval of passage of a bill similar to the O'Hara bill (H.R. 127) and gives unstinting support to the efforts of the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in an effort to remove existing tax abuses.

This resolution calls for relief against multiple income taxation of Government employees and asks support of the American Federation of Labor by legislation to remove existing tax abuses.

(1948, p. 141) The E.C. reiterated the recommendations of the 1947 convention and emphasized that in tax reduction proposals the tax burden should be lightened on those in the low income groups.

(P. 420) Convention adopted committee report as follows:

The Executive Council's report points out that the bulk of the \$5 billion in tax savings approved by the 80th Congress over the President's veto accrued to taxpayers in the in-

come groups above \$3,000. The Executive Council reiterates its recommendation that the tax burden of those in the low income groups should be lightened in future tax reduction measures that may be adopted. We do not believe this point can be too strongly stressed because increasing tendencies of local and state governments to adopt new and heavier sales, payroll, and excise taxes, combined with continued heavy dependence of the Federal Government on excise taxes means that more and more of the tax burden is being shifted to the low income groups. These are the groups already burdened by increased prices. Further burdens on these people imperil economic stability through inadequate purchasing power.

We know that the national budget will be increased in the coming years by expenditures for national security. The tactics and policies of the U.S.S.R. has greatly increased costs of occupation in Central Europe and has necessitated rearming for national defense.

In planning for increased revenues we urge that no additional taxes be placed on the low income categories until other groups have been increased proportionately up to the point of correcting the unfair discrimination against the low income groups.

Amusement—(P. 415) The impact of the federal tax on amusements was presented to the convention through Res. 141 as follows:

Whereas—The Federal Amusement Admission Tax of twenty (20%) per cent constitutes an enormous burden and detriment to the purchase of tickets for admission to all phases of amusement, including motion picture houses, theatres, night clubs, concert halls, opera and ballet presentations, and

Whereas—Such burden has been reflected in the decreasing employment available for performing artists and technicians in such field, and

Whereas—The earning capacity of such artists and technicians as described above has consequently substantially decreased, and

Whereas—There is grave danger that such trend will increase, and

Whereas—The largest percentage of all employed in such entertainment and cultural activities of performing, talent and technicians are members of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., and

Whereas—The impact of substantially decreased gross receipts has gravely endangered the continued existence and operation of all of the cultural centers of the United States, such as the Metropolitan Opera House, The Philadelphia and Philharmonic Symphony orchestras, and many others, and

Whereas—Relief particularly must be obtained to permit these cultural non-profit organizations to continue so that such activities may enrich the educational and cultural life of the country, and

Whereas—It is the intent of the American people to create and foster in the United States these cultural activities so as to place the United States in the forefront of the nations of the world in this field, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention go on record as favoring the elimination or reduction of the Federal Amusement Admission Tax, and be it further

Resolved—That the Federal Amusement Admission Tax be eliminated entirely with respect to cultural activities conducted and fostered by non-profit organizations, thereby restoring to these organizations their pre-war tax status and reaffirming the government's prewar policy of granting such organizations exemption from the Admission Tax.

(P. 471) Resolution referred to the A. F. of L. committee with statement that the committee is "wholeheart-

edly in favor of the objectives outlined in the resolution."

(Cabaret) — (Pp. 30, 475) — Res. 27 called attention to unemployment problem resulting from cabaret tax which had been imposed as a wartime measure, and proposed repeal of the tax. The convention referred the resolution to the A. F. of L. Tax Committee.

(1952, pp. 57, 473) Res. 97 called attention to the depression in theatre and amusement industry due at least in part to the amusement tax, and sought repeal of the tax. Convention referred the resolution to the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation.

(Entertainers)—(1948, pp. 255, 476) Res. 69 unanimously adopted:

Whereas—Proposed tax conventions between the United States and certain foreign countries to eliminate double taxation on income earned by a citizen of one country who works for a limited period in another country are awaiting ratification by the United States Senate, and

Whereas—Some of these proposed agreements contain a discriminatory provision whereby one class of citizens, namely, public entertainers such as stage, motion picture or radio artists, musicians and athletes, are expressly banned from receiving the benefits of elimination of double taxation which the proposed tax conventions extend to other classes of citizens, and

Whereas—On protests made by the Associated Actors and Artists of America and its branches, Screen Actors Guild, Actors' Equity Association, American Federation of Radio Artists and American Guild of Musical Artists, all affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, this unfair discrimination against professional entertainers as one class of citizens was removed from the tax convention between the United States and Great Britain, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby protest a new attempt to discriminate against the 60,000 professional performers in the United States all of whom are members of the American Federation of Labor, and does hereby request that the United States Senate delete from all proposed tax conventions the discriminatory clause which seeks to deprive professional performers of the benefit of elimination of double taxation accorded to other citizens.

Luxury Tax—(1948, pp. 237, 458) Res. 16 opposed the continued luxury tax on baby necessities, such as baby powder, baby creams and oils.

(1952, pp. 58, 474) Res. 99 called for the elimination of luxury taxes on necessities, such as hearing aids, etc. The subject was referred to the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation.

(1949, p. 242) Unfortunately, from the point of view of those interested in sound tax policy, a much smaller percentage of this larger amount of revenue is now being collected from taxes based on the ability to pay. To the extent this is so, it is clear that by heavier taxation on low income groups we are cutting into much needed purchasing power and inviting unemployment and depression.

It should be noted, too, that during the past year large sections of the membership of organized labor have registered protests against Federal excise taxes. These taxes imposed during the war on amusements, transportation, telephone, cosmetics, leather goods, jewelry, etc., have undoubtedly contributed to unemployment of our members, because of curtailed demand for goods and services to which they apply. When enacted, Congress referred to these excise taxes as temporary war emergency measures; its continued failure to reduce or modify them constitutes a breach of faith with the American people.

An overall approach to tax needs is still lacking. Competition in the tax field between the various units of government continues unchecked. Coordination of tax policy is sorely needed to eliminate continued overlapping, competition, and confusion. It is no less important because greater cooperation in developing Federal, state, and local taxation and spending policies would do much to contribute to economic stability.

Moreover, if the need for revenue at the present high level continues, it is apparent that reductions in excise and other taxes on consumers must be accompanied by increases in taxes on income, corporation profits, inheritance and gifts, so that the proportion of overall revenue accruing from progressive taxes will show a substantial increase.

Since it is obvious that gains to workers in bargaining or through price reductions may be lost if unwise tax policies are adopted, it is urged all affiliated bodies actively support sound tax programs. Regressive and unsound programs calling for heavier taxes on payrolls, amusements, sales, etc., should be opposed; sound, progressive tax programs based on the ability to pay should be initiated and supported.

(1950, p. 149) Developments in Korea since July 1, which have led to requests by President Truman for a considerable increase in Federal expenditures, have been reflected in proposals for additional tax revenue. Specifically, President Truman has suggested that the revenue needs now require that the proposed reduction in excise taxes be eliminated, that the corporation income tax be increased to 45%, and that rates on personal income be restored to a level between those in effect in 1944, and those established by the Revenue Revision of 1945.

The American Federation of Labor has supported the President in his request for increased taxes. However, it believes the specific proposals made by the President for increasing Federal revenues are not equitable nor adequate at this time. His proposal to defer excise tax cuts may be necessary at present. However, his further proposal that corporation income tax rates be increased to 45% will probably serve to give an impetus to price rises, rather than to check them, as would an excess profits tax. . . .

Whatever action of an emergency nature may be taken before adjournment of the 81st Congress, the American Federation of Labor will continue to work for a constructive tax program directed at providing necessary revenue based on equality of sacrifice in the present period of emergency and after.

(P. 492) In line with the President's request to raise revenues in view of the new expenditures required by the crisis in international affairs, the Senate Finance Committee found it necessary to convert the excise tax reduction bill passed by the House in June of this year into a bill to raise revenues. The bill as amended by the Committee and passed by the Senate on September 1st will increase tax liabilities by four and one-half billion dollars a year when fully effective, and will increase collections in the fiscal year of 1951 by about three billion dollars.

The bill (H.R. 8920) includes many of the loophole closing measures, and minor excise tax increases contained in the House bill, and extends the 10 percent tax on radio receivers to television sets. The House plan to accelerate corporate income tax payments is also retained. However, the bulk of the additional revenue provided under the bill will come from the imposition of higher corporate and

individual income tax rates. The top corporate income tax rate is raised from 38 to 45 percent. The percentage reduction in the wartime income taxes, made by the Revenue Acts of 1945 and 1948, are eliminated, increasing the effective starting rate from 16.6 to 20%, and the top rate from about 82 to 91%. The full increase in both corporate and individual rates will be effective in 1951 and subsequent years. The corporate income tax increase applies to approximately one-half, and the individual income tax increase to about one-fourth of the income for the calendar year 1950.

In terms of the effect of the two bills on tax liabilities, there are three major variations. First, the House bill provides for a net excise tax reduction of \$910 million, while the Senate bill increases excise tax liabilities by \$55 million. Second, the Senate bill increases tax liabilities under the individual income tax by \$2,745 million, while the House bill made no change in this tax. Third, the Senate bill increases corporation income tax rates by \$1,500 million, while the House bill would have increased these liabilities by only \$450 million. On the other hand, the Senate bill does not contain all of the House loophole closing and tax adjustment provisions which would raise revenue. In terms of revenue the two most important such items, which are included in the House bill but not in the Senate bill, relate to withholding on dividends and lower interest rates on tax refunds. In other words, the Senate proposals widen existing tax loopholes and create new possibilities of evasion.

The American Federation of Labor strongly opposed the action taken by the Senate and sent a wire to all members of the Senate Finance Committee and House Ways and Means Committee in which we set forth the following objections: 1. Failure to include percentage withholding corporation

dividends means unnecessary loss of revenue. 2. Easing of family partnership provisions are undefensible liberalization of stock option. 3. Corporation reorganization and personal holding company provision absolutely unjustified. 4. Failure to take action to recapture hundreds of millions in revenue lost through depletion allowances and to strengthen ineffective provisions of estate and gift taxes seems to constitute neglect in period when all possible revenue is needed. 5. Failure to exact excess profits tax and make equitable adjustment in personal income tax rates is regretted.

We urged the members of the Committee to reconsider their action and to replace the Senate proposals by a tax policy geared to the current economic needs.

A movement in the House to block sending the bill to conference until an excise profits tax was added was made by Congressman Eberharther of Pennsylvania and Congressman Young of Ohio. However, the House Rules Committee on September 13 reported out a rule to send the bill to conference. On September 14, the House by a vote of 225 to 106 insisted upon consideration of an excise profits tax when the present tax bill was taken up in conference.

The House also voted 331 to 2 in favor of putting into effect an excise profits tax on corporations this year. This action puts the House on record as favoring the adoption of such a tax during this session.

The House and Senate conferees finished their report in time for the House and Senate to consider it yesterday.

They agreed to an increase of \$2,700,000,000 in individual income taxes and \$1,500,000,000 in regular corporation taxes. Individual income taxes are increased from 15% to 18% effective October 1, 1950. The tax bill

has been passed by both houses and sent to the President.

The conferees also agreed to consider increasing excess profits taxes on businesses when Congress resumes either after the November elections or in the Eighty-Second Congress in January 1951, and it will be retroactive.

The Committee on Legislation recommends that the Convention concur in the position taken by the Executive Council in recommending that an increased portion of the tax burden be derived from excess profits taxes. In view of greatly increased price levels, the committee further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue pressing for downward adjustments in individual income tax rates, not only on net incomes below \$2,000 but for net incomes on up to \$5,000.

(P. 281) For several years past Labor has had much reason to be concerned by the increasing tendency of the federal, state, and local governments to depend more and more on regressive taxes. This tendency was particularly regrettable because in 1945 the proportion of the overall tax income derived from progressive taxes, based on ability to pay, had reached a high point.

Two successive tax cuts made by Congress since 1945 concentrated reductions in the income, estate and gift tax fields. These reductions resulting in a decline in revenue from personal and business taxes have made for heavier dependence on excise taxes which, enacted as war emergency measures, have seriously curtailed the purchasing power of large sections of the American people. States and local municipalities facing accumulated needs for service and capital improvements have also relied more and more on consumption taxes. During the present year a number of states have authorized cities to impose additional

local taxes. In most instances these taxes take the form of sales and use taxes which still further increase the burden on consumers.

The serious nature of this situation in relation to the economic health of our nation may be realized from the fact that in 1948 over 16 million Americans belonged to family units with annual income below \$1,000 yearly; over 20 million belonged to family units with annual income between \$1,000 and \$2,000 yearly; and 28 million belonged to family units with annual income of between \$2,000 and \$3,000. These statistics indicate that 64 million Americans or 45% of our population belong to family units with less than \$3,000 in annual income in a year when \$3,000 is worth approximately \$1,800 in term of pre-war purchasing power. It is clear that to the extent that taxes on consumers, both hidden and open, eat into the purchasing power of these Americans, just to that extent their standards of living are undermined.

Realization that considerations of equity as well as the long term economic health of the nation require substantial reductions in the tax burden on consumers has motivated the American Federation of Labor during the past five years in its insistence that the federal government take the lead in substantially reducing or eliminating the war emergency imposed excise taxes.

The prospect of recurring deficits in the Federal budget resulting from the continued high level of Federal expenditures and the tax reduction measures so prematurely and ill-advisedly adopted by the Seventy-ninth and Eightieth Congresses has complicated the federal tax picture. As a consequence the American Federation of Labor has wholeheartedly endorsed President Truman's proposal to the Eighty-first Congress, that any revenue losses resulting from reductions in

excise taxes should be made up by amending income and estate gift tax laws so as to plug up existing loopholes and secure new revenue.

The American Federation of Labor, therefore, has supported the tax revision program recommended by President Truman and the Treasury, believing that the long overdue reductions in excise taxes should be accompanied by upward revision and integration of estate and gift tax schedules, elimination of depletion allowances, and cancellation of unfair tax advantages enjoyed by certain classes of individual and corporate taxpayers.

It should be noted that an overall approach to tax needs is still lacking. The serious consequences of the lack of coordination of tax policy between the various units of government is not sufficiently appreciated. However, it should be obvious that if reduction of federal excise taxes is used as the occasion for wide and indiscriminate adoption of additional sales and excise taxes at the local and state levels little or no benefits will accrue to consumers. Indeed, the addition of county and city taxes on consumers to already burdensome state sales and excise taxes is an increasingly serious problem. It should be clear that taxation of income and profits are just as important to the support of local and state governmental services as they are to the support of the Federal government.

The need for continued active concern of Labor in the adoption of sound tax policies cannot be overemphasized. All affiliated bodies are urged to continue opposition to regressive and unsound programs calling for taxes on payrolls, amusements, sales, etc. Sound progressive programs based on the ability to pay should be initiated and supported.

(Pp. 43, 483) Res. 61:

Whereas—Our country is involved in a war with Red Korean forces,

which many informed persons believe will lead to World War III, and

Whereas—It is imperative that each and every American contribute to the utmost of his ability in matters of services and finances, and

Whereas—In the past many serving in the armed forces have actually suffered a reduction in income to serve their country, in addition to loss of life, personal injury and misery of family separation while many large companies, firms, corporations and individuals have actually made millions because of such wars, and

Whereas—In time of war all loyal Americans should have no desire to better themselves financially, as all finances possible should be channeled into our Government's treasury to the end that such conflict may be speedily won by our country with the least possible debt, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled does hereby urge the United States Congress to immediately enact such excess tax law to be used when our country is in a state of war, such law to declare as war excess taxes all earnings above \$6,000.00 per year for any individual without dependents, to further declare as war excess taxes all incomes above \$12,000.00 per year for persons with dependents, whether the earnings are made jointly or individually, and be it further

Resolved—That such war excess tax law be intended to cover the profits of any firm, partnership, company, business or corporation whereby 80% of such profits will be declared as war excess tax to be used by our Government to carry on such war.

Referred by the convention to the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation.

(Excess Profits) — (p. 149) The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor strongly endorses adoption of an excess profits tax as the best means of avoiding price in-

creases with the probable resulting necessity of adopting price controls, rationing, and other forms of regulation.

(P. 493) The Committee on Legislation recommends that the Convention concur in the position taken by the Executive Council in recommending that an increased portion of the tax burden be derived from excess profits taxes. In view of greatly increased price levels, the committee further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue pressing for downward adjustments in individual income tax rates, not only on net incomes below \$2,000 but for net incomes on up to \$5,000.

(P. 458) The account in the legislative developments in the tax field during the past year and the conclusion of the Executive Council that an increasing proportion of the tax burden has been borne by workers in the lower income groups as a result of action taken by Congress since World War II should be a matter of real concern to all members of organized labor.

It is generally agreed that further inflation should be checked. To this end any and all sound measures that will check unnecessary consumption of strategic materials and commodities should be adopted. However, the Executive Council quite correctly points out that adoption of a tax policy that undermines the living standards of low income workers is neither necessary nor in line with such an objective.

We therefore commend the Executive Council for its vigorous support of the principle that net income up to \$2,000 should be taxed at lower rates than those now in effect. The further proposal that any resulting loss of revenue should be made up by slight upward adjustments on higher bracket income is both equitable and practical.

Your Committee urges that during the next year a particular effort be put forth in the A. F. of L. publications, and by the labor press generally, to acquaint members with the position of the Federation on current tax issues and on its long-term tax program. It is essential that more of our members realize that the same forces—represented by the same Senators and Congressmen—which support anti-labor and anti-public measures, line up with equal zeal behind regressive, uneconomic and inequitable tax measures.

(1951, p. 198) The Executive Council submitted a comprehensive report on the national tax program and proposals in Congress to raise taxes to the point where it was calculated that one-third of the 1952 national income would be required to finance defense spending and the ordinary operations of government at the federal, state and local levels. The following excerpts from the E.C. report are of special importance to persons in the lower income brackets:

Serious question is being raised as to whether our American economy can stand such a drain on its resources.

... The answer seems to be that if we wish to maintain our free institutions we must devise ways and means of bearing the burden. However, it is obvious that to the extent an undue share of that burden is thrown on any one section of our people, the defense program and the economy may be weakened.

The inequities and discriminations at present operating against those in the low-income groups in the general economic field are becoming increasingly evident in the tax field. For six years the American Federation of Labor has repeatedly warned of the danger of the increasing dependence on sales and excise taxes, both by the state and federal governments. It urged Congress to keep faith with the American people by removing war

emergency imposed excise taxes as it had undertaken to do when they were enacted. The failure of Congress to do this has without question meant that the more than \$5 billion yearly increase in sales and excise tax collections by the federal and state governments have contributed substantially to the rise in the cost of living.

The result of excessive dependence on taxes on consumers, combined with the several ill-advised tax reductions made by Congress in the period following the war up to 1950 has been that increasingly a larger proportion of the tax burden has been thrown on those in the low income groups. . . .

Later in the report statistics are cited which show that the 53 per cent of the American families with income below \$3,000 are not responsible for what might be termed inflationary spending. Such statistics reinforce the contention of the American Federation of Labor that while excise and sales taxes do cut into the living standards of low income workers, they do not effectively brake the spending of those with excess purchasing power. . . .

The facts cited constitute the basis for the American Federation of Labor insistence that current economic conditions underscore the need for concentrating any proposed increased taxes in higher personal income tax rates for middle and upper income group taxpayers and increased corporation profits taxes. In the latter connection, it should be pointed out that in the event the increases in corporation taxes proposed by the Treasury are adopted, it is estimated corporation net incomes after taxes will still be somewhat higher than average yearly net profits for the four years 1946-1949 inclusive. . . .

The American Federation of Labor is continuing to stress the responsibility of the Federal Government for using its greater taxing power to en-

able states and local units to provide services more adequately and with a greater degree of equity than they are now being provided. We do not believe the Federal Government has paid due regard to the revenue needs of the states and local governments in the shaping of its tax policy.

The Federation recognizes the need for financing the defense program at home and abroad through the machinery of the Federal Government. We have the human and material resources to finance necessary services at home which are not a whit less essential to that defense. Sound economy as well as equity would seem to require that such services should be supported by a progressive tax system. To this end, we are continuing to urge that studies of a practical nature be initiated that will be directed at eliminating existing competition among units of government and between the several levels of government in the tax field.

(P. 538) Legislative developments as well as prospective developments in the tax field at all levels of government are, in the opinion of your committee, inadequate and increasingly inequitable. We agree with the conclusion of the Executive Council that to the extent an undue share of the prospective tax payments of \$86 billion in 1952—one-third of the income estimated for the year—is thrown on one section of our people, the defense program and the national economy may be weakened.

Members of your committee believe that the warning of the Executive Council that inequities and discriminations operating against those in the low-income groups in the economic field generally, are becoming increasingly evident in the tax field, is timely. Statistics are cited showing that the great majority of American families with incomes of \$3,000 yearly or less are already overburdened by the

increased cost of living in the present level of taxes.

It should be recognized too, that those in the lower income brackets are only to a very small degree responsible for inflationary spending. In millions of instances they are living at below the levels of decency. These facts reinforce the A. F. of L. contention that there should be no increases in excise taxes at the Federal level and that increases in the personal income tax should not be made on those in the lowest income brackets.

The Executive Council's report shows that state and local governments are coming to rely more and more on regressive sales and excise taxes for revenue. This tendency throws more and more of the tax burden on those in the lower income groups. The serious nature of this problem may be appreciated by reference to the study cited by the council which shows that those in the income bracket below \$1,000 pay 10 per cent of their income in taxes to local and state governments while those in the brackets above \$7,500 pay only 5.5 per cent of their income to those units of government. All affiliated organizations are urged to continue their opposition to increases or extensions of all types of regressive taxation.

A detailed reference to the A. F. of L. position on tax legislation adopted during the past year by Congress as well as on the legislation now pending will be found in the Executive Council's Report. Delegates should note that the A. F. of L. has emphatically protested the levying of any additional excise taxes at this time; has supported the Treasury's proposal for further increases in corporation taxes, and has urged that major increases in the personal income tax rates should be mainly concentrated on those in the income level of above \$5,000.

Delegates should note that the A. F. of L. has repeatedly pointed out that needed revenue could be secured through enactment of measures to recapture revenue losses due to operation of the split income provision under which married couples, particularly in the income groups between \$7,000 and \$100,000, are enjoying tax savings of \$2.5 billion yearly. Effective revision of the estate and gift tax laws would add substantially to current revenues. We have also urged the closing of specific loopholes which permit the evasion of millions of additional revenue that is not being collected under present laws.

Committee members note with approval the reference in the Executive Council's report to the drive to defeat the campaign to limit federally collected income taxes to 25 per cent of income. This campaign should be continued and the state federations which have been responsible for the action formerly taken on this measure, which has been termed the "Millionaire's Amendment," should be commended.

Your committee also recommends that the problem of taxation of annuities and pensions be taken up by the A. F. of L. Permanent Committee on Taxation for study and recommendation.

(Pp. 281, 538) Res. 19 points out enormous profits being derived by big business while workers are being forced to submit to a wage freeze, higher prices, higher rents, increasing tax deductions and sales tax on the necessities of life. Called upon the A. F. of L. to oppose any program of taxing those least able to pay, whether it be in direct payroll deductions, sales taxes, excise taxes or any other device for adding tax burdens upon those in the lower income brackets.

Referred to Committee on Taxation for consideration and disposition.

(Government Held Property) — (1951, p. 274) Res. 4:

Whereas—On December 30, 1949, the Boeing-Renton Airplane Manufacturing plant and the new Pacific Car & Foundry Company were transferred from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to fee title in the U.S. Government, as record title owner, also personal property within said plants, thereby removing said property from the tax rolls, resulting in loss of tax revenues to the City of Renton alone of approximately \$104,000.00 during the year 1951 and a similar amount annually; same being the largest tax-yielding properties in said City of Renton, occupying several acres of said city and containing structures suitable for and used for manufacturing and business purposes for which the government leases same and receives revenues and rentals therefrom, and

Whereas—The U.S. Government has heretofore followed and established a policy of paying to local taxing districts payments in lieu of taxes, in respect to properties therein which yield the government income; and the loss of above and similar properties from tax rolls imposes a correspondingly heavier tax burden upon the residents and private taxpayers of said city; and a like situation prevails in other areas of the U.S., therefore, be it

Resolved—By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that it is the consensus of this body, representing the wage earners and taxpayers of this country, that the nature of the above-mentioned plants and similar properties, and the revenue-producing character thereof, make it only fair and proper that the US Government should take necessary steps or essential measures to provide reimbursements or payments in lieu of taxes for said properties to the cities or local taxing districts concerned, and be it further

Resolved—That the particular situ-

ation described above, where unfair tax burdens and hardships are being imposed on the taxpaying residents, the majority of whom are working people and members of organized labor, be immediately and emphatically brought to the attention of the proper officials of the U.S. Government and to the members of the Congress with the request that necessary action be taken to remedy this situation and bring such properties within the generally understood government policy of paying to the local taxing districts payments in lieu of taxes upon income-producing government properties.

(P. 548) Your committee is in sympathy with the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Tax Committee. Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council consider and act upon whatever report or recommendation is made by the Tax Committee.

(1952, p. 202) The annual report of the Executive Council on the subject of taxation took cognizance of the need of our government for defense and non-defense spending; the retention of certain "war emergency" excise taxes and high personal income tax rates which resulted in a lowering of living standards for those in low income brackets affecting millions of American citizens; the efforts of certain high-income groups to secure privileges, etc. The Executive Council report recommended in part:

Government expenditures should be reduced as our international commitments and the needs of the defense program permit. As expenditures are reduced, every effort should be made to achieve a budgetary surplus, particularly during any continuing periods of high prosperity and employment. If and when tax reductions are made, they should be carefully considered in terms of their impact on the economy. Indiscriminate and ill-

considered tax reduction during the twenties was a contributory factor to the depression of the thirties just as reductions between the close of World War II and 1950 have been a major contributory factor to current inflation.

Any further changes in federal tax programs should take into account the fact that a combination of ever increasing costs and need for services is making the financing of state and local governmental services more difficult. Excessive dependence of states and local governments on various forms of regressive taxes combine with federal excise taxes to constitute a significant inflationary factor at the present time. Continued major dependence on regressive taxes will find many states and localities unable to provide needed services at a time when federal spending declines. Sales taxes and various forms of excise taxes at the local, state, and federal level now provide close to \$16 billion in revenue yearly. Of this total, federal excise taxes account for close to \$10 billion. Because of the fact that these taxes in many cases appear with a considerable mark-up in the final pricing of goods, consumers actually are paying considerably more than the amount collected by the government in taxes.

If and when cuts are made in federal taxes, therefore, highest priority should be given to reductions in excise taxes. Next in priority should come recognition of the fact that the present \$600 exemption is inadequate for low income taxpayers. Certainly the need for a tax rebate or tax credit to take into account the injustice of taxing a worker at the 75 cent minimum hourly wage at an income tax rate in excess of 20 per cent on a considerable portion of his income should be apparent. Not only equity but the future health of the economy demands that excise taxes at the federal level and excessive taxation of low bracket

incomes should be eliminated as soon as possible. . . .

In spite of the high level of federal expenditures and the many inflationary factors which continue to exist, the representatives of certain business and taxpayers organizations continue to agitate for immediate reductions in personal and corporate income tax rates. This agitation is evident in moves to impose overall limits on income tax rates, in efforts to adopt arbitrary budget limitations, and in campaigns to increase and extend regressive tax measures at the local and state levels as well as at the federal level.

The overall tax load is high; an abnormally large percentage of the national income is being devoted to the support of government services. However, real national income is increasing year by year; investment in capital plant is continuing at high levels; personal savings in 1951 were in excess of \$18 billion, more than double the average amount of personal savings for the five years 1945-50. Taking all these facts into account it cannot be said that the taxes for fiscal 1952 operated to restrict economic development unduly, taking into account that tremendous strides were made in speeding up defense production.

It should be pointed out, however, that while the overall operation of the tax program may not be unduly restrictive, certain aspects of it may be undesirable. There is no doubt, for example, that taxpayers on pensions and those on low fixed income have had their living standards considerably lowered by a combination of high prices and high taxes. The ever increasing tendency of states and local governments to throw a disproportionate share of the burden of governmental support on low income taxpayers increases the serious nature of the problem.

Future tax adjustments should take these problems into account as well as recognize the fact that the existing tax structure favors certain groups of taxpayers unduly. Unless we have more effective laws governing capital gains, estates and gifts, partnerships and over-liberal depletion allowances, concentration of economic power will be intensified. The approval of the split income provision by Congress eliminated elements of equity that continued to inhere in our dependency allowance exemptions. It also established different categories of taxpayers to which the income tax rate schedule applied with varying impact favoring wealthier couples in the income brackets above \$5,000 yearly.

These problems as well as the necessity for rationalizing the relationship between local, state and federal revenue system deserve the continued attention of labor representatives.

(P. 408) The convention unanimously approved the following committee report:

Spokesmen for many special interest groups while tacitly admitting the need for the present high level of government spending, publicly indulge in violent criticism of the high taxes necessary to finance that spending.

The American Federation of Labor has supported reasonable economies in all areas of government spending. However, the Federation recognizes that expenditures for defense constitute the most necessary and economical form of assurance that our democratic institutions may expand and flourish. We recognize that the cost of this assurance when translated into taxes constitutes a severe burden on many of our citizens; we feel this burden is a particular hardship for low paid workers and millions of Americans on fixed incomes and that many aspects of the revenues system stress it has placed on the importance

to operate to the particular advantage of the taxpayers in the middle and upper income brackets.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its consistent recognition of these problems and for the of relating tax policy and program at all levels of government to broad economic and social developments and needs.

Members of your committee feel that the Executive Council has been correct in placing emphasis on basing our revenue system on taxes based on the ability-to-pay to the maximum degree possible, for sound economic reasons, as well as because of considerations of equity.

We note with regret that local and state services particularly in the fields of health, welfare and education are becoming increasingly dependent on regressive taxation. This development constitutes a violation of the very principle on which our public schools were founded and state aid has been justified, namely, the need for support by tax funds levied on the basis of ability-to-pay.

We, therefore, strongly commend the Executive Council for its proposal that federal, state and local tax systems be coordinated and urge that in such coordination the financing of education, health and welfare services be given the same priority as defense needs. This may involve a greater use of the federal taxing power to take care of more of the essential needs of states and localities. Such a program could be developed with safeguards which would guarantee shared tax funds to units of government as a right and not as a handout. While the importance of establishing local and state responsibility for efficient and economical expenditure of funds should be recognized, the need for providing reasonably decent services by eliminating senseless compe-

tion in the tax field is equally essential.

(Domestic Help Exemption)—(1952, pp. 36, 466) Res. 42:

Whereas—An employer, in the necessary course of his business, entertains clients, said expense being tax deductible, and

Whereas—A woman worker in the necessary course of her holding a job must in many instances pay someone for domestic service, said expense being taxable, and

Whereas—This results in an inequitable tax structure, favoring business and ignoring the woman worker, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention call upon Congress to enact legislation correcting this obvious tax bias.

Convention referred the resolution to the Committee on Taxation

(1953, p. 295) The E.C. submitted to the convention a concise report on the general over-all tax situation, and its application to earnings in particular. In summarizing A. F. of L. position with regard to an equitable federal tax policy, the E.C. report stated in part:

... the belief of the American Federation of Labor that when further tax revisions are made by Congress, first consideration should be given to eliminating all preferential tax treatment accruing to any group of taxpayers to the disadvantage of taxpayers generally. Following such necessary revision if the budgetary situation permits tax reductions, the American Federation of Labor favors giving first priority to substantial cuts in excise taxes and in personal income taxes paid by those with gross income below \$4,000 yearly. The American Federation of Labor opposes any across-the-board percentage cuts in the personal income tax, preferring rather that reductions be concentrated at this time largely in the

income groups which have been most adversely affected by postwar tax policy. Tax policy directed at raising the purchasing power of these low income taxpayers would be both equitable and economically sound.

(P. 641) Orderly and equitable revision of the country's tax structure in a way which would make it possible to meet rational requirements for revenue and at the same time distribute the burden of taxation justly and in accordance with ability to pay, is a foremost concern of American labor.

We share the anxiety of the Executive Council over the heavy pressure from business quarters demanding tax cuts and the governmental commitments to make substantial tax reductions at the federal level. We are in accord with the council's opposition to premature tax reductions that would mean increased budget deficits in the present period of prosperity and high employment.

Premature tax reduction would undoubtedly affect the economy adversely. However, taxes that will total approximately \$90 billion for federal, state, and local purposes for fiscal years 1953 and 1954 may be substantially reduced in subsequent years. The danger in the present situation appears to be that the same groups that are urging adoption of a sales tax or manufacturers excise tax to take care of current high tax needs are steadily pressing for the reduction of taxes on personal and business income. Undoubtedly they aim to make a federal sales or excise tax a permanent part of the tax structure. All our affiliates are urged to inform their Representatives and Senators in no uncertain terms of their opposition to any and all efforts to enact a federal tax on consumers.

Especially timely is the Executive Council's insistence that, when tax reductions are made, they should be

designed to maintain the economic health and prosperity at the highest possible level. The present tax structure is discriminatory and particularly burdensome to wage earners. Highest priority must be given to a reduction in excise taxes which are currently above World War II levels. It is equally urgent to raise the personal exemption or lower the income tax rates on the first \$2,000 of taxable income as a means of maintaining needed purchasing power and high employment. The need is paramount for correcting those features of our federal tax policy which continue to contribute to the concentration of wealth and economic power by favoring those taxpayers who are least in need of tax relief.

Your committee calls upon our national and international unions, state federations, and city central labor unions to give greater attention to developments in the field of local and state taxation where, as the council points out, \$20 billion yearly in taxes are now being collected. About 60 per cent of the \$10½ billion collected by state governments is derived from taxes on consumption, while in certain states as much as 90 per cent comes from taxes paid by consumers. Cities, too are increasingly adopting payroll taxes, sales taxes and a variety of nuisance taxes which fall on consumers. This reinforces the recommendation of the Executive Council that the Federal Government should assume its responsibility for bringing about a more business-like relationship between local, state, and national revenue systems. The increasing seriousness of the tax problems facing our metropolitan areas also deserves close attention of our affiliates. We direct this vital phase of the tax problem to the attention of the A. F. of L. Standing Committee on Taxation so that proper guidance may be provided to our affiliates in

dealing effectively with it. We also urge that provision be made to enable the Federation to present fully its views on federal-state-local tax relationship to the recently established Presidential Commission.

We note with satisfaction the report of the council dealing with activities of the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation and its National Legislative Committee in connection with hearings on tax legislation considered during the year and urges continued activity in this field.

Since economic gains so often won with difficulty in collective bargaining can be wiped out through unfair taxes applied directly or indirectly through higher prices, your committee urges our affiliates to devote increasing time and attention to promoting the adoption of progressive tax policies at all levels of government.

(1954, p. 276) The E.C. pointed out in its annual report, that the position of the A. F. of L. on the subject of taxation was firm, i.e.:

The American Federation of Labor has urged that federal taxes be maintained at levels necessary to protect the national security and promote sound economic conditions. We have opposed premature tax reductions that would impair our ability to provide adequately for defense and foreign aid needs. At the same time we have warned against tax cuts that would stimulate inflation and have urged a balanced budget during years of prosperity and high employment. . . .

Events of the past year strengthen the American Federation of Labor in its belief that Congress should give first priority to eliminating all preferential tax treatment accruing to any group of taxpayers to the disadvantage of taxpayers generally. So-called high rates on upper bracket income mean little or nothing as long as upper bracket income taxpayers

benefit so substantially from the tax escapes made possible by the split income provision, failure to withhold taxes on investment income at source, over-liberal depletion allowances, loose estate and gift tax provisions, family partnership abuses, preferred treatment accorded capital gains, tax-exempt securities and other loopholes. Elimination of these legalized tax escape devices should be accompanied by substantially lower rates on the first \$2,000 of taxable income and the highest possible increase in personal exemptions permitted by revenue needs. . . .

(P. 279) Under the sub-title of "The Role of the Federal Government," the E.C. reported the formation of a Presidential Commission composed of members of Congress and private citizens to study and make recommendations directed at improving federal-state-local tax, fiscal and other relations. . . . The A. F. of L. takes the view that any program of federal aid should be predicated on local and state governments bearing financial responsibility within the limits of their ability to pay. . . .

Delegates will find the specific measures through which Congress has sanctioned Administration-supported proposals fully described in the Executive Council's report and in a new A. F. of L. pamphlet entitled "Who Gets the Tax Cuts?" which is being publicly distributed for the first time to the delegates of this convention.

Your committee notes the Executive Council's concern at the increasingly regressive character of the federal tax structure. The income tax system had previously been considerably weakened by action taken by Congress between 1945 and 1953. The various tax measures approved by the 83rd Congress during the past few months have further weakened it by making it less progressive. The much publicized Tax Revision Act (Public Law

591) was used as a smokescreen for opening up entirely new tax escape devices through which hundreds of millions of dollars in revenue will be lost.

The possibility of a more intelligent approach to the federal tax problems is further complicated by the fact that the 83rd Congress has scheduled further tax reductions which may amount to \$5.5 billion in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956. These scheduled tax reductions will again accrue in major part to corporations and upper income group taxpayers. No downward revision of the income tax burden for taxpayers in the low income groups has been scheduled up to this time. Nothing short of decisive action by the 84th Congress can reverse the current trend in federal tax policy toward more tax relief for preferred groups of taxpayers which least need relief with a resulting concentration of wealth and economic power.

Your committee urges national and international unions, state federations and city central bodies to give continued and increasing attention to developments in the field of local and state taxation. Approximately 60 per cent of the more than \$11 billion collected in state taxes for the year ending June 30, 1954, came from taxes on consumers; an increasing proportion of local tax revenues is also being derived from regressive taxes. The danger to the economy inherent in these trends may be appreciated from the fact, cited by the Executive Council, that taxpayers in the income groups below \$7,500 pay a considerably higher proportion of their income to support local and state services than those taxpayers in the income groups above \$7,500.

In the above connection your committee believes that President Eisenhower's recommendations that additional financial burdens be placed on states and local communities for

maintaining health, welfare, institutional and economical services are unsound and dangerous.

If low income taxpayers are now paying a disproportionate share for the support of these services, it is obvious that additional burdens on them would merely multiply existing inequities. A constructive proposal from the President as to how the federal taxing power could be used to assist states and local communities in providing needed services would be most timely.

We note that the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation and the National Legislative Committee have issued statements and appeared at more than the usual number of hearings before Congressional committees on various aspects of proposed tax legislation. We commend them for this activity and would urge them together with all A. F. of L. officers and affiliates to continue to devote time and attention at the national, state and local levels to initiating and promoting sound, progressive tax policies at all levels of government.

(Exemption of Municipal Bonds Protested)—(P. 387) Res. 46:

Whereas—Some southern communities have lured northern manufacturers to the South by offering them the use of manufacturing plants rent free, and

Whereas—Such property is often acquired through the issuance of federal tax-free municipal bonds which in effect makes every taxpayer in the United States a subsidizer of the unfair manufacturer who uses such premises rent free, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled in the City of Los Angeles, Calif., go on record instructing the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to cause to be drafted and introduced

in Congress suitable legislation to remove the federal tax exemption of municipal bonds which have been issued by any community which has lured manufacturers to move to its boundaries through the means of a subsidy, and be it further

Resolved—That the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to give its full support to legislation such as Bills H.R. 4083, H.R. 4127 and H.R. 6123, introduced in this session of Congress and which also seek to curb the existing evil heretofore referred to.

(P. 531) On page 123 (1954 proceedings) the E. C. Report dealt with the vitally important subject of pirating of industry from high-wage to low-wage areas through inducements of tax reductions, etc., and low production costs. The convention committee considered that section of the E.C. Report, together with Res. 46, and submitted the following report which was adopted:

This part of the Executive Council's Report deals with one of the most serious problems facing the industrial workers of this country. There are numerous states which have set up organizations for the "pirating" of industry into low-wage areas with concessions of every kind being used as an inducement. This leads to unfair competition, a dislocation of people and a very serious consequence to the whole economy.

We recommend that every effort be made for laws to close loopholes which allow tax concessions and other means which in the end set up unfair competitive conditions.

The committee agrees with the purport of the resolution . . . but wishes to make clear that the only bonds which should lose tax exemption are those issued for the specific purpose of building industrial establishments. We

do not desire to take away tax exemption from legitimate municipal bonds.

(State and Local Problems)—(1955, p. 174) President Eisenhower established a Presidential Commission composed of members of Congress and private citizens early in 1953 to study and make recommendations directed at improving tax, fiscal and other relations between the federal, state and local governments. The commission submitted its report for transmittal to Congress in June of 1955. It contained virtually no recommendations directed at resolving the very difficult problems facing states and local communities in their efforts to finance services to meet the needs of a rapidly increasing population.

Competition between states and communities and tax limitations—legal and constitutional—have combined with the lack of taxable resources to make the property tax a less effective source of tax revenue than it was 20 years ago. In some states property tax revenue has been supplemented by revenue from corporation and personal income taxes. However, the majority of states have no state income taxes or have ineffective income taxes which yield insufficient revenue.

In 1955 states and local communities will each collect approximately half of a \$23 billion total in revenue. For the nation as a whole, approximately 60 per cent of state tax revenue is collected from taxes on consumers. State and local tax systems generally have become increasingly regressive and unduly burdensome to the taxpayers in the lower income groups. When the President's Commission recommended, therefore, that states and local communities should assume more responsibility for meeting their fiscal problems, it was merely reiterating the same timeworn advice that has been repeated frequently during the past 20 years. The com-

mission failed completely to come to grips with current problems. With billions of dollars of additional revenue needed to take care of immediately pressing needs, the commission recommended a continuation of a policy of independent action by states and communities that experience has shown will not meet those needs.

All states could benefit by a sound program of federal leadership and co-operation. The federal taxing power and credit can and should be used to provide necessary educational, health, highway and developmental facilities that the states cannot provide for themselves. Programs of federal aid, tax sharing, and federal-state-local underwriting of projects are urgently needed. Local and state services are closest and therefore most vital to the daily lives of our citizens. The American Federation of Labor should continue to press for more practical co-operation of the Federal Government with state and local governments through its affiliated international unions, state federations and city central bodies.

Income Tax—(1946, pp. 492, 529) Res. 11 and 72 recommended that the A. F. of L. support efforts to reduce the income tax on wage earners. The convention concurred with the objectives of the resolutions and referred them to the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation.

(1947, p. 240) The Executive Council reported the filing of an A. F. of L. statement in opposition to proposal of an across-the-board reduction in income tax for the following reasons:

1. The American Federation of Labor is unqualifiedly opposed to an across-the-board percentage reduction.
2. Tax reduction measures, not part of an integrated tax program, taking into account the present high excise tax burden and the increasing tendency of state and local governments

to depend on consumption taxes are unsound.

3. It does not go far enough in reducing the tax burden of those in the low income groups.

We feel it is imperative to lighten the tax load of families with moderately small incomes. Increasing the personal exemption is a simple and efficient method of obtaining this objective. In addition, the principle of progressive taxation is best retained by lowering the taxes consistent with a long-term plan of retirement of the federal public debt.

(Excess Profits Tax)—(1948) Res. 1 Called upon Congress to restore the excess profits tax and restore the principle of taxation in accordance with ability to pay by increasing taxes in the high income brackets; and increase mass purchasing power by raising the personal income tax exemption from \$600 to at least \$850.

(P. 454) The convention referred the resolution to the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation without instructions.

(1950, p. 149) The American Federation of Labor also expressed disapproval of the proposal to restore income tax rates to the 1945 levels without taking into account the tremendous increase in the cost of living that has occurred during the past five years, which has worked particular hardship on the low income groups. We have taken the position that downward adjustments should be made in the income tax rate on net income below \$2,000.

(P. 458) We therefore commend the Executive Council for its vigorous support of the principle that net income up to \$2,000 should be taxed at lower rates than those now in effect. The further proposal that any resulting loss of revenue should be made up by slight upward adjustments on high-

er bracket income is both equitable and practical.

Your committee urges that during the next year a particular effort be put forth in the A. F. of L. publications, and by the labor press generally, to acquaint members with the position of the Federation on current tax issues and on its long term tax program. It is essential that more of our members realize that the same forces—represented by the same Senators and Congressmen—which support anti-labor and anti-public measures, line up with equal zeal behind regressive, uneconomic and inequitable tax measures.

(Retirement and Disability Pensions)—(1950, pp. 46, 498) Res. 70 sought A. F. of L. cooperation in securing needed legislation to grant income tax exemption in pensions of retired employees of federal, state and local governments as well as disability pensions for other than recognized line of duty injuries.

(1951, pp. 111, 445) The Committee on Legislation desires to call the specific attention of the delegates to the legislative policy of the American Federation of Labor on the subject of taxation:

The American Federation of Labor, at hearings before the House and Senate Committee, has supported the President's recommendations that as nearly as possible the full amount of tax increases needed to keep the federal budget in balance be levied.

However, the Federation has emphatically protested the levying of additional excise taxes at this time. It has, on the other hand, supported the Treasury's proposal for further increases in corporation taxes. We have stated before both committees, moreover, that major increases in personal income tax rates should, in our opinion, be concentrated on those with incomes above \$3,000 and particularly

on those in the income level above \$5,000.

The Treasury recommended a four percentage point increase in income tax rates throughout the schedule within an over-all 90 per cent limitation. The House has approved a 12½ per cent increase. The American Federation of Labor has gone on record as favoring the percentage as more equitable, but opposes having it applied to those with net incomes of less than \$1,000.

The committee recommends that the convention concur in this policy.

(P. 113) The E.C. reported on the opposition exerted by the A. F. of L. and its affiliates to the enactment of a repeal of the 16th Amendment. The E.C. declared that the A. F. of L. drive to defeat the proposed amendment would continue unceasingly until it is finally dropped.

(P. 504) Convention approved the report of the Executive Council and affirmed determination to defeat the amendment.

(Limitation of Federal Income Tax)—(1951, pp. 198, 280, 281, 537) E.C., Res. 17 and 19. Legislative developments as well as prospective developments in the tax field at all levels of government are, in the opinion of your committee, inadequate and increasingly inequitable. We agree with the conclusion of the Executive Council that to the extent an undue share of the prospective tax payments of \$86 billion in 1952—one-third of the income estimated for the year—is thrown on one section of our people, the defense program and the national economy may be weakened.

Members of your committee believe that the warning of the Executive Council that inequities and discriminations operating against those in the low-income groups in the economic field generally, are becoming increasingly evident in the tax field, is timely.

Statistics are cited showing that the great majority of American families with incomes of \$3,000 yearly or less are already overburdened by the increased cost of living and the present level of taxes.

It should be recognized too, that those in the lower income brackets are only to a very small degree responsible for inflationary spending. In millions of instances they are living below the levels of decency. These facts reinforce the A. F. of L. contention that there should be no increases in excise taxes at the federal level and that increases in the personal income tax should not be made on those in the lowest income brackets.

The Executive Council's report shows that state and local governments are coming to rely more and more on regressive sales and excise taxes for revenue. This tendency throws more and more of the tax burden on those in the lower income groups. The serious nature of this problem may be appreciated by reference to the study cited by the Council which shows that those in the income bracket below \$1,000 pay 10 per cent of their income in taxes to local and state governments while those in the brackets above \$7,500 pay only 5.5 per cent of their income to those units of government. All affiliated organizations are urged to continue their opposition to increases or extensions of all types of regressive taxation.

A detailed reference to the A. F. of L. position on tax legislation adopted during the past year by Congress as well as on the legislation now pending will be found in the Executive Council's Report. Delegates should note that the A. F. of L. has emphatically protested the levying of any additional excise taxes at this time has supported the Treasury's proposal for further increases in corporation taxes, and has urged that

major increases in the personal income tax rates should be mainly concentrated on those in the income level of above \$5,000.

Delegates should note that the A. F. of L. has repeatedly pointed out that needed revenue could be secured through enactment of measures to recapture revenue losses due to operation of the split income provision under which married couples, particularly in the income groups between \$7,000 and \$100,000, are enjoying tax savings of \$2.5 billion yearly. Effective revision of the estate and gift tax laws would add substantially to current revenues. We have also urged the closing of specific loopholes which permit the evasion of millions of additional revenue that is not being collected under present laws.

Committee members note with approval the reference in the Executive Council's report to the drive to defeat the campaign to limit federally collected income taxes to 25 per cent of income. This campaign should be continued and the State Federations which have been responsible for the action formerly taken on this measure, which has been termed the "Millionaires' Amendment," should be commended.

Your committee also recommends that the problem of taxation of annuities and pensions be taken up by the A. F. of L. Permanent Committee on Taxation for study and recommendation.

It is further recommended that Resolutions 17 and 19 dealing with this subject be referred to the Committee on Taxation for consideration and disposition.

(Pp. 280, 538) Res. 17:

Whereas—There is a concerted effort on the part of the American Taxpayers' Association to escape their fair and just share of the burden of taxation by proposing an amendment to our national Constitution to limit

the federal income tax to not more than 25 per cent, and

Whereas—The American Retail Federation, purporting to speak for one million stores, is actively working to establish a national sales tax, thus shifting a still heavier burden of taxation upon those least able to pay, and

Whereas—The National Association of Manufacturers is "urging tax-writing Senators to levy a manufacturers' excise (sales) tax," shifting as much as an additional eighteen billion dollars to the consumer, and

Whereas—The only fair and just method of meeting the tax burden is the payment of taxes in direct proportion to one's ability to pay, and

Whereas—Organized labor is the only spokesman for the already overtaxed laborer, therefore, be it

Resolved—By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled

1. That we are unalterably opposed to any and all attempts to shift the burden of taxation to those least able to pay;
2. That we go on record opposing such amendment to the Constitution limiting the federal income tax;
3. That we actively sponsor and support a campaign to defeat such proposed legislation;
4. That we alert our membership and the public to the issues involved;
5. That we give active support to our state federations of labor and central labor unions in their fight against such taxation trends.

Referred to Committee on Taxation for consideration and disposition.

("Millionaires Amendment")—1951, p. 113) For nearly fifteen years there has been an insidious campaign to repeal the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and

substitute language limiting Federal income tax to 25 per cent of individual incomes.

The net effect of this proposal would be to saddle low income groups with nearly all of the Federal tax burden, a situation which we cannot tolerate.

The Committee on Legislation desires to commend the tireless efforts of the various state federations of labor and point out that through their efforts, in a large number of states this measure has been defeated in the state legislatures.

It is recommended by the Committee that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations continue this untiring campaign to defeat the amendment until the matter is dropped by its sponsors.

(1952, pp. 45, 466) Res. 63 called for support of A. F. of L. of legislation which would exempt from taxation pensions received by retired workers and their dependents. Convention referred the resolution to the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation.

(1952, p. 205) The Executive Council reported opposition of the A. F. of L. to the proposed constitutional amendment repealing the 16th Amendment to the Constitution which provided that the Federal Government could levy taxes on income. While the proposed amendment did not specify any limit, the proponents of the amendment advocated a 25 percent limitation on the amount of taxes which may be collected. Attention was directed to the fact that enactment of the proposed Amendment can only create the need for a national sales tax to assume the burden shifted from the backs of those who now bear more than 25 percent tax. Further, federal tax revenues would be cut more than 16 billions or more than 30 percent of present income and gift tax sources and that taxation would be conducted without regard to tax paying abilities.

(Pp. 30, 464) Res. 23:

Whereas—A group of millionaires has hatched the biggest swindle ever perpetrated on the American people, and Pierre S. du Pont 3d, of the du Pont Empire, together with representatives of many other corporate empires, have been attempting to sell the American people on a proposal to amend the U.S. Constitution which would limit taxes to 25 per cent of a person's or corporation's income; obviously, this kind of limitation would cut down the taxes of the millionaires and the corporations, the amount which would be cut from their taxes would then be imposed on the working men and women of the country, and

Whereas—The drive for the Amendment is being sparked by the Western Tax Council, the American Taxpayers' Association and the Committee for Constitutional Government. Only recently the Chamber of Commerce of the United States adopted a resolution supporting this anti-workers' tax program. The men behind the drive are all representatives of big business. The very people who are complaining against corruption in government are pushing this corrupt conspiracy against the people. The symbol of their patriotism is the dollar sign. The undercover operations of these men have already resulted in affirmative action by the legislatures of twenty-five states in which resolutions have been adopted, requesting Congress to call a convention to amend the Constitution. No such constitutional convention has ever been called in the history of this country. Nevertheless, these various state legislatures have now recorded their demand for such a convention, the purpose of which would be to impose an outrageous tax burden on the working people of this country. According to the Library of Congress, although 25 state legislatures adopted the resolution, eight legislatures have

rescinded their motion. The Tax Council says such resolutions may not be rescinded, and

Whereas—The proponents of the Amendment are not asleep. This year they have succeeded in adding two more states to their roster. This drive must be stopped. The amendment has well been called the "Millionaires' Amendment." It is a 16 Billion Dollar swindle. A tax load of 16 Billion Dollars will be shifted from those who can best afford to pay to the shoulders of the working men and women of America who certainly should not be subjected to sabotage of their standard of living, and

Whereas—Only families with incomes over 40 thousand dollars a year will derive any benefit from the Millionaires' Amendment, it will be necessary to enact sales taxes of at least 10 per cent to make up the loss. The American Labor Movement must rally to halt the progress of this creeping conspiracy against the American people. If 32 state legislatures adopt the amendment, it will then become necessary to call a constitutional convention in which the earning capacity of the American wage earner will be disastrously crippled, and

Whereas—The future of America is at stake. Those people who are demanding the proposed tax limit should realize that their continued efforts will earn them a medal from Stalin. The Communists could not do a better job than they will accomplish in destroying the faith of the American people in the democratic process. They ought to remember that the road to a Communistic hell is paved with evil tax intentions, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the membership of organized labor in every state of this country must be on the alert. All local unions must maintain contact with the members of the state legislatures to induce repeal of these tax conven-

tion resolutions already passed and to prevent new ones from being passed and, be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor take an active part in finally defeating this proposed Millionaire Tax Swindle.

(1954, p. 124) The E.C. Report contained an accounting of efforts to secure a Constitutional amendment establishing the objectives of the proponents of this type of tax legislation. The A. F. of L. had anticipated this maneuver for several years and had been countering the proposed legislation state by state. It was pointed out that proponents of this legislation included the Western Tax Council, Inc., and an array of constitutional experts who presented their views on what they declared was the advisability of submitting the Constitutional Amendment question to the states. In giving his testimony, the director of the Western Tax Council declared that the A. F. of L. and its affiliated bodies were instrumental in stopping this campaign in a number of key states. The E.C. warned, however, that defeat of the proposed legislation in Congress would not end the struggle with the so-called "Millionaires' Amendment".

(P. 583) Your Committee is pleased to note that efforts to secure Congressional approval of the "Millionaires' Amendment" preliminary to submitting it to the states were defeated. The amendment proposed to limit the tax rate to 25 per cent regardless of income.

The great majority of taxpayers in the income groups below \$5,000 are already paying more than 25 per cent of their income in local, state, and federal sales, excise and income taxes. A limitation of the income tax rate proposed in the amendment would not decrease the need for tax revenue. It would, however, inevitably result in raising sales, excise and nuisance

taxes on taxpayers in the lower income groups considerably above their present high levels. Attempts to secure adoption of this amendment will undoubtedly be renewed in state legislatures and should in all instances be opposed.

(Exemption for Pensioners)—(1953, pp. 418, 652) Res. 62:

Whereas—During the past fifteen years the cost of living according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics has increased approximately ninety per cent, and

Whereas—Retirement and pension allowances earned by state and local government employees who have been retired cannot be increased generally because of constitutional prohibitions, nor have the state and local laws providing for retirement and pensions been substantially liberalized to care for those who will be placed on retirement, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor in convention has taken strong position in favor of exempting from Federal income taxation employee retirement allowances, and

Whereas—Retirement benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act are specifically made exempt and Social Security benefits are by rulings exempt from Federal income taxation, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor pledges support of bills in Congress and bills that may be introduced in Congress to make substantial exemptions of public employee retirement allowances from Federal income taxes.

(1954, pp. 384, 473) Res. 37 called for revision of the income tax law to provide \$1,000 exemption from both state and Federal income tax. Referred to the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation

(P. 94) The E.C. submitted a brief report on the general subject

of taxes and included a section on trends in income taxation. The E.C. took issue with the position of the President of the United States which recommended a reduction in the corporate income tax and in excise taxes which would have resulted in initial tax savings of \$1.3 billion, and other specific recommendations. The A. F. of L. could "see no reason for the new and unscheduled tax reductions proposed by the President, particularly since he was at the same time urging that the excessively high excise taxes be continued beyond the scheduled expiration date. . . . The A. F. of L. has urged steadily that if revenue needs permitted new and additional tax cuts, priority should be given to reducing the tax rate on the first \$2,000 of taxable income and in raising the exemption."

(P. 540) Changes made in the tax laws by the 83rd Congress will have a serious impact on our economy. The Executive Council's Report shows that these changes have not been equitable nor directed at strengthening the economic health of the nation.

The record shows quite clearly that the Administration, committed to a policy of balancing the budget, has sanctioned tax reductions that will result in an estimated deficit of \$4.7 billion for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956. Your Committee would not suggest that there is anything sacred about a balanced budget. It would point out, however, that the anticipated \$4.7 billion deficit will be the direct result of tax reductions totaling \$7.4 billion, which have accrued in major part to business and to taxpayers in the upper income groups. This is particularly serious at a time when an increase in purchasing power which could be achieved through long overdue relief to taxpayers in the lower income group is so urgently needed.

(Income Tax Exemption for College

Students)—(1954, pp. 385, 473) Res. 38:

Whereas—There are many families in Oregon and other states, who find it impossible to send their children on to college due to the added expense, and

Whereas—There is no provision in the present income tax structure recognizing this added burden on the family budget, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record favoring an amendment to existing tax legislation to permit parents to claim dependency credits for children under 21 years of age instead of 18 as is now provided, and be it further

Resolved—That the income tax exemption for college students be established at \$1,000 per year.

Referred to the Committee on Taxation.

(1955, p. 154) When asked to record his support of the "Organization to Repeal Income Taxes, Inc." President Meany stated:

"American Labor is proud to bear its legitimate taxation burdens as its share of the cost of Government and the defense of this Nation against the dangers from within and from without. The only fair arrangement is for our citizens in proportion to their incomes to bear this expense.

"It is quite clear that if one type of taxation is to be abolished some other tax means must be found. With repeal of income taxes, whether at the federal or local levels, the only result will be more and heavier taxes on the consumer at retail outlets or in the form of processing taxes on the essentials of life.

"The American Federation of Labor through its affiliates has consistently opposed imposition of a limitation on taxes through a proposed amendment

to the United States Constitution, as I assume you already know.

"This year's collection of federal income taxes has amounted to some sixty-four billion dollars. There could be no greater dislodgment of the fiscal structure of the United States Government than suddenly to remove all personal and income tax liability.

"The young men of this nation under the Selective Service System are obligated without limitation to make great sacrifices in the defense of this Nation even to the extreme if need be. There is no limitation upon their obligation. I find nothing wrong in the remainder of us standing ready to match such sacrifice as best we can gauged in worldly goods."

(P. 173) The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly urged and supported measures to extend tax relief to taxpayers with net taxable income of less than \$2,000. We have maintained that the rate of 20 per cent on the first \$2,000 of taxable income is too high and that the \$600 exemption is inadequate. . . .

The American Federation of Labor supported the proposal in the Senate to grant a \$20 tax reduction to each head of a household plus \$10 additional for each dependent. This proposal was coupled with the repeal of certain provisions enacted in 1954 which granted preferential status to dividend income and provided for more liberal depreciation allowances to business. The A. F. of L. gave its support to this proposal, because it would provide needed tax relief to the lower income families without contributing further to the budget deficit.

Proposals to reduce Federal taxes in 1956 should be carefully examined. Any reductions that would bring about an imbalance between receipts and expenditures in a period of continued high prosperity could be justified only by over-riding considerations of equity and economic necessity.

The American Federation of Labor believes that further tax reductions would be both premature and ill-advised if made at the expense of defense needs or by sacrificing services for civilians. In this connection, it appears pertinent to point out that 1956 expenditures for military services, mutual defense purposes, the atomic energy program and stockpiling of strategic materials will be \$11.6 billion less than in 1953 and approximately \$2 billion less than in 1955. The accumulated demands for Federal assistance in financing expanded highway construction programs, school construction, and for other needed services will also result in greater need for Federal revenue. We would oppose any tax reductions at the Federal level that would prevent proper provision for vital defense or civilian services.

However, Congress will again be faced in 1956 with the opportunity of eliminating preferential tax treatment accruing to various groups of taxpayers to the disadvantage of taxpayers generally. Several billion dollars yearly continues to be lost to the Treasury through the operation of the split-income provision, the failure to withhold taxes on investment income at its source, loose estate and gift tax provisions, over-liberal depletion allowances, the preferential treatment accorded capital gains, tax exempt securities, and the preferential treatment of dividend income. Elimination of these tax escape provisions is long overdue, and the recapture of this additional revenue would permit the Federal Government either to finance necessary services or make more socially and economically desirable tax adjustments.

If tax reductions are made in 1956, we believe that Congress should recognize that tax reduction measures approved during the past ten years have tended to channel a disproportionate

share of tax savings to taxpayers in the income groups above \$5,000. This circumstance reinforces the need for decreasing the 20 per cent rate on the first \$2,000 of taxable income and increasing the \$600 exemption.

The American Federation of Labor is also concerned at the continued high level of Federal excise taxes on a number of commodities and services. If revenue needs do not permit any general reduction of excise rates in 1956, we hope that Congress will reduce any rates which unduly discriminate against specific goods or services.

Poll Tax (also see: Racial Discrimination)—(1939, p. 456) Res. 22 requested the A. F. of L. "to go on record as condemning White Primaries" and the Poll tax as Un-American, further calling upon all A. F. of L. affiliates to work for and support legislation which seeks to abolish the poll tax and white primaries. Convention approved committee report as follows:

In lieu of this resolution, your committee recommends that this convention declare its approval of the principle that all citizens, regardless of color or race, should be equally entitled to the full rights of adult suffrage.

(1943, p. 341) Res. 114, calling for action looking to the repeal of the poll tax law was not acted upon by the convention. However, convention recommended that efforts be continued to secure the enactment of legislation repealing the poll tax law.

Sales Tax—(1924, p. 73) When the tax bill was before the Senate, Senator Smoot, of Utah, offered an amendment that was recognized as another attempt to establish the principle of the sales tax. Senator Smoot's amendment provided for a tax of one-half of one per cent to be placed on all purchases. This attempt to revive the principle of the sales tax was vigorously fought by the representatives

of the A. F. of L. and it was decisively defeated.

(P. 187) Convention noted with extreme gratification this rejection of the proposal of Senator Smoot—the arch reactionary and handy servant of special privilege—in his latest attempt to enact tax legislation discriminatory against the workers.

We commend the E.C. for its vigilance and vigor in thus repelling another attack on the part of those tax dodgers who would shift upon the wage earners through a sales tax, the major burdens of taxation.

(1925, p. 51) No question is of more importance to the workers than taxation. There is a well defined agitation for a reduction in the federal income taxes, the greatest to be on those best able to pay the tax. It is believed, however, that the objective of those who are endeavoring to reduce taxation for the well to do is a forerunner of agitation to introduce a sales tax, otherwise a buyers' tax. The supporters of the sales tax say that the people would not know they were paying a tax and therefore there would be no complaint.

One supporter of the sales tax in a public editorial said: "A sales tax properly directed will raise all the revenue we need and nobody would feel it."

The fact is it would relieve the well to do from taxation and place the burden upon those least able to bear it.

The sales tax would be oppressive. It would be felt in the homes of the poor where on every penny spent for the necessities of life a tax would have to be paid. That is, the price of the article purchased would be increased in proportion to the amount of the tax. Besides the vendor, who would pay the tax to the government, would be in a position to add to the tax and withhold the difference for his own benefit.

The A. F. of L. has repeatedly warned the people of this contemplated scheme of taxation and unless they awaken to its dangers it may be slipped through Congress.

(1929, pp. 85, 228) The agitation since the war to relieve the well-to-do from taxation and place the burden upon those least able to bear it through a sales tax is reaching its height and demands will be made upon Congress to establish that principle in taxation.

The A. F. of L. has repeatedly condemned the sales tax as a means of raising funds to conduct the government. For several months public propaganda has been spread broadcast, and some of our local unions have been deceived by it, calling upon Congress to reduce the tax on earned incomes. The Revenue Act of 1928 thus defines earned incomes:

"'Earned income' means wages, salaries, professional fees, and other amounts received as compensation for personal services actually rendered, but does not include that part of the compensation derived by the taxpayer for personal services rendered by him to a corporation which represents a distribution of earnings or profits rather than a reasonable allowance as compensation for the personal services actually rendered. In the case of a taxpayer engaged in a trade or business in which both personal services and capital are material income producing factors, a reasonable allowance as compensation for the personal services actually rendered by the taxpayer, not in excess of 20 per centum of his share of the net profits of such trade or business shall be considered as earned income."

In "no case," the law states, is "the earned income to be considered to be more than \$30,000." According to the Secretary of the Treasury 97.2% of the population paid no federal income taxes whatever in 1928 for the year

1927. Nevertheless the 2.2% who paid Federal taxes had previously passed them on to the 97.8% in whole or in part. Of the 114,000,000 in the United States in 1927 only 2,453,101 paid an income tax. Of these 2,120,312 paid on incomes of \$10,000 or less.

The sales tax means that a certain tax is placed on every sale—everything the manufacturer sells to the jobber, the jobber to the retailer and the retailer to the consumer, in fact between the producer and the consumer every person who handles a product and sells it will pay a certain tax. Of course this tax is passed on to the consumer. It should not be called a sales tax. The right term is a "nuisance tax," as all such taxes placed on certain articles during the war were so designated. It is an indirect tax and those who advocate it say the people will not object because they do not know they are paying a tax. Of course we pay an indirect tax on everything we buy at present but to increase this tax in order that the well-to-do may shift practically all taxation to approximately 98% of the people is a most vicious proposal.

A reduction of 25 per cent is now permitted on certain earned incomes. Among the 2,453,101 persons who made returns in 1927, there were many who paid no tax as their exemptions made them immune. Nevertheless they had to make a report. Wage earners now pay an income tax only on a small portion of their income because of these exemptions, but if a sales tax were established they would pay a tax on every purchase they made of the necessities of life as well as the luxuries. Accordingly they would pay more tax under the proposed change in the "sales" tax than they now do because it generally requires all their income upon which to live. The A. F. of L. has repeatedly warned the American labor movement of this surreptitious scheme of placing taxes upon

those who find it difficult to pay and relieving those who are well able to pay.

(1931, pp. 117, 290) Although defeated year after year in every attempt to saddle the "nuisance tax" under the name of "sales tax" upon the people, another campaign has been launched to bring about that legislation in the next Congress.

High public officials also have advanced the idea that the best way in which income taxes could be increased would be by decreasing the exemption of married men to \$2,000 and single men to \$1,000. The objective of those who pay high taxes is to relieve the well-to-do from taxation and place the burden upon those least able to bear it.

The argument used in advocating the sales tax has been:

"If you tax the people so they do not know it they cannot object; but if they know they are paying a tax they will object."

We pay an indirect tax on every purchase we make. In 1927 only 2.2 per cent of our then 114,000,000 population paid income taxes and three-tenths of 1 per cent paid 95.5 per cent of the total income tax. For 1930 two per cent of the population paid all the income taxes. These are Treasury figures.

The only persons to be benefited by the consumption tax are the 2 per cent of the population who pay an income tax. On the other hand, the burden of taxation would fall upon the 98 per cent who do not pay an income tax. Besides they now pay an indirect tax on everything they buy. The "sales tax" will increase that tax load.

In all the statements given out in reference to taxation none suggests that estate taxes should be increased. The greater part of many estates was created without paying any taxes as the taxes were passed on to the consumers. The Federal Government col-

lects an estate tax before the estates are distributed to the heirs. Then those states where the descendants live that have inheritance taxes are credited with 80 per cent of the federal estate tax collected. The heirs pay the inheritance tax to the states in which they live where such laws are in effect and operative. States that have no inheritance tax laws do not receive the 80 per cent collected by the government.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, one of the richest men in the United States at one time, said that "the American public is a partner in every large enterprise where money is made honorably." He added:

"The growing disposition to tax more and more heavily large estates left at death is a cheering indication of the growth of a salutary change in public opinion. Of all forms of taxation this seems the wisest. By taxing estates heavily at death the state marks its condemnation of the selfish millionaire's unworthy life. It is desirable that nations should go much further in this direction. Indeed, it is difficult to set bounds to the share of a rich man's estate which should go at his death to the public through the agency of the state, and by all means such taxes should be graduated, beginning at nothing upon moderate sums to dependents, and increasing rapidly as the amounts swell."

In a message to Congress in 1907, Theodore Roosevelt said:

"A heavy progressive tax upon a very large fortune is in no way such a tax upon thrift and industry as a like tax would be on a small fortune. No advantage comes either to the country as a whole or to the individuals inheriting the money by permitting the transmission in their entirety of the enormous fortunes that would be affected by such a tax."

It always has been the belief of the A. F. of L. that the most just forms

of taxing great wealth are through the estate, gift and inheritance taxes as there is no question of the ability to pay.

Dr. Thomas S. Adams, the famous authority on taxation and formerly financial adviser for the United States government, declared that "if we must tax it is better to tax him who merely receives than him who earns."

The A. F. of L. is alarmed at the persistent agitation of the well-to-do to relieve themselves of taxation. Because of that fact we urge upon all state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions to urge their respective U.S. Senators and Representatives to vote against the enactment of a "sales tax." They should also insist upon an increase in the estate tax and the restoration of the gift tax as they are the fairest taxes collected by the government.

Forty-five states have inheritance tax laws. Alabama, the District of Columbia, Florida and Nevada have neglected this source of revenue. The state federations of labor in those states and the District of Columbia should urge the enactment of inheritance tax laws. It is generally believed that the three states and the District of Columbia have not enacted inheritance tax laws because they wished to induce persons of great wealth to become residents. Representatives of those states named also appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee in 1929 and urged repeal of the estate tax. This was to still further encourage wealthy people to go to those states and become residents. Congress, however, refused, declaring that no more just tax could be collected. The exemptions provided for in the estate tax law are \$100,000 and the cost of administration. This cost is sometimes as high as \$50,000.

Few, if any, heirs of a large estate

have had anything to do with its accumulation. Their legacies can be termed gratuities. Therefore, there is no doubt of the ability to pay the inheritance tax, which is paid to the states having such laws. We, therefore, recommend that more stringent state inheritance tax laws be enacted so that the great sums accumulated from the consuming public will be more equitably distributed.

A tax that should not have been repealed was the federal gift tax. The A. F. of L., therefore, believes that before considering an increase in any other taxes, the estate and inheritance taxes should be increased and the gift tax restored. In these three taxes there is no doubt of the ability to pay.

If the "sales tax" is established and exemptions are reduced then the taxes of the well-to-do will be greatly reduced and the burden placed on those least able to pay.

Members of Congress should not forget that while wages were increasing from 1923 to 1929 only from \$11,000,000,000 to \$11,421,000,000, corporation dividends were increasing during the same period from \$930,648,000 to \$3,478,000,000. Net additions to profits of banks were increasing from \$279,000,000 to \$556,000,000, and interest paid to bond holders was increasing from \$2,469,000,000 to \$7,588,000,000.

Congress, therefore, will find a fertile field from which to garner more income tax, if needed, among those who are well able to pay.

(1932, pp. 62, 234) Strong, aggressive, determined efforts were put forth during the last session of Congress to enact sales tax legislation. The advocates of this form of taxation announce that they favor this policy of raising revenue for the government. Some of them have been so bold as to assert that they favor the gradual substitution of the sales tax for the income tax.

The A. F. of L. has consistently opposed sales tax legislation because it represents an attempt to transfer the burden of taxation from wealth and from those who are able to bear it, to the masses of the people and to those who are least able to bear the burden of taxation. The A. F. of L. regards this form of taxation as a movement to "soak the poor."

In operation the sales tax would be collected from every purchaser of an article. It is reprehensible because it is concealed. The tax upon the articles bought would not be in evidence so that those who purchase could see and understand the amount of tax they would be called upon to pay.

Even though many of the necessities of life, including agricultural products, would be excluded from the provisions of the sales tax in the beginning of the enactment of sales tax legislation, it is reasonable to conclude, based upon experience in taxation procedure, that ultimately it would be extended to cover all sales of all articles including the bare necessities of life. Because of this possibility the A. F. of L. has vigorously and uncompromisingly opposed all forms of sales tax legislation.

A vigorous campaign for the enactment of sales tax legislation was carried on during the last session of Congress. The Speaker of the House and the leaders of the majority party in the House, with the assistance of the leaders of the minority party, endeavored to secure the acceptance and adoption of this form of taxation. Surprising as it may seem, the Ways and Means Committee recommended the adoption of sales tax legislation. . . . When a vote was taken, a motion to strike out the sales tax provision from the revenue bill was adopted by a vote of 236 to 160. Following this action by the House, the Senate defeated the sales tax legislation by a vote of 53 to 27.

We are confident that another attempt will be made when Congress meets December 5th, to secure the enactment of a sales tax law. Those who favor this form of taxation are aggressive, as is evidenced by the propaganda which is being carried on in various ways in support of such legislation. It presents a serious problem for the consideration of the masses of the people. They must face the issue and decide as to whether they will permit their representatives in Congress to enact a sales tax law which in effect will require them to pay a tax every time they make a purchase.

The A. F. of L. is standing guard in opposition to the enactment of this legislation. In order to be successful it must be accorded the support of Labor and the masses of the people, and their true friends. Great interest must be aroused in this question. The opposition of these groups to which reference is made must be made known to their representatives in Congress.

The A. F. of L. urges all organizations of labor affiliated with the A. F. of L. and their friends, together with the individuals who make up these organizations, must make known to their representatives in Congress, both in the House and in the Senate, their unyielding opposition to the enactment of sales tax legislation, if the attempt to pass this form of legislation is to be defeated.

(1942, p. 609) The convention adopted the report of its committee which considered the general subject of taxation, including a resolution opposing a national and state sales tax as follows (Res. 137):

Whereas—As a result of the combined pressure of the high income groups and emergency requirements following the first World War to obtain the higher revenue which was claimed to be needed, the indirect tax

was resorted to as a means of reaching the low income groups, and

Whereas—While formerly the direct taxes supplied all the revenue, the income from the indirect tax, which in 1934 supplied 59 per cent of all the revenue to our Federal Government, rose to 65 per cent in 1937, and a year later reached the impressive figure of 70 per cent, and

Whereas—There is no sound economic reason to shift the taxation burden to the working people, since not only does the Sales Tax, which is one of the most offensive kinds of indirect taxation, reduce the real wages of the workers by increasing the cost of the products he buys, but it forces him to curtail his purchases, thereby restricting the amount of sales which, in turn, affects industry and contributes toward depression and unemployment, and

Whereas—The Federal Government is increasing taxes to such an extent that the low income groups, especially the workers, are paying and will be paying even more than is equitable in comparison with the high income groups without resorting to the Sales Tax, and

Whereas—Greater efficiency and economy of government as well as just direct taxation on all groups in proportion to their incomes is a good way to solve the problem of revenue without making it necessary to use the Sales Tax, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to the national and states sales tax as an unduly and unjustified burden on the low-income groups, and unnecessary from the standpoint of justly solving the problem of revenue.

Under this caption the Executive Council reports on its representations to the Congress on taxation. It reports successful opposition to the im-

position of a sales tax. It also points to the probable burden of taxation affecting especially the lower paid workers.

Your Committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its opposition to a sales tax.

(1943, p. 338) The E.C. reported on moves to change federal tax laws, including a proposal to enact a sales tax. The convention took the following action on the subject:

Under this caption the Executive Council reports briefly on the course of the Federal tax law (Public No. 68, 78th Congress) in the first session of the 78th Congress and inclusion of the proposal submitted by the American Federation of Labor. . . .

Your Committee commends the Executive Council for its successful activity in connection with the current tax law and recommends that this convention instruct the Executive Council to continue its efforts in behalf of just and equitable taxation based upon ability to pay and in unremitting opposition to a sales tax. Your Committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to oppose any increase in taxes levied upon wages or compensation of the workers and that any increase in the amounts withheld from such wages or compensation be in the form of savings represented by Government bonds.

(1948, p. 160) The E.C. reported that for many years repeated efforts had been made to enact a national sales tax and attention was directed to the position of the 1934 A. F. of L. Convention as follows:

" . . . It also calls attention to the sales tax, the most iniquitous of all taxes, and stated that Labor is seeking a more just source of revenue for the schools. Your committee concurs in this portion of the Council's report and recommends taxes based on ability to pay, i.e., inheritance and income

taxes levied and collected by the Federal Government with the elimination of tax exemptions, teachers, public employees and all others, as the most appropriate way to finance education."

It was further pointed out that efforts to enact a sales tax for the District of Columbia which could prove an entering wedge to the enactment of a national sales tax.

(P. 449) Reference is made in the Report of the Executive Council to efforts that have been made during the past 25 years to enact a national sales tax and of the consistent and unswerving opposition to its enactment in any form by the American Federation of Labor.

During the 80th Congress an unsuccessful effort was made to enact a sales tax law applying to the District of Columbia. Adoption by Congress of the sales tax in the District would, as pointed out by the Council, almost certainly be used as an argument for adoption of a national sales tax. The Council's recommendation that sales taxes be opposed at all levels of government is therefore heartily endorsed.

The sales tax, as we have repeatedly pointed out, has no realtion to capacity to pay—in fact, operates inversely to that basic principle. In addition, it is costly as well as difficult to administer and adds disproportionately to the burdens on low income.

(1949, p. 212) We have steadfastly maintained our position against legislating a sales tax for the District of Columbia. Any such law inevitably would encourage similar taxes in all states and on the national level.

During 1949 our position in this regard was amply vindicated when, following enactment of a District of Columbia sales tax, Public Law No. 76, the tax rate on real estate was increased only 7½ percent, from \$2 per \$100 of valuation. We had said that

a sales tax would become a screen behind which the landlords of the District of Columbia would be excused from a material tax burden increase while saddling the real increase upon those least in position financially to assume the added responsibility. This prediction further was substantiated by the fact that the forces in Congress, particularly in the Senate which proposed the sales tax, are the same forces that demanded landlords be released from rent controls.

Our stand in this matter now having been vindicated, we return to the original position, in opposition to the sales tax and in support of a plan to eliminate the sales tax.

The mild manner in which merchants accept this tax indicates new profits are in store for them under the sales tax law. They are responsible for reporting a straight percentage tax on sales, though multiple sales in small amounts need only be reported at the regular dollar basis. The small sales are almost invariably made to the small consumer, the one least able to bear the tax burden.

(P. 383) Convention approved committee report on this subject:

The A. F. of L. vigorously opposed the introduction of that vicious form of taxation, the sales tax, into the District of Columbia. Although the plan was forced through Congress by the same group that has been demanding elimination of rent controls, the A. F. of L. will continue to fight this measure and support its repeal.

(1953, pp. 296, 642) The most serious tax issue the country will face in the coming year is almost certain to be a demand for a national sales tax. The increasing budget deficit and the tax reductions scheduled for the coming months have led the new Administration to search for new ways to raise additional revenue.

There are already indications that

in this search for new revenue tax policymakers are seriously considering the introduction of a national sales tax, long and vociferously advocated by the National Association of Manufacturers. The American Federation of Labor will vigorously fight this proposal.

Any tax of this type, even if it is disguised as a manufacturer's excise tax and even if certain consumer purchases, such as food and medicine are exempt, is in effect a sales tax which falls far more heavily on lower income families than on the well-to-do. The American people are firmly committed to a tax policy based clearly on the principle of ability to pay. The sales tax completely negates this principle.

There is no need to resort to a national sales tax to meet the revenue needs of our government. The proposals advanced by the American Federation of Labor for closing inequitable tax loopholes will go a long way toward increasing the needed tax revenue. A complete and equitable tax program can and should be developed in accordance with the democratic principle of progressive taxation based upon ability to pay.

(P. 642) Your Committee calls upon our national and international unions, state federations, and city central labor unions to give greater attention to developments in the field of local and state taxation where, as the Council points out \$20 billion yearly in taxes are now being collected. About 60 percent of the \$10½ billion collected by state governments is derived from taxes on consumption, while in certain states as much as 90 percent comes from taxes paid by consumers. Cities, too, are increasingly adopting payroll taxes, sales taxes and a variety of nuisance taxes which falls on consumers. This reinforces the recommendation of the Executive Council that the Federal Government should assume its responsibility for bringing

about a more business-like relationship between local, state, and national revenue systems. The increasing seriousness of the tax problems facing our metropolitan areas also deserves close attention of our affiliates. We direct this vital phase of the tax problem to the attention of the A. F. of L. Standing Committee on Taxation so that proper guidance may be provided to our affiliates in dealing effectively with it. We also urge that provision be made to enable the Federation to present fully its views on Federal-State-local tax relationship to the recently established Presidential Commission.

We note with satisfaction the report of the Council dealing with activities of the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation and its National Legislative Committee in connection with hearings on tax legislation considered during the year and urge continued activity in this field.

Since economic gains so often won with difficulty in collective bargaining can be wiped out through unfair taxes applied directly or indirectly through higher prices, your Committee urges our affiliates to devote increasing time and attention to promoting the adoption of progressive tax policies at all levels of government.

Teachers (also see: Federal Aid to Education; Thought Control (Education); (Education and Planning))

(1928, p. 274) We recognize that the teachers in our public schools should be appointed and retained in office because of their professional fitness.

In some localities boards of education appoint or discharge teachers because of their purely personal views or affiliations without regard to the professional fitness or conduct of such teachers in the class room.

The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled does con-

demn all such practices. To right such unsound practices, it calls upon every state body to make every effort to have enacted a sound state tenure law as soon as possible.

(1930, p. 289) Permanency of tenure for teachers, together with freedom in teaching and opportunity for advancement and for cultural improvement will constitute an investment for communities that will yield bountiful returns in better training for the children in our schools, and more competent citizens for the nation.

Even in certain states where tenure has been guaranteed by law, teachers are regularly dismissed before the trial period of three years is finished in order that a staff of cheap teachers may always be employed. Such practices are destined to drive away from the profession of teaching intelligent young men and women whose presence in the schools is indispensable if a nation of educated and intelligent citizens is to be maintained.

(1931, p. 349) The present industrial depression has caused school boards in certain sections of the country to make economic needs rather than teaching efficiency, the basis for selection in the employment of teachers.

Such practice is certain to lower the efficiency of the schools and create a deplorable condition in our educational system.

The A. F. of L. reiterates its declaration for equal opportunity for employment for workers, without discrimination on grounds of sex, race, creed, or other extraneous considerations.

(1932, p. 390) It is a well-known fact that as a general rule teachers' salaries have not kept pace with the wages of other workers or with the cost of living and that at their best teachers' salaries have been far from adequate.

The A. F. of L. will continue to op-

pose with all its power and influence any salary cuts, whether direct or as so-called "voluntary contributions" and in places where such cuts have been made, endeavor to bring about the restoration of the previous schedule.

(1933, pp. 144, 301) During the last two years teachers' salaries have been drastically cut, in some cases as much as 50 per cent, in a few places, 75 per cent. Worse still, many cities and counties have paid them in depreciated, non-marketable commercial paper and others have not paid them at all. In a few places teachers were "boarded around" among the parents of the pupils who can afford this form of tuition.

At a time when industry is asked to maintain a living wage; when minima for wages are set in all crafts with additional graduated increments for those who merit them, it is a sad commentary to note that the legal minimum salary is being reduced to a new low level.

Forty dollars a month in several states "when school is open" is set for the teachers, and school is never open more than nine months a year under the best conditions in the most forward states. Now in the states paying the lowest salaries, school is open four or five, as much as six months. The living wage of teachers therefore is perhaps as much as \$240 a year, in these states.

These facts and figures are alarming and they are tragic. They paint the picture of the passing of the free public school. They tell the tale of the direst sort of poverty for one group of workers—the teachers.

In the face of this situation an appeal was made last spring for legislation which would enable states to borrow money to pay teachers, and to maintain the public schools, as banks could borrow to maintain their busi-

ness. No help could be had directly through legislation it was felt. But at this moment there is made available some relief for teachers.

In some localities teachers are placed on public relief funds and they expect to teach without salary. A direct loan to states for educational purposes would keep the problem on an honest basis and prevent all these indirects.

The employment of the thousands of unemployed teachers to teach illiterates, and to promote good citizenship in general, is a different matter, for in this case the teachers are admittedly being paid for teaching work. This is a commendable form of re-employment activity.

(P. 301) The factors involved in proper working conditions for teachers, and the standards approved, are:

(1) The normal number of hours of work prevailing in the best schools, with a maximum of five (5) working hours for five days.

(2) The maximum number of pupils in a class which, in the general judgment of experts can be taught efficiently at one time. The number will vary in accordance with the work, the subject taught, and local conditions.

(3) The physical conditions of school buildings should be such as will protect the health and safety of teachers and pupils against:

- (a) Overcrowding
- (b) Bad sanitation
- (c) Inadequate ventilation
- (d) Inadequate toilet arrangements
- (e) Fire hazards.

(4) Efficient health inspection is necessary, to protect the personnel of the school as a whole in the interest of the community itself.

(P. 302) The provision which the civilized states of the world are establishing for the protection of old age are among the best proofs of our ad-

vancing civilization. Not only are old-age pensions proof of our developing altruism, they are also evidence of our growing understanding of ways to improve the public service through the retirement of over-age employees. Many of the large cities of the country have adopted retirement systems for their employees on various plans of participation in creating an adequate pension fund, built upon an actuarially sound basis. Some of the states have also adopted retirement systems. But the rank and file of teachers throughout the country serve at low wages without prospect of a pension allowance, for they are not permitted to hold positions long enough to establish claim to a pension, even if one existed.

(P. 303) An adequate teacher training program should be maintained for those who would teach our working people, employed and unemployed, and that whatever extra teachers are employed they be employed at a wage schedule insuring decency and comfort for teachers of the locality where they are employed, and that their competence as teachers be passed upon by boards of education or boards of vocational education as the case may be.

(1939, p. 625) Forty public school teachers of Duval County, Fla., including all the officers of the local teachers' union, have been dismissed from their positions, without presentation of any charges whatever. It is reported that some of these teachers have served as long as 30 years in the public school system of Duval County and that the average length of service is 10 years. It is also reported that the only reasons expressed unofficially for the mass dismissal of teachers are (1) that the teachers had been active in the work of the teachers' union, with a membership of more than 300, and (2) that this group had been active in attempting to establish

a teachers' tenure law for Duval County. It should be emphasized, however, that no official reason whatever has been given by the board of education for refusal to renew the contracts of these 40 teachers.

The Central Labor Council of Jacksonville, Fla., has given wholehearted support in seeking reinstatement of the group, and our president has sent a communication to all local labor bodies in the state urging their support on behalf of the group. The board of education, however, has steadfastly refused to open the case to present specific charges or grant hearings as provided in sound principles of tenure.

In a statement issued by the board of education to all teachers on September 28, 1939, teachers were warned of the consequences of affiliating with the teachers' union. We quote from the report:

The administration, however, desires to make it clear that individual teachers who by the activities of any organization must necessarily assume responsibility for the acts and activities of the organization to which they lend such support.

Since the regimentation of the labor movement and control of the public school system are two of the first steps in the destruction of democratic governments, and since mass dismissal of public school teachers, without specific charges, is an undemocratic procedure and not in the public interest, we condemn such action and urge all labor bodies of Florida to rally to the support of these teachers who have been unfairly treated.

The A. F. of L. has repeatedly declared its position in favor of sound tenure laws for teachers and freedom for teachers to affiliate with organized labor. The convention at Denver in 1937 declared:

The A. F. of L. was one of the

pioneer agencies in this country in the establishment of free public instruction. It has ever jealously guarded the fundamental democratic development of our public school system since its inception. It must continue to do so, for it is not only true to say that the labor movement can progressively continue only under democratic institutions, but the democratic institutions can continue to progress in safety only so long as there is a labor movement.

Education committees and Labor everywhere should watch carefully the conditions under which our public schools are administered. The A. F. of L. has ever and will continue to support teachers and other employees of our public school system and higher institutions of learning in their demand for complete freedom of organization.

It was also reported that several outstanding union teachers at the University of Montana have been dismissed in a highly autocratic manner and that the Montana State Federation of Labor is at the forefront in a battle to protect the state university from political domination and control by the enemies of organized labor.

(Gag Law)—(1930, pp. 107, 286) The Washington Board of Education issued an order that school teachers should not appear before Congressional committees unless they had the sanction of the board or that members of such committees had invited them to appear. This aroused Senator Blaine who introduced S. 4588 to protect the school teachers of the District of Columbia against this reactionary policy of the school board. Charges had been made against several teachers but after the introduction of the Blaine bill the matter was not pressed. The board, however, later intimated that the teachers would be obliged to comply with the ruling in the future.

(Unions)—(1933, p. 299) The American Federation of Teachers was organized in 1916, and immediately affiliated with the A. F. of L. Within the period of 17 years, many attacks have been made on the organization in various parts of the country. School officials, both local and state, have attempted to prevent the formation of local unions, and have tried to destroy locals already formed. In some cases the courts have assisted the school authorities in this destructive work.

With the support of organized labor, many of these attempts at hindering the work of teachers' unions in improving the conditions existing in the schools have been defeated. But the spirit of opposition to teachers' unions is still strong in certain parts of the country. Under the National Recovery Act public recognition of the professional and economic right to continue their existence and to perform their services in behalf of the public schools of the nation and the teachers who work in them should be established.

The organization of public school teachers is fundamental to the future of trade unionism, and trade unionists, in their organizations and individually, should make the greatest endeavor to bring teachers into the movement in order to develop a sympathetic attitude and an intelligent understanding in the minds of the children and the general public of the constructive philosophy of the labor movement as a struggle for human betterment. The A. F. of L. now as always is opposed to the use of the schools for propaganda of any and all kinds. It asks only protection from misrepresentation and a sound exposition of its constructive principles and work.

If teachers were organized in trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. they could and would give such protection from false propaganda and create a new attitude and understanding of the labor movement.

(1935, p. 611) The A. F. of L. directs the president and the E.C. to make an immediate and thorough investigation of the charges publicly made that the American Federation of Teachers is now controlled by those openly hostile to the principles of the A. F. of L. and after ascertaining the facts the president and the E.C. are authorized and directed to take such action as the facts may warrant and to notify all state federations of labor and central labor unions of such facts and their action thereon.

Merit Rating System—(1947, p. 445) The practice of setting teachers' salaries by a fixed rating system was condemned by the convention through Res. 68:

Whereas—Certain industrial organizations are promoting a cleverly camouflaged campaign to reduce the costs of education by basing salary increases of teachers upon scores made on rating scales and thus limiting the increases to a few selected teachers, and

Whereas—In the States of New York and Delaware, laws have already been enacted requiring that teachers' salaries be based wholly or in part on rating scales, and similar laws have been introduced in a number of other states, and

Whereas—Such schemes of basing salary increments on rating are labelled "merit systems," but in operation are the very opposite of a true merit system, and

Whereas—The principle of basing salaries on rating scales would tend to provide promotions and salary increases for those teachers who are politically able rather than for those who are most competent professionally and would thus tend to crush the freedom of the teachers and to promote political bootlicking, and

Whereas—Now, as never before, the teachers of the United States should

demonstrate to the world a democratic school system in which teachers are free and unafraid, and

Whereas—The Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor has condemned the plan to base teachers' salaries on rating, and

Whereas—The U.S. Commissioner of Education has stated that no system of measurement has ever been devised which will indicate how many dollars one teacher is better than another, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in San Francisco in October, 1947, emphatically condemn the plan of basing teachers' salaries on rating schemes and urge that salary schedules for teachers be based on training and experience—the only reliable objective criterion for determining salary schedules, and be it further

Resolved—That all affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor be urged to oppose further extension of the plans to base salaries on rating scales and to assist in eliminating such plans wherever they have been adopted.

The committee agrees with the position of the Permanent Committee on Education of the A. F. of L. and the position of the U.S. Commissioner of Education, that no measuring device has ever been invented, or ever will be invented, by which supervisors or school administrators can determine exactly how many dollars one teacher is better than another. On the other hand the basing of teachers' salaries on rating schemes would place in the hands of school politicians a powerful weapon by which the freedom and initiative of the classroom teachers would be seriously curtailed and political bootlicking, rather than professional efficiency in the class room, would be encouraged. Since many of the administra-

tive systems of the public schools throughout the Nation are deeply embroiled in local and state politics, the practice of basing salaries on rating scales has resulted in the very opposite of a true merit system where the plan has been placed in operation.

In condemning rating schemes as a basis for determining salaries of teachers, the committee recognizes that in the larger interpretation of the term, there is a legitimate place for job rating in employer-employee relationship. Negotiating a uniform salary schedule, under which all teachers with equal training and experience receive the same rate of pay, is, in a sense a type of job evaluation. However, once a salary schedule has been established for a school system, all teachers with the same experience and training should receive the same salary and be free from political manipulation of their salaries and from reprisals if they fail to hew to the political line of those who hire, fire and rate the teachers. The so-called merit rating system in the public schools is an attempt to apply to American education the incentive plans which have resulted in such gross exploitation of workers in American industry.

The committee, therefore, recommends concurrence in this resolution as an emphatic condemnation of a practice which constitutes one of the most serious threats to democracy in American education.

(1948, p. 250) Res. 55. The A. F. of L. was requested to take an emphatic stand against basing teachers' salaries on rating scales and to urge affiliated bodies to assist union teachers, wherever possible, to secure sound salary schedules based on equal pay for equal work, and to provide the same salaries for all teachers who have the same training and experience and are doing the same kind of work.

(P. 506) The 1947 Convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco took a strong stand against the proposal, currently advocated by certain industrial organizations, taxpayers' leagues, and reactionary politicians, to determine salaries of teachers by scores made on rating scales. This plan of attempting to determine the dollar value of teachers in the same manner in which cattle and hogs are weighed to determine their market value is a disgrace to the school system of the United States. It is of significance that the same political machines which supported wholeheartedly the obnoxious Taft-Hartley Act, were not only supporters of, but instigators of, the plan to base teachers' salaries on rating scales.

If this type of falsely labeled merit rating system should spread to workers in other crafts, it would mean that wage scales would be eliminated and every plumber, every carpenter, and every teamster would be rated individually by his foreman and paid according to his personal rating. Such a system would eliminate collective bargaining and place every employee on his own. Dismissals would be simplified since employees could be fired by the simple device of reducing their rating to the "freeze out" point.

The danger and ridiculousness of basing wages on merit rating scales is emphasized by the fact that many of those who are promoting rating schemes advocate that rating should be based not only on the work of employee, but on such intangible criteria as attitude toward the community, service to the community, participation in community projects, etc. Imagine the chaos which would be created if workers' wages were based on merit and if in turn the rating were based on the workers' community attitude.

The proposal to base teachers' salaries on rating scales and the attempt

to determine the exact dollar value of each employee is a threat to the basic principle of collective bargaining and of negotiating wage scales which are applicable to all employees in the bargaining unit. The committee, therefore, recommends concurrence in this resolution and urges all affiliated bodies to seek the elimination of the practice of basing salaries on rating where it has already been adopted and to prevent the adoption of the plan in those areas where it is being currently proposed.

(Overtime Pay) — (1951, pp. 314, 400) Res. 99:

Whereas—Thousands of teachers in the United States are required to perform overtime work in addition to their full day's work of teaching without any additional pay, and

Whereas—Extra-curricular activities constitute an essential part of the school program requiring highly skilled professional service on the part of the teacher, and

Whereas—The labor movement stands for the principle that overtime work beyond the regular hours of work should be paid for at a rate of time and one-half, and

Whereas—Work performed without compensation by any group of workers tends to lower the standards of all workers, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, in San Francisco, California, in September, 1951, go on record condemning the practice of compelling teachers to work after regular hours without additional pay, and be it further

Resolved—That all affiliated bodies be urged to support union teachers in their efforts to secure additional pay for overtime work in addition to the regular hours of work.

(Representation in International

Education Meetings)—(1947, p. 658) Representation for class room teachers in international education meetings, and in UNESCO, were called for by Res. 61 and 62. Res. 61, calling for representation in all conferences and workshops established under UNESCO or any other governmental agency, was referred to the Executive Council. Res. 62, calling for teacher representation specifically in UNESCO was unanimously adopted as follows:

Whereas—The American Federation of Teachers, the largest, nationwide, voluntary teacher organization in the United States was denied representation by the Department of State at the San Francisco Conference, at the London Preparatory Conference on UNESCO, and at the Paris UNESCO Conference, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor at its 1946 Convention unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon the officers of the A. F. of L. to insist on the recognition of the American Federation of Teachers in its own right as a nationwide professional voluntary teachers organization at all future UNESCO Conferences, and

Whereas—At the Mexico City UNESCO Conference many highly technical educational matters, concerning international educational organizations will probably be considered, and that therefore it is of the greatest importance that the American Federation of Teachers be represented by a delegate of its own choosing, who has actively participated in the organization's international work in opposing Communist dominated groups, and other forces inimical to the best interests of American education and to the free teacher organizations throughout the world, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled call upon the Secretary of State

and the President of the United States to afford the American Federation of Teachers the privilege of being represented by a qualified person of its own choosing, in like manner as this privilege has been afforded to the company union in education, and be it further

Resolved—That the President of the American Federation of Labor be asked to convey the purpose and content of the resolution to the Secretary of State, the President of the United States and to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and to the Sub-committee on State Department Appropriations of the House Appropriations Committee and of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Rights—(1951, p. 191) We emphatically demand that the teacher's personal civil liberties be completely protected. The teacher must be free to teach the truth. He must also be free himself.

The lack of freedom of the American teacher today is alarming. It is this lack of freedom which more than any other factor, we contend, is responsible for the shortage of teachers in the United States today.

Teachers are told which organizations they must join, and which organizations they may not or should not join. They are urged, in every state, to join the state education association, which actually is the company union, in education. In 17 states teachers are required, as a condition of employment, to join this company union at the national, state or local level. In many places, dues for the administratively controlled teacher's association—the company union—are deducted from the teacher's salary often without his permission, before the teacher is paid.

On the other hand, teachers are

dismissed, in many places, for forming or joining a union. In other places, they are penalized in many other ways. They may be assigned to badly located schools; they may be given an extra heavy teaching load; they may be denied promotions; they may be openly attacked by their superior officers in a most humiliating manner, simply because they choose to join with their fellow citizens, through the American Federation of Labor, to serve the common good and protect their own economic interests.

In North Carolina teachers were threatened with reprisals for forming a union. The State Federation of Labor in Virginia, Iowa, Florida, Idaho, Texas, as well as in North Carolina—just to mention a few—are at this moment, actually engaged in a determined struggle to help make the teacher free to join any legal organization of his own choosing.

Once a teacher is free to join a union he will be better able to fight for his personal right to protect his professional and economic status. Teacher tenure laws are essential to protect the teacher on the job from political pressures. Yet, in many legislatures the fight for teacher tenure laws has been made more difficult by the opposition to such laws from the state education association, the company union.

The teacher, like every other worker, must be economically more free than he is today. Teachers' salaries are woefully small. The salary should be increased and be graduated by annual increments, until in about five or six years, he reaches a salary level commensurate with the significant contribution he is making to the communities and with the opportunity for continuing salary improvement, as any other professional worker would.

The teacher must be relatively more free in his contemplation of his old age security than he is today. His

small salary does not enable him to save much. Teachers' pensions, in most cases, are not adequate. The American Federation of Labor sought last year, to have teachers given an opportunity to increase their pensions by authorizing the state to enter into an agreement with the Federal Government to enable teachers now covered by a state pension law to vote by secret ballot to determine if they would want to have federal social security coverage to supplement their state pensions. But, as the printed hearings show, the company union successfully opposed such additional protection for the teacher.

The teacher must have enough free time—unassigned time, to enable him to work closely with the individual pupil, to give to his work that inspiration which must come from close personal work with the individual child and youth. The teacher must, in addition, have adequate leisure time for his relaxation, and time to continue his personal professional growth.

The teacher must be free to use his professional training and experience in helping shape administrative school policy. The tragic waste inherent in a system which denies the teacher—the professional worker who is most closely identified with actual child training—a right to participate in planning the educational program for a school system, is certainly disturbing.

The teacher must be freed from the all-too-prevalent petty tyrannies of school administrators. A person to whom a parent and a community entrusts its children should certainly be regarded as capable of running his personal affairs without interference from school authorities.

There is an urgent need for the development of special machinery through which teachers and incidentally other public employees, may seek to adjudicate their problems without

threats or reprisals against them, for any protective action which they may take, in their own behalf. In such a machinery, the teacher, as a worker with heavy professional responsibilities should have representation of his own choosing.

(P. 396) Under the title of "The Teachers Rights" the Executive Council declares emphatically that:

1. Teachers must be free to teach the truth and have personal freedom to lead their lives as citizens of the United States.

2. Teachers should have freedom to join organizations of their own choosing and should not be compelled to join non-union organizations.

3. Teachers should have the right of collective bargaining and adequate machinery for settling grievances.

4. Teachers should have salaries which are commensurate with their costly training and their service to the community and to the nation.

5. Teachers should live and work in an atmosphere of democracy.

Since these objectives are in accord with previous announcements of the American Federation of Labor, we recommend adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

(1953, pp. 317, 540) Teachers, like all other workers, have the right to adequate wages, old age security and good working conditions.

State and local labor organizations will continue to fight for adequate salaries for teachers. We call particular attention to an alarming trend in school employees' salary schedules. The teacher who has the principal responsibility in the educational process, is being given relatively less and less consideration to pay schedules. The salary differential between school officials who do not deal with pupils at all, and teachers, is being widened. This is particularly disturbing as it

is accompanied by the establishment of an ever increasing number of non-teaching supervisory positions. The teacher in the average city school system today has from a half to a full dozen officers over him who are paid from 15 per cent to 500 per cent more than the teacher gets. We do not believe that the administration of a school plant is of so much greater value than the teaching of the children. Good teaching and good administration are both important, but the relative value of teaching should be fully recognized and the teachers' pay, accordingly, raised.

At the national level we believe that teachers who so desire must be given the right to secure coverage under federal social security to supplement their meager state and local pensions. All possible help should be given to the teachers in obtaining in full measure their just rights to security.

In addition to the support which teachers need for greater economic security, we must continue to fight for the recognition of their personal and civil rights. Probably no group of workers has their personal affairs more hemmed in than do the teachers. They are told how to occupy their free time, which organizations to join and which not to join, which civic duties they may accept and which they must decline.

Teachers throughout the country continue to be forced to join the company union, and are deprived of the right to join a free trade union. Our state federations and central labor unions must help teachers regain and hold their rights.

(Discrimination Against by State Department)—(1946, p. 500) Res. 17, adopted as follows:

Whereas—The United States Department of State in recent months has consistently favored and cooperated with non-union teachers' organi-

zations and has discriminated against the American Federation of Teachers, as a union organization, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Teachers was denied representation at the San Francisco Conference of Educational organizations while teachers' organizations opposed to the teachers' union were strongly represented at the invitation of the Department of State, and

Whereas—The Department of State appointed a number of professional functional committees and, only after formal frequent protest, was the teachers' union invited to any meetings except such meetings as were called to receive such information as the Department of State wishes the public to have, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Teachers was denied representation at the London Conference to draft the UNESCO charter and as a result the United States of America was the only nation supporting a free public school system which denied its classroom teachers any representation at the London conference, and

Whereas — The Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State has advised foreign governments to deal with non-union organizations to the exclusion of the American Federation of Teachers, and

Whereas — The Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State has set up an advisory committee on teacher exchange, and has excluded the American Federation of Teachers from this committee, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in Chicago in October 1946 protest to the President of the United States and to the Department of State this unjust and unfair discrimination against union teachers of the nation and demand that the American Fed-

eration of Teachers as the largest voluntary organization of classroom teachers in the nation and as the educational union of an organization of more than 7,000,000 members be given fair and adequate representation in all phases of the educational programs of the Department of State.

(Dismissal on Confidential Information)—(1954, pp. 450, 556) Res. 130:

Whereas—The strengthening of democracy in education is fundamental to the sound functioning of our free public school system, and

Whereas—Continued insecurity of teachers, both as to their academic and economic rights, weakens rather than fosters the teaching of democratic ideals and the practice of democracy in school administration, and

Whereas—During the past year, in particular, teachers have been dismissed by local boards of education on the basis of allegations, hearsay, and anonymous charges without being permitted the right to have a hearing or to face their accusers, even when the so-called charges had no bearing on their teaching in the classroom; and

Whereas—The Chairman of the National Governor's Conference, the Governor of Colorado, has passed on allegations about the political activities of teachers in his own state and has indicated that governors in all states have sought, through the conference, information from confidential files of agencies under the jurisdiction of the Attorney General of the United States; and

Whereas—The many sub-standard teachers employed in our public schools are the result of this continuing attack against basic constitutional rights of all citizens—the right to have due process of law followed in determining the guilt or innocence of teachers anonymously accused of disloyalty or other activities (including in many instances the right to join and form

unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.); therefore, be it

Resolved—That the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, in regular meeting assembled on this 8th day of September, 1954, do respectfully urge the delegates to the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor to protest the unauthorized use of confidential information under the jurisdiction of the Attorney General of the United States for the purpose of dismissing teachers without charges or hearings; and be it further

Resolved—That the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly do seek the full support of the American Federation of Labor and its officers in all states to provide for teachers the rights of receiving charges, having hearings, and answering to and questioning those who accuse said teachers of their respective fitness to seek and teach the truths in the classrooms of the public schools of our nation.

(Enforced Membership in Non-Union Organizations)—(1948, p. 250) Res. 56:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, in November, 1948, emphatically condemn the practice of bringing pressure on teachers to join non-union organizations, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor also emphatically condemn the practice of using public funds to promote non-union (and often anti-union) teachers' organizations by giving the teachers days off their jobs to attend meetings of the non-union organizations and requiring membership cards of those organizations for admission to the meetings, and be it further

Resolved—That all affiliated unions be urged to make investigations of the public school systems in their respective communities to see whether these

undemocratic and unethical practices are followed by school administrators; to urge the elimination of such practices, and if local school administrators refuse to take action to correct these violations of the civil rights of teachers, to demand the dismissal of those guilty of such violations.

(P. 507) The committee concurs in the general recommendations of this resolution. As long as teachers are shackled by such unethical and undemocratic practices as bringing pressure on them to join non-union organizations, the schools can never fully perform their true function in a democracy. Freedom can be nurtured only in an atmosphere of freedom. It is to the interests of organized labor to see to it that teachers are not the victims of dictatorial practices. The use of public funds, either directly or indirectly, for promoting membership in non-union organizations and for opposing membership of teachers in *bona fide* trade unions is a serious violation of the principles of democratic government and should be eliminated.

(Fifth Amendment)—(1954, p. 323) Congressional committees and other legislative and administrative bodies investigating alleged Communist influence in our schools have asked witnesses, including a number of those engaged in teaching in our schools and colleges, whether they are Communists. Many of those asked have declined to answer, pleading the Fifth Amendment.

The question has been asked whether we should oppose the employment of such teachers or whether opposition to their employment is, in effect, a denial of their civil liberties guaranteed under the Constitution.

As American citizens, we are dedicated to the spirit and the letter of the Fifth Amendment. It is an essential element of the judicial process,

designed to vouchsafe the accused a fair trial by providing that he shall not be compelled to testify against himself.

However, there exists a wide gulf between the invoking of this eminent-fair device for the protection of an individual under criminal charges in a court of law and citing it as a negative claim to the privilege of holding an office of public trust.

We submit that an individual's refusal to admit or deny Communist Party membership when asked, by properly constituted authority, places on the authorities who employ him the responsibility to determine if he is fit and qualified to hold office.

The teachers in our public schools are employees of their respective states. It is the right and the duty of the state to determine the qualifications of its employees. Its teachers are rightfully required to demonstrate possession of certain qualities—to be intellectually free and ethically bound by basic moral principles. A Communist cannot possibly comply with such requirements. He is forcibly disciplined by his party to follow its precepts only, regardless of their relationship to truth, and to obey its commands implicitly even though the Communist Party has been determined, at law, to be an instrument designed to overthrow our government by force and violence.

Obviously, therefore, a Communist is not fit to be a teacher, regardless of any other attainments he may claim. And it follows logically then, a refusal to admit or deny Communist Party membership would properly place on the authorities who employ him the responsibility of determining his fitness for office through the school system's own properly constituted machinery for hearing and trial and to remove such teacher from office if he is found to be unfit.

The American Federation of Labor reaffirms its positive opposition to the employment of Communists as teachers and maintains that an individual's refusal to admit or deny Communist Party membership places the responsibility on the board of education to re-examine the facts and to determine his fitness through properly constituted machinery to continue in their employment.

(P. 561) Your committee concurs in the position taken by the American Federation of Labor in its clear declaration in opposition to the employment of Communists as teachers. We would point out further that the council's report:

1. Emphasizes its unqualified support of the right of any person to invoke the Fifth Amendment for his protection.
2. Differentiates between a man's right to protection in any criminal action in court, and a man's right to a job.
3. Clearly affirms the absolute necessity of having any action brought against any teacher because he invoked the Fifth Amendment based on factual evidence. It further emphasizes that any action taken must be based on the findings in a fair trial conducted "through the school systems' own properly constituted machinery for hearing and trial."

In this way both the public interest and the teacher's personal interest are protected.

Social Security—(1947, p. 661) Res. 119, calling for extension of the Social Security Act to teachers "without jeopardizing or sacrificing" pension or retirement plans presently in effect, was referred to the Committee on Social Security.

Whereas — Public school teachers

are excluded from the provisions of the Social Security Act, and

Whereas—Many public school teachers have for years been in definitely low wage brackets, and

Whereas—Some states provide no pension and retirement system at all, while other states have woefully inadequate systems wholly unsatisfactory to provide for security and economic well being during the declining years of the retired teachers, and

Whereas—The United States Government, although professing grave concern over the plight of the teacher, has not made federal aid possible for teachers or for public schools on any general basis, and

Whereas—The plight of the public school teacher becomes progressively more desperate, as the cost of living has increased, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as urging the amendment of the Social Security Act to cover the public school teachers of the nation, and be it further

Resolved—That this shall in no wise jeopardize nor supplant the pension and retirement systems now in effect in the various states, but shall bolster and support the American educational system which is disintegrating because of lack of public support.

(1952, p. 58) Res. 107:

Whereas—Teachers and other public employees are excluded from the provisions of the Social Security Act, and

Whereas — The great majority of the teachers of the United States do not have pension systems which provide adequate retirement in old age, and

Whereas—The inadequacy of teachers' salaries make imperative the provision of sound retirement systems, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in New York City in September 1952, go on record in support of federal legislation which will make it possible for teachers to choose by their own vote whether they desire to supplement their inadequate pension systems with social security, and be it further

Resolved — That the legislative forces of the A. F. of L. be urged to support legislation to make possible social security for those teachers who desire to supplement their pensions with federal social security.

(P. 475) Convention referred the resolution to the A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security.

(1953, pp. 392, 418) Res. 5:

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor is strongly committed to securing social security coverage for all workers who desire such coverage, and

Whereas—Teachers and other employees of state and local governments are sorely in need of federal social security benefits to supplement state and local pensions in which they now hold a right and interest, and

Whereas—A bill was introduced in Congress this year which was claimed to represent the official position of the American Federation of Labor even though the bill, in direct contradiction to repeated convention commitments of the American Federation of Labor, would, if enacted, continue to deprive teachers and millions of other employees of state and local governments of the benefits of social security, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, directs that legislation be prepared which covers fully the convention action and commitments of the American Federation of Labor in providing social security coverage for all

workers, definitely including teachers, who desire such coverage, and that arrangements be made for the introduction of this legislation in both the United States Senate and the House of Representatives, as soon as Congress reconvenes, and be it further

Resolved—That this bill covering the American Federation of Labor's true position be given wide publicity to contradict the erroneous impression regarding the American Federation of Labor's position, and to emphasize the American Federation of Labor's determination to fight for legislation making it possible for teachers to avail themselves of the benefits of federal social security coverage to supplement existing state and local pension laws.

Res. 61:

Whereas—A bill was introduced in the Senate of the United States . . . and similar companion bills were introduced in the House . . . providing for extension, revision and liberalization of the Social Security Law, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor has demanded for many years amendments to the law to provide wider coverage and substantial liberalization of its provisions, and

Whereas—The bills herein identified meet substantially the demands of the American Federation of Labor excepting their lack of provisions for coverage on an optional basis of state and local employees, excluding firemen and policemen, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor pledges its support of these bills, providing such bill or bills are amended to include all public employees on an optional basis, excepting only firemen and policemen.

(P. 644) The convention committee recommended that since there were certain conflicts in approach to the improvement and extension of old age and survivors' insurance benefits and in legislative strategy for achieving

these ends, the Lehman Bill should be endorsed in principle but not fully endorsed until such time as the teachers are included. Report and recommendation of the convention committee unanimously approved.

Teamsters-Brewery Workers (Jurisdictional Dispute)—(1939, p. 54) The Executive Council reported at length on the continued jurisdictional dispute between the two named organizations as follows:

The 53rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held in Washington, D. C., beginning October 2, 1933, adopted the following decision in the jurisdictional dispute which arose between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the International Union United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America:

In the case of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America vs. the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, the Executive Council is of the opinion and decides that teamsters and chauffeurs in the brewery industry properly belong to and come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs.

Later on, at the 54th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in San Francisco, California, beginning October 1, 1934, the officers of the American Federation of Labor were directed to continue their efforts to bring about a condition under which the decision of the Washington Convention would be observed and complied with.

The Executive Council has diligently endeavored to persuade and prevail upon the officers of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour,

Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America to comply with the decision of the Washington Convention herein referred to. All efforts possible have been put forth to bring about full compliance with the decisions and instructions of these conventions.

The representatives of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America have assumed an unyielding position; they have not complied with these convention decisions. Instead the officers of the Brewery Workers union have resorted to court action. The Executive Council reported to the 57th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held in Denver, Colorado, beginning October 4, 1937, upon the institution of an application for an injunction in the Federal Court of the District of Columbia by the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America. This application for an injunction was reported upon quite fully to the Denver Convention under the heading, "Fundamental Structure of the American Federation of Labor Attacked." Justice Bailey, to whom the application for this injunction was presented, dismissed the case.

When this decision was rendered the Executive Council assumed that no further attempts would be made by the officers of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America to transfer the controversy which arose within the family of Labor to the equity courts of the nation for settlement. Subsequent events proved that this assumption was in no way well founded, for on March 4, 1938, an amended petition was filed asking for an injunction restraining the officers of the American Federation of Labor and of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, from

carrying into effect the decisions of the Washington and San Francisco Conventions. The hearing on this application for an injunction has continued over quite a long period of time. The case is being heard by Judge Goldsborough of the Federal District Court of the District of Columbia.

The officers and members of the American Federation of Labor have always recognized the authority of tribunals set up within the structure of the American Federation of Labor to compose differences and to settle said differences within the family of Labor. We cannot successfully follow any other line of procedure. If the stamp of approval were placed upon resort to equity courts and to the use of the writ of injunction in the settlement of jurisdictional controversies which arise between organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor, chaos, confusion and rebellion would follow. Jurisdictional controversies must be settled through mediation, conferences and decisions within the family of organized labor. That is fundamental to the success of our great voluntary movement.

We have fought against the use of injunctions in labor disputes between employers and employees during all the years of our existence. Our bitter opposition to the use of the writ of injunction in labor disputes inspired conventions of the American Federation of Labor to demand the enactment of legislation which would prohibit employers from resorting to the use of the injunctive process in labor disputes. Our efforts in this direction met with a large measure of success when we succeeded in prevailing upon Congress to pass the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act.

If we cannot tolerate and approve the use of the writ of injunction by employers in labor disputes, how can

we consistently endorse and approve resort to the same line of procedure by organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in jurisdictional controversies. If, as we contend, a resort to the equity courts and the use of the writ of injunction by employers is wrong, it must be increasingly wrong for the same procedure to be followed by an international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The gist of this conclusion is well set forth in the brief filed in the case of the Brewery Workers against the American Federation of Labor and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters now pending in the court of Judge Goldsborough. We quote from the brief referred to, as follows:

If the courts begin to try to overthrow the vote of Conventions of the American Federation of Labor on questions of jurisdiction, and if the courts begin to try to determine respective jurisdiction of labor unions themselves, and if we have the great variation in decisions of the various United States Courts of Appeals as the plaintiffs point out, then we will have nothing but chaos among organized labor in the United States leading to confusion, squabbling and strikes. It is in the interest of public policy that the law which lets labor organizations determine these matters of jurisdiction for themselves be not altered at this late date.

Six years have elapsed since the decision of the Washington Convention of the American Federation of Labor herein referred to was rendered. Surely sufficient time has elapsed for passions to cool and feelings to be subordinated. Calm judgment ought to assert itself so that in accord with the principles and procedure of democracy all concerned would bow and yield to the will of the majority. But instead, opposition to the expressed will of the

majority has continued during all these years and has become more intensified. The amount of money which has been spent in an effort to prevent the majority decision of conventions of the American Federation of Labor from being carried into effect, has been enormous. The fight has been carried on in a most relentless and cruel way. There is no indication at this time that the officers of the Brewery Workers International organization will comply with the decisions of the Washington and San Francisco Conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Instead, it seems that having lost in the tribunals of Labor, these officers have now indicated a determination to endeavor to defeat the American Federation of Labor itself and to utilize the power of the equity courts in order to accomplish that purpose.

Because the Executive Council has exerted every means at its command to bring about compliance with the decisions of the supreme authority within the American Federation of Labor, and because the officers of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America have challenged the authority of the American Federation of Labor itself by seeking an injunction to restrain it from exercising its legal and moral rights to settle jurisdictional controversies, the Executive Council recommends that the charter of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America be suspended and that it remain suspended until the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America complies with the decisions of the Washington and San Francisco Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

(Pp. 563, 613) Convention ap-

proved report of convention committee as follows:

Under this caption is set forth the recommendation of the Executive Council with regard to the long-standing dispute existing between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers' of America and the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.

The Executive Council of the Federation has used every reasonable effort to bring about a reconciliation and amicable settlement through conferences between these two unions over a period of years.

While this jurisdictional question was before the council the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America applied to a court of equity in the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia for an injunction to restrain the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers from attempting to carry out the decision rendered by the Executive Council, date of May 2, 1933, and approved by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1933.

The Brewery Workers Union also requested from the court an injunction to restrain the American Federation of Labor from carrying out the provisions of the Executive Council's recommendation which was approved by the convention in 1933.

Your committee is of the opinion that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Convention of the American Federation of Labor was acting well within its rights in recommending the jurisdiction of national and international unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and in submission of its decision to a convention for final consideration and action.

The committee deplotes the action of the Brewery Workers Union in taking questions which properly should be considered and adjudicated within the family of Labor to an outside agency.

The American Federation of Labor has for many years deplored and denounced the use of injunctions in labor disputes between employers and employees. The Federation has used its agency, its finances and its combined influence to curb the power of courts in issuing injunctions in industrial disputes. This has been the position of the Federation with regard to the use of injunctions by employers against the international unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. This being so, your committee is of the opinion that it is far more reprehensible and deplorable for a union within the family of the American Federation of Labor to employ this means in the settlement of its differences with another union within the family of the American Federation of Labor. It is even more deplorable that this injunction was sought in anticipation of, and not because of, a decision on the part of the Council and a Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Brewery Workers Union was not seeking relief from any final or binding action on the part of the council or of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The order of the court carries the date, October 6, 1939. This Convention of the American Federation of Labor was not called into session until Monday, October 2nd, and no one could know in advance what the action of this convention would be with regard to any recommendation or decision rendered by the Executive Council.

It is a matter of common knowledge that conventions frequently disagree

with recommendations made by the council; therefore the relief being asked in the court of equity by the Brewery Workers Union was, at best, based upon their own gratuitous and unsupported supposition that the action of the convention would be in accordance with their guess. Therefore their procedure in this matter is doubly ignominious.

First—Because it sought relief by a medium that has been denounced and condemned as an instrument in the adjudication of labor disputes.

Second—Because at the time application was made for relief no one could possibly have had definite knowledge as to what would or would not be the action of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in Cincinnati, beginning October 2, 1939.

The recommendation of your committee in this matter will, in the judgment of the committee, be far more lenient and considerate than the facts in the case warrant.

The history of the American Federation of Labor proves that its policy in these matters is judicious, patient and considerate in the extreme.

Your committee wishes to make its position clear that it believes it to be within the constitutional right of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to make recommendations with regard to jurisdiction to the conventions of the Federation.

A committee of the convention has no opportunity to weigh and consider all of the merits involved in cases of disputes covering long periods of time.

The international unions at dispute in this case appeared before the committee and were heard. It was clearly evident to the committee that full and proper consideration of the merits involved would extend to a period of

time which the committee was unable to give under the rules of convention procedure.

In view of the circumstances surrounding this case, and the belief of the committee that every effort should be made to preserve peace within the family of Labor, and without thought of or intimation that the council and the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is without proper authority to finally decide all matters in dispute in the family of Labor, your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a special committee of members of the American Federation of Labor to proceed in an effort to find a basis of accommodation, leading if possible to a satisfactory settlement of the dispute at issue.

Your committee further recommends that this special committee meet and organize to carry out the provisions of this recommendation within a period of 30 days.

Your committee further recommends that this special committee be empowered to establish reasonable methods of procedure; permitting presentation of evidence and reach its conclusion and report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its first meeting held in 1940.

Your committee further recommends that, if an adjustment is not consummated by the special committee, this convention authorize and direct the Executive Council to take such action as in their opinion will conform to the recommendations submitted by the Executive Council to this convention.

Technical Assistance Programs—(1955, p. 141) The E.C. reported support for both the UN multi-lateral and the U.S. bilateral technical assistance programs:

We have enthusiastically supported these programs since their inception.

We believe they have made a significant contribution to the development of the economically backward countries and to broadening relationships between the people of the United States and other countries. One of the most valuable features of the program is the person-to-person contacts which have been established.

In addition to pushing the appropriation for technical assistance we made appearances before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee urging still further expansion of these programs. In this testimony we stressed the necessity for including representatives of the free trade union centers of the participating countries in both the planning and administration of projects.

Technological Changes — (1933, p. 473) The A. F. of L. requests the E.C. to prepare and have introduced in Congress a measure which will provide that there shall be established under the appropriate department of the government, a division whose duty it shall be to set up and to carry on the necessary research and statistical study which will supply all necessary information concerning the existing stage of technological development in the industries, and the changes which will occur in industrial methods and processes, and their effect in increasing per capita production in eliminating the number of wage earners required for production purposes.

(1936, pp. 169, 715) Since there are no unified and comparable sources of data on output, employment and actual hours in manufacturing industries, we have at the present time no way of determining beyond a rough approximation the year to year changes in labor productivity in manufacturing industries. A careful analysis of the available series covering these factors can serve as a basis, however, for a rough estimate of the

average production turned out by one worker per each hour of working time.

The best estimates we have indicate that productivity of labor per man-hour of work increased by about 25 per cent during the period extending from 1929 through 1932. A further increase of about 13 per cent has been registered during the years from 1933 through 1935. Such indications as these of the changes in productivity may be derived from the Federal Reserve Board's index of the physical volume of production in manufacturing and the index of the estimated man-hours worked from the employment and hours' figures on manufacturing industries covered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The chief difficulty in deriving a thoroughly reliable index of productivity by this method lies in the fact that the statistics of production cover establishments and industries not entirely identical with those from which employment statistics are obtained. Furthermore, the statistics of average weekly hours are secured only from a portion of the establishments and industries which report the number of employees. An additional difficulty is found in the fact that the index of production on the monthly basis may reflect labor expended in an earlier month. Finally, the production figures are generally based on an average for the month while the employment index is derived from figures covering the week ending nearest the middle of the month. Deficient though these figures are, they give us an indisputable indication of the increasing trend in labor productivity in recent years. The vast increases in the output of workers in manufacturing industries during the past few years make imperative a detailed study of the situation to enable us to determine with certainty the extent of displacement of men by machines.

As an example of an industry in

which relationships between employment, production, and output per worker have undergone drastic changes in the past 10 years, a brief discussion of the experience in the shoe manufacturing industry will suffice.... the volume of production of shoes was 18 per cent greater in 1935 than in 1926. In fact, the record production of last year exceeded even the previous all-time high of 1929 by six per cent. At the same time, it will be observed that in 1935, it took 22.7 per cent less man-hours of work than in 1926 to produce 18 per cent more shoes. Most marked of all was increase in the output per man per hour. In the 10-year period the man-hour productivity increased by 52.5 per cent.

It is significant that in this industry the major increase in production since the beginning of the depression occurred between 1932 and 1933. The second major advance in productive output was recorded between 1934 and 1935. In the pre-depression peak year of 1929, 361,412,000 pair of shoes were produced. In 1935, 383,761,000 pairs were produced, an increase of 22,349,000 pairs. On the other hand, the number of jobs in the industry had dropped from 205,600 in 1929 to about 197,600 in 1935. In other words, it took 8,000 fewer workers to produce 22,000,000 more pairs of shoes.

More than that, during this period all workers engaged in the production of shoes worked on the average 8.8 fewer hours per week. This curtailment in both hours and employment resulted in a 23.2 per cent reduction in total man-hours required for production between 1929 and 1935. The productivity of each worker in one hour during this time was increased by 38 per cent.

It is clear that had there been no curtailment in weekly hours, a much larger number of workers would have been thrown out of employment. Be-

tween 1926 and 1929, while weekly hours remained constant, a 10 per cent increase in production gave only one per cent more employment. In 1933, a reduction in hours occurred under the NRA, which set an average maximum 40-hour-week for the industry and an absolute maximum 45-hour-week. The 40-hour-week was not enforced during the 16 weeks of peak production during the year. Although this restriction of hours was, therefore, by no means stringent, permitting the necessary elasticity of hours, it did away with much of the usual overtime output in the weeks of a heavy production load and spread employment among a larger number of workers. This was reflected in the fact that a nine per cent increase in shoe production between 1933 and 1935 resulted in a 3.5 per cent gain in employment.

Important changes in the marketing of shoes had occurred prior to 1933, which also stimulated the increased use of mechanical equipment. One of those was a notable increase in production of lower grade footwear reflected in the fact that between 1929 and 1933, the value of output had dropped by 42 per cent, although the volume of production was only three per cent lower. These cheap shoes which require much less time and labor caused the elimination of many important processes in their production and required much less direct labor.

While it is impossible to say in the absence of more detailed data just how much labor saving machinery was directly responsible for the 52 per cent increase in labor productivity since 1926, it is clear that important technological changes had occurred in this industry, causing a loss of thousands of jobs and preventing gains in employment proportionate to the increased output.

Our inability to determine with reasonable precision the extent of tech-

nological changes in the basic industries is due to the fact that we are compelled to rely entirely on generalized statistical data which often does not disclose the real changes in industrial technique. Only first-hand surveys of plant operation can disclose the real nature of technological changes. Changes in productivity must be studied in direct relation to such factors as changes in equipment, managerial changes, investment, cost and price structures, if we are to gain an understanding of the social and economic consequences of technological developments. Without such knowledge, it is impossible to deal intelligently with such fundamental national problems as that of industrial unemployment.

The first comprehensive effort to determine the extent and significance of technological changes with regard to unemployment was initiated in October, 1935, by the Coordinating Committee of the Central Statistical Board and the Works Progress Administration in approving a comprehensive fact-finding program under the supervision of WPA.

Designed to be the first project in a more comprehensive plan to be known as the National Research Program, the first study was entitled: "A Survey of Reemployment Opportunities and Recent Changes in Industrial Technique." This project was placed under the direction of the Research Division of WPA, and was launched as a joint project in cooperation with such outstanding private fact-finding agencies as the National Bureau of Economic Research, as well as a number of the agencies of the Federal Government.

While no comprehensive study of technological changes or technological unemployment has ever been attempted, much valuable material has been gathered by public and private agencies on special phases of the problem.

The first task in the WPA study, therefore, was to assemble and organize the existing materials so that later they could be augmented by systematic surveys carried on as a part of the National Research Project. The important function of this search of available materials was to provide background for plant surveys of productivity. In this connection, the files of the NRA are being searched in order to collect and abstract materials on specific industries including background technological data and statistics already accumulated.

Data on costs in various industries have been secured from the files of the Federal Trade Commission and the Tariff Commission, and arrangements have been made with a large number of manufacturers to secure further cost and investment data indispensable for the interpretation of technological and productivity statistics which the study will obtain. Finally, bibliographical research has been undertaken in the form of abstracts of books, articles and other materials dealing with the subject of technological change, for the guidance of the staff members in their work on the project and as a permanent contribution to the study of the subject.

Thus solidly based on the data already available, a program of actual investigations was laid out along the following lines:

1. Plant surveys of changes in productivity in certain industries.

2. Statistical studies of changing productivity.

3. Surveys of the effects of industrial changes on the labor market and on individual workers.

All government agencies which collect industrial statistics are collaborating in the project. These include the Department of Commerce with its Bureau of Census, the Bureau of Mines, the Bureau of Labor Statis-

tics, the Department of Agriculture, and other agencies. Of the agencies outside the government, the National Bureau of Economic Research, a private non-profit corporation on which the A. F. of L. is represented, is the chief collaborator. . . . The Wharton School of Economics and Finance of the University of Pennsylvania is also among the non-government institutions collaborating in the study.

The first objective in the work on this project is to secure a statistical over-all picture of production and man-hours. Related to this general picture are intensive studies in selected industries which will attempt to isolate the specific developments in each industry underlying the broader general trend. The following are a few examples of types of individual industrial surveys undertaken:

1. An industry which has introduced new machinery.

2. Another which has not.

3. An old established industry, such as the shoe industry.

4. A new industry, such as rayon, radio, automobiles.

5. A suffering industry, such as coal.

6. A durable goods industry which has declined precipitously during the depression.

7. A perishable goods industry which has declined little during the depression.

8. An industry in which the production process involves primarily the use of human labor, and in which therefore the costs fluctuate more or less directly with the volume of production and number of people employed.

9. An industry in which the production process involves primarily the use of expensive machines, which continue to represent a fixed cost burden regardless of fluctuation in volume of production.

In making the plant by plant surveys in these selected industries, a staff of trained technicians and engineers, closely familiar with the technical problems of industry and its economic setup, has been engaged.

This study represents a unique, and by far the most impressive, attempt to date to analyze the mechanization of industry and its complex effect on the equilibrium of our economic structure. In the short time in which this enormous undertaking has been carried on much progress has been made and a number of industrial studies are nearing completion.

The entire project, however, is placed on an emergency basis and financed from work relief funds so that even the completion of the work in progress is by no means assured. The high caliber of the personnel engaged in the study and the quality of the data already accumulated, indicate that means must be found to carry this work to conclusion. If the results of the study fulfill the well-justified expectation of fundamental and conclusive achievement, the group engaged in the study should be placed on a permanent basis so that its important fact-finding functions may be continued without interruption.

Labor is vitally concerned with the continuation of this work because its welfare has been directly affected by the displacement of men by machines. Organized labor is determined to make sure that technological unemployment is not dealt with blindly in the years to come. It realizes that only sound and comprehensive fact-finding will make it possible to chart the employment opportunities of the future.

(P. 132) S. Res. 241 provided for an investigation of the number of persons unemployed by reason of the use of labor saving devices, mechanical and otherwise, in operation in the United States. The unemployment relief situation was also to be investi-

gated. The object of the investigation was to determine which laws are most likely to protect Labor. The bill was introduced after a conference with our president who explained the necessity for the measure.

Members of Congress are taking an interest in this question. Representative Sumners of Texas on May 6 called attention to the enormous number of labor saving devices being invented continually. He read a letter which he had written to the Chairman of the Committee on Patents, suggesting the possible advisability of suspending for the present patents for labor saving devices. In his talk Mr. Sumners said:

This is a practical matter. Government is a practical thing. With the number of unemployed which now obtain in this country, is it not a thing worthy of our consideration whether the government should not, for the present, discontinue granting patents for labor-saving devices; discontinue offering the inducement of a monopoly of 17 years in the right to use to anyone who will invent a machine that will put more people out of work? This is a practical proposition.

Many suggestions have been made to tax labor-saving machinery with the expectation of minimizing its use. This method, however, has never received sufficient support.

A bill (H. Res. 49) was introduced in the House in the first session of the 74th Congress. Hearings were held and a representative of the A. F. of L. testified as to the necessity for legislation that would meet the issue.

(1939, p. 140) It has become apparent that we need facts and figures on productivity and labor costs in our efforts to prevent technological unemployment. We need facts and figures that will show in what industries work hours should be shortened because new machinery and techniques

have increased productivity and reduced labor costs.

To this end, at the request of the E.C., Joint Resolutions (S.J. Res. 114 and H.J. Res. 265) were introduced to appropriate \$100,000 for the purpose of carrying on such studies regularly in the Department of Labor.

Authentic information is constantly needed by employers and employees for wage negotiations. By making adjustments in those industries where scientific advance makes shorter hours and higher wages possible, we can attack the problem of technological unemployment at its source and control it through the normal channel of trade union agreements. This is the logical and constructive way to make sure that scientific advance in our industries will bring higher living standards instead of an increasing problem of technological unemployment.

Estimates show that approximately 1,000,000 men and women are unemployed today because of labor-saving devices installed in industry since 1929.

The information necessary to give productivity and labor cost information each month in 59 industries is readily available in the monthly records kept by these industries. This information has already been compiled so as to show productivity and labor costs from 1910 through 1936 in a study made with WPA funds. By keeping the figures up to date the usefulness of this original investment will be increased and information continuously developed that can be of real assistance to unions in planning their lines of action.

The House resolution was reported favorably by the Committee on Labor but failed to receive consideration by the House in this session.

Telegraph Companies, Proposed Merger—(1942, p. 159) The Commercial Telegraphers Union, with the aid

of the American Federation of Labor, has opposed pending legislation permitting a merger of the Postal and Western Union Companies unless adequate provisions are made to safeguard established rights for the employees. S. 2598, as adopted by the Senate, provides in sub-section (f) that all employees of any carrier which becomes a party to consolidation or merger, who were employed on March 1, 1941, shall have full job protection at the compensation and rate of pay they received on the date of the approval of the consolidation or merger, with the added proviso that no employee may be assigned to work inconsistent with his training and experience. Paragraph (2) provides that if any employee who is not covered by paragraph (1) is discharged as a result of consolidation or merger, he shall receive severance pay equal to four weeks' pay multiplied by the number of years he was employed by any carrier which was a party to consolidation or merger; and no employee, regardless of the tenure of his employment, is to receive less than four weeks' pay as a severance allowance. Paragraph (3) requires that for five years following merger or consolidation, employees of any carrier which was a party to merger or consolidation shall have a preferential hiring status with the merged telegraph carrier for such positions as he is qualified to fill. Paragraph (4) provides for payment of traveling expenses, continuance of salary, and a bonus equal to two months' pay for any employee transferred from one community to another as a result of consolidation or merger. Paragraph (5) provides against impairment of any pension right or any other health, insurance, or death benefit as a result of merger or consolidation. Paragraph (6) protects the jobs of those employees who have entered or shall enter the military service since August 27, 1940. Paragraph (7) pro-

protects employees against discharge, or reduction in earnings, or furlough for five years after the consolidation or merger, or for six months before, in anticipation of consolidation or merger. Paragraph (8) is the usual provision permitting discharge for incompetency or similar cause. Paragraph (9) protects employees' rights now guaranteed by any collective bargaining agreements until such agreements are terminated, and extends to employees the remedies provided by the National Labor Relations Act. Paragraph (10) exempts employees who are paid more than \$5,000 per annum from the provisions of the subsections. It is expected that certain amendments providing additional safeguards can be obtained in the House Committee on Interstate Commerce where the bill is now pending.

(P. 606) In commending the activities of the E.C. in bringing about the proposed merger, the convention recommended continued efforts to bring about final enactment of a satisfactory law.

Television (also see: Public Relations)

(For Education Work by Unions)—(1952, pp. 36, 466) Res. 41:

Whereas—The Federal Communications Commission has indicated that the television channels set aside for non-profit, educational operations will not be available to *bona fide* labor unions who desire to carry on educational programs through this medium, and

Whereas—This medium will be vitally important for the promulgation of trade union ideals, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor at its Convention held in New York, N. Y., respectfully petition the Federal Communications Commission to make the designated educational channels available to qualified legitimate labor unions.

Tennessee Valley Authority—(1941, pp. 97, 672) This section of the Executive Council's Report refers to the additional appropriation secured for the Tennessee Valley Authority for the construction of additional power and transmission facilities. This measure was enacted with the active support of the American Federation of Labor, and its timeliness was demonstrated by the appearance of severe power shortages in areas strategic to defense.

(1948, pp. 237, 458) Res. 15 called upon the A. F. of L. to urge the President and the Legislature of the United States to support the program and policies of the TVA and to assist the TVA administrators in the development of the program.

Termination of Service Certificates—(1949, p. 35) Through Res. 2, the A. F. of L. was requested to (1) take the necessary steps to bring about the introduction of legislation to outlaw practice being followed in some states, whereby employers refuse to hire workers for jobs for which they are otherwise qualified unless they produce certificates of termination of service from the last previous employer; and (2) to alert every affiliated local union, city central body and council to the dangers of this practice.

(P. 478) Convention approved recommendation of its committee that the A. F. of L. investigate this complaint and take whatever steps are necessary to stop the oppressive practice imposed by some employers upon workers to produce a certificate of termination of service when they apply for employment.

(1950, p. 203) The E.C. Report contained the following recommendation on Res. 2 (1949) as follows:

This resolution posed a difficult problem from a national standpoint, especially for jobs confined solely to intrastate commerce as Congress can

legislate only in regard to interstate commerce.

We do fully sanction the purposes of the resolution believing that elimination of certificates of termination of service though highly desirable should be eliminated by action of the legislatures in the respective states.

A large portion of the solution seems to lie in the field with social security, including unemployment benefits for periods elapsing between jobs, medical benefits, pensions, etc. Life insurance, vacations, etc., have long been regarded only as "fringe benefits" and until recently they were dispensed in large degree at the whim and pleasure of the employer. For this reason it would seem that these subjects are fair topics for consideration as part of the working contract, except that once the employment ceases, there is no further working contract involved.

Therefore, the matter appears to get into what could be described as a "no-man's land" lying between the old jobs and the new jobs and thus not subject to any degree of control. It further seems that because this is true that it is asking that the Federal Government be implored to do something that, at least in large measure, seems to belong either to the state or to the contract.

A bill could of course be drawn, but if enacted into law eventually would be ruled unconstitutional as an unlawful encroachment in a domain not lying within the federal field. Of course, in interstate commerce, almost anything could be done, but there again we would appear to be handing over to the Federal Government the rights of the employee to bargain to the extent of his greatest benefit.

To focus attention on the difficulties of this proposal, we point out that the A. F. of L. has a retirement plan, also a life insurance plan. It will readily be seen how difficult it

would be to draft either state or federal legislation to protect A. F. of L. employees, in other employment, if they leave its service.

Such action as is indicated seems properly to lie within the field of social security and could well be advanced in our claims for passage of H.R. 6000, the pending Social Security Bill now before the Senate Finance Committee.

(P. 454) This resolution (No. 2) was adopted by the 1949 Convention, and proposed the drafting of federal legislation to eliminate the requirement of certificates of termination of service, and to take care of other benefits ranging from matters which are properly included in collective bargaining, and social insurance, to public welfare.

The Executive Council is of the opinion that it is not feasible to carry out the resolution and we move approval of this recommendation.

Territorial Department Proposed— (1947, p. 415) Res. 77, calling for the establishment of a Territorial Department of the American Federation of Labor was referred to the Executive Council. The resolution follows:

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor has encouraged and fostered organized labor movements in the Territories of Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, facilitating a better understanding of the ideals and democracy of the United States of America, and

Whereas—The educational and social work started in these territories should be continued, enlarged, and systematized so as to raise the living standards of the working people of these territories to American levels as a safeguard against the penetration of foreign and un-American doctrines and obnoxious propaganda, and

Whereas—Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico should be looked upon as

safeguards for the American people and our nation and as strongholds of the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 66th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in the City of San Francisco, authorize and empower the Executive Council to establish where it will consider it advisable and convenient a Territorial Department in charge of all the affairs of organized labor in the Territories of Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico to coordinate constructively the work to be done in the organization field between the Central Office of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates in these territories and assure them full cooperation and assistance in their endeavor to organize the toiling masses within the American Federation of Labor and in their fight for American ideals and democratic principles.

Territorial Federations of Labor (Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico) — (1947, p. 620) The convention committee considering reports from the several Territories of the U.S. (Hawaii, Alaska, and Puerto Rico) made the following recommendations which were unanimously approved:

... these areas constitute the frontiers of our country. We recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor call the attention of all national and international presidents to their responsibility to the wage earners of their areas and urge them to organize unions. To safeguard the frontier is just as wise Labor policy as it is necessary for military defense. All unions should be alert to the fact that fifth column activity is increasing rapidly in the economic field as in the military. Our greatest contribution to the maintenance of democratic institutions is to extend and keep healthy free trade unions in every area over which our flag waves.

We also recommend that international unions send representatives to visit these territories.

Textbooks, Labor History in—(1943, p. 592) Res. 66 and 68 were reported on jointly by the committee and unanimously adopted as follows:

Res. 66:

Whereas—The progress of the working men and women of the United States of America rests wholly upon the education the masses receive, and

Whereas—The public schools are the main source of education for the majority of Americans, and

Whereas—Few schools ever make any attempt to enlighten the pupils as to Labor's part in the founding and maintenance of the United States of America, therefore be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor go on record as demanding that all branches of organized labor bring pressure to bear on their respective state legislatures to make it mandatory that public school history text books contain the true story as to who made the Declaration of Independence, who staged the Boston Tea Party and the true facts as to the origin and progress of the American labor movement.

Res. 68:

Whereas—One of the important functions of the trade union movement is to educate the trade unionists in order to understand the problems confronting the labor movement and the best policies and methods to be adopted in order to solve these problems, and

Whereas—Labor education is necessary in order to combat anti-union propaganda which is carried on continuously by enemies of Labor through the press, radio, movies and textbooks, therefore be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations be and are hereby re-

quested to enlarge and extend their educational activities, making use of the press, special pamphlets, radio and the movies, and be it further

Resolved—That we use our influence in order to bring about the establishment of trade union courses in high schools and extension courses giving the history, structure, policies and accomplishments of the trade union movement so that the boys and girls that will enter industry after graduating from these schools will take along with them some basic knowledge of the true facts of the trade union movement.

Resolution No. 66 advocates the teaching of labor problems, American history, and citizenship in public schools. Resolution No. 68 advocates not only teaching of labor problems in the public schools but also a more extensive program of education and public relations by means of the press, radio, movies and pamphlets. The committee calls attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor has already taken steps to establish a public relations department and that this service will be further extended in the near future. Also the Workers' Education Bureau, at this very convention has launched an enlarged program of education and public relations. The American Federation of Labor has long advocated the teaching of labor problems in public schools and colleges. The extent to which such subjects are taught varies widely. Elsewhere in this report reference is made to the Harvard Fellowship Plan. Professors from several universities are visiting this convention to study at first hand the problems of organized labor so they may give their students reliable information about Labor.

The committee therefore concurs in these two resolutions and urges affiliated unions to follow the example of the A. F. of L. in enlarging education-

al and public relations programs and promoting the teaching of Labor history and problems in public schools and colleges.

Textile Workers of America, Re-affiliation (also see: Labor Unity; C.I.O.)—(1939, p. 48) A substantial group of textile workers who were a part of the United Textile Workers organization which participated in the formation of the C.I.O., became disillusioned and disappointed over the actions taken by the C.I.O. and by the policies which it pursued. They expressed a desire to return to the American Federation of Labor. These unions of textile workers were located in New England, in Southern states and in other places. A substantial number were textile workers organized into Textile Workers Unions at Providence, Rhode Island. An attempt was made by certain representatives of the C.I.O. to gain possession of funds which had been accumulated in the treasury of certain textile workers unions in Rhode Island. These unions resisted this attempt on the part of the C.I.O. to take over their treasuries. A suit was instituted in court at Providence. The court decided in favor of the local unions. The C.I.O., as represented through the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, was prevented from taking over the funds and property of these local unions. This action on the part of the court was interpreted as a decided victory for the textile workers in their fight against the C.I.O.

The representatives of the United Textile Workers organization who withdrew from affiliation with the C.I.O., made application for a charter of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council at its meeting held in Miami, Florida, beginning January 30, 1939, ordered that a certification of affiliation shall be issued to the United Textile Work-

ers of America in accordance with the constitution, rules and laws of the American Federation of Labor.

In granting this certificate of affiliation, it is the intention of the Executive Council to re-invest the said United Textile Workers of America with its former certificate of affiliation with its former jurisdiction rights and obligations.

Following this action of the Executive Council, the United Textile Workers charter which had been cancelled when the United Textile Workers became part of the C.I.O., was returned. A convention of textile workers was called and met in the City of Washington on May 8, 1939. The charter of the United Textile Workers of America was formally returned to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention on May 10, 1939.

During the interim while the United Textile Workers were a part of the C.I.O., the American Federation of Labor organized 27 federal labor unions composed of textile workers. These federal labor unions are directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This means that many thousands of textile workers are now organized into unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

A hearty welcome was extended to the officers and members of the United Textile Workers back into affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. They have renewed their pledge of devotion and loyalty to our great movement. We have assisted them in the reestablishment of the United Textile Workers organization and in the extension of organizing work among textile workers everywhere. It is our purpose to carry on this organizing campaign in New England, the South, and in other sections of the country where textile workers are

employed, in a most aggressive and determined way. We firmly believe that the majority of the textile workers of the country believe in the principles, policies and philosophy of the American Federation of Labor and that ultimately the textile workers of the nation will be organized into the United Textile Workers organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

(P. 393) Convention unanimously approved action of E.C. in granting reaffiliation to United Textile Workers and recommended that all possible assistance be given in its efforts to rebuild its organization and to rally to its ranks those workers believing in the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

Thought Control (see: Education; Teachers)

Tidelands Oil, Income for Educational Purposes—(1951, pp. 292, 398) Res. 44 called upon the A. F. of L. to support proposal to use income from submerged tidelands to further educational purposes.

(Pp. 312, 398) Res. 96 requested A. F. of L. support to efforts being made to secure legislation providing that royalties from tidelands oil shall be earmarked for educational purposes.

Timber Lands, Conservation—(1946, pp. 489, 502) Two similar resolutions were adopted by the convention, Nos. 2 and 18. These resolutions provide substantially the following as outlined by the "resolve" in Res. 2:

Resolved—That we favor immediate action in the development of a state and national program for all forest lands that will protect the forests from fire, insects, and disease damage; promote forestry practices that will result in full use of the productive capacity of these lands but not overuse which would bring exhaustion of usable timber at a later date; pro-

mote greater utilization of the wood products thereby eliminating waste and conserving timber supplies now available; and provide for an aggressive start on reforestation of lands now not producing anything of commercial value, and be it further

Resolved—That we specifically favor immediate action through the passage by Congress of a cooperative insect law comparable to the cooperative fire control law which will provide for the protection of privately owned lands now threatened by outbreaks of destructive insect pests which each year destroy much valuable timber in northern Idaho and western Montana, and be it still further

Resolved—That we demand immediate action on an expanded federal forest road development program to open up inaccessible timber stands in the mountainous country most of which are within the boundaries of the national forests and which roads are needed if overmature or diseased timber is to be salvaged and these back country timber stands put on a better managed basis.

Tito Regime Condemned—(1946, p. 625) The A. F. of L. Committee on International Labor Relations made the following report which was unanimously approved:

At this time your committee wishes to call to the attention of the delegates of this convention another example of the ruthless, despotic disregard for the essential principles of justice which characterizes the Tito regime in Yugoslavia—a puppet “government” of Soviet Russia.

Specifically, reference is made solely to the procedures followed by Tito in arriving at the judgment that Archbishop Stepanic was guilty of treasonable acts which merited a sentence of 20 years imprisonment.

This brutal disregard for the basic

tenets of justice and civil liberties and the chicanery which characterized the so-called “trial” demonstrates all too clearly that the policies which contributed to the rise of the Axis powers have not been erased by their defeat. While the names of the totalitarianism government have changed, their practices still remain. It is, therefore, the obligation of every freedom-loving person to continue without hesitation the fight against totalitarianism no matter when it may appear.

It is the considered judgment of your committee that the American Federation of Labor should be among the leaders in this fight against dictatorship or oppression in any or all forms. For that reason, therefore, your committee recommends that this convention go on record as condemning the tyrannical, despotic government of this Tito regime.

Tobacco Workers vs. Teamsters (see: Teamsters)

Towing Between American Ports—(1940, pp. 90, 408) Prior to enactment of H.R. 8283 (Public 599, 1940) the American ships had a monopoly on towing between American ports the total penalty which could be collected from foreign ships for towing between American ports was only 50 cents per ton. This small penalty has proved wholly inadequate to protect domestic trade from foreign competition. Under the bill penalty increased from \$5 to \$50 per ton.

A. F. of L. favored this legislation.

Trade Mark Act, Lanham—(1954, p. 452) Res. 141:

Whereas—In 1946 there was passed by the Congress of the United States legislation known as the Lanham Trade Mark Act, and

Whereas — Said Lanham Trade Mark Act has as its intention the clarification of previous legislation

protecting union trade marks registered by labor organizations, and

Whereas—Said union trade marks of union labels are designed for the special purpose of promoting those products manufactured by members of organized labor under contract to fair employers, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor did support passage of the Lanham Trade Mark Act as it sought to prevent the unauthorized use of union labels or trade marks, and

Whereas—Certain sections of the Act subject to court interpretation have given rise to serious doubts as to whether the Act provides the protection for which it was designed, and

Whereas—Unscrupulous manufacturers and printers have seized upon this doubt and are presently in increasing numbers violating the spirit of the Lanham Trade Mark Act, and

Whereas—If this condition is allowed to continue, all union labels, shop cards, and buttons will lose their value as a means of identification of union made products and union services, thus resulting in the destruction of one of organized labor's greatest assets; therefore, be it

Resolved—That the Union Label and Service Trades Department go on record as urging an immediate clarification amendment of the Lanham Trade Mark Act so that the very foundation of the department—the union label—be protected from unauthorized use, and

Resolved—That upon the passage of this resolution by the Union Label and Service Trades Department Convention, the secretary of the department stand instructed to introduce this resolution into the Convention of the American Federation of Labor convening in the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, Calif., on September 20, 1954, and urge its adoption by this body, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor assist in drafting and securing passage of adequate legislation to clarify and restore the original intent of the Lanham Trade Mark Act of protection of the union label, shop cards, and buttons.

(P. 596) This resolution had to do with amendments to the Lanham Trade Mark Act, as adopted by the United States Congress in 1946. Earlier recognized loopholes in the Act have been capitalized upon by unfair and unscrupulous manufacturers and printers in increasing numbers and who are engaging in a practice of violating the intent and spirit of the Act. If existing conditions are allowed to continue all union labels, shop cards and buttons will lose their value as a means of identification of union-made products and union services, thus resulting in the destruction of one of organized labor's greatest assets. Your committee knows that delegates to this convention feel keenly that the Lanham Trade Mark Act should be amended and your committee concurs in the expression of the resolution that the American Federation of Labor assist in drafting and securing a passage of adequate legislation to clarify and restore the original intent of the Lanham Trade Mark Act as a means of further protecting union labels, shop cards and buttons.

Trade Schools (Public)—(1924, p. 245):

Whereas—Many so-called public trade schools which are in reality financed and controlled by private interests, mislead the youth of America into the belief that through the processes of short and intensive training competent mechanics are being created; and

Whereas—Experience has demonstrated that most of these institutions are more concerned with selfish motives rather than that of benefiting the youth of our land, and do not pro-

vide competent journeymen mechanics; therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 44th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. expresses its disapproval of these so-called "trade schools," which are in reality controlled and used by private interests to serve their own selfish purposes, that it warns the youth of America against the wastage of time and money involved in patronizing such institutions, and urges their return to the apprenticeship system, under union conditions of employment, so that knowledge of fundamentals may be coordinated with skill and training, and so that the guidance and direction of skill and training may be confined to those having attained competency in the trades and having an accurate knowledge of conditions within the trades.

"Trade Union Courier," Protest Against—(1954, pp. 451, 491) Res. 140:

Whereas—The International Labor Press of America has consistently endeavored to eliminate from the labor press field unethical and irregular publications parading as Labor papers, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor has at all times encouraged and cooperated with the labor press in carrying out this important task, and

Whereas—In the course of this phase of ILPA endeavors, a complaint was filed with the U.S. Federal Trade Commission against a publication known as the *Trade Union Courier*, published in the City of New York, charging that publication with unauthorized use of the name of the American Federation of Labor in the solicitation of advertising and donations, and

Whereas—The aforesaid *Trade Union Courier* has been announcing publicly through its columns and in testimony before a Federal Trade Com-

mission examiner, that it has the *bona fide* endorsement of over 2,000 A. F. of L. unions, and

Whereas—This publication has continued to claim of 2,000 A. F. of L. union endorsements in the high-pressure solicitation of advertising and donations, in spite of the fact that the officers and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the ILPA have repeatedly denounced the *Trade Union Courier* for its unethical methods which have proved injurious to the prestige and good name of the labor movement, be it therefore

Resolved—By the American Federation of Labor at its 73rd Annual Convention at Los Angeles, California, September 20, 1954, that we hereby go on record requesting the officers of this Federation to institute a thorough investigation into the validity of the 2,000 A. F. of L. union endorsements claimed by the *Trade Union Courier*, and be it further

Resolved—That in the event that any of the above mentioned endorsements are found to be valid, the offices of the American Federation of Labor are hereby urged to bring about the cancellation of such endorsements, to the end that the good name of the American Federation of Labor, the International Labor Press of America and their affiliates be protected from further injury, and be it further

Resolved—That copies of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this convention, and forwarded to the International Labor Press of America and to the affiliated international unions of the A. F. of L. for their information and guidance.

Trade Union Discipline—(1927, p. 87) In *Hall vs. Morrin et al.*, the St. Louis Court of Appeals held that a general executive board was not disqualified to try a member who had made charges against the personnel of the board, because under the laws of the union it was the only body to

weigh and determine the charges, and if the board was incompetent to try him it must be manifest that he could not have been tried at all. It was also held that a suit is prematurely brought before all the remedies within the union are exhausted.

The Supreme Court of Nebraska, in *Crisler vs. Crum*, has also held that a member of a trade union is bound by and required to observe the law of the association which requires that he shall exhaust his remedies within the association before appealing to the courts. According to the decision, a labor union may lawfully adopt rules for the government of its members and provide tribunals within the association for determining controversies within the organization, provided such rules are reasonable and uniform.

While the courts uniformly hold that a member of a trade union must first exhaust his remedies within the organization before appealing to the courts, this rule does not hold good where one has been wrongfully expelled. This rule of law was expressed in the case of *Mullens vs. Seegers*, decided by the St. Louis Court of Appeals.

Trade Unions Defined (Free) — (1944, p. 629) The convention committee considering international affairs, included the following terse definition of a "free trade union" in its report, which was unanimously adopted:

Free trade unions are independent organizations controlling their own terms and conditions of membership, deciding their own rules, and discipline of membership, able to make a contract with assurance of fulfillment. Free trade unions are not state controlled nor are they auxiliaries of the state, dominant party, or any employer or employers' organizations. Free trade unions are not subject to any political party nor do they serve as

party tools. Power of deciding policies and the course of the organization is lodged with the union membership.

Trade Union Functions—(1928, pp. 22, 235) The American trade union movement is an institution that reveals what is in the minds of representative wage earners of the North American continent. It is an institution that directly influences the thought and development of the whole western atmosphere. It is continental, following commerce and economic developments regardless of political boundaries, and in this respect differs from the labor movements of Europe. We have, therefore, in this wide base of our movement unusual problems in addition to those of languages and nations due to the number of immigrants who have come to our shores. Although men and women have come to us with the customs and manners of foreign countries, so strong has been the spirit of the New World, so influential have been economic conditions and situations, that the work of blending conflicting elements into a cohesive whole is developing unity of feeling that controls and works through distinctive regional characteristics.

Our movement has ever been a most effective Americanization agency that has interpreted to wage earners from practically all other countries of the world the American spirit of independence and self-help and has helped them to realize American standards of life and work. We have been the standard-making agency that has set the pace for wages, hours and conditions of work for the unorganized as well as the organized.

Because our purpose is to help in promoting industrial and social progress, a report of our undertakings and progress during the past year is of consequence to industry and of public importance. Our undertakings will be considered from two aspects: what

we have tried to do and how we have gone about it.

Some of our most important undertakings have to do with intangible things, and progress cannot be measured in concrete terms. We are fundamentally concerned to establish constructive relations between management and workers that will give workers status, steady work, high wages, and proper hours. As workers achieve status comes opportunity to participate in the problems of production. Both policies agree in that an efficient economic organization is the essential basis of all planning. The workers become one of those groups that has a personal interest in the prosperity of their industry instead of being time servers only.

Reflecting this progress toward economic status the problems of the trade union movement are changing, although not uniformly. In some industries workers are still struggling for the right to belong to unions, while unions that are in the van of progress are studying problems of cooperation and increasing union services. There are two opposing policies of making progress—one which makes force alone its agency for progress and the other endeavor through intelligent strategy to make progress without strife. The advocates of force believe that men's decisions yield only to force and that Labor must rely solely upon militant tactics. Those who believe that progress is made through increasingly better agreements and relations between employers and employees, hold that problems must be settled by conference and discussion even after the fight is over, believe that it is therefore better to develop a strategy that will make the fight unnecessary and then to concentrate on gathering facts and following policies that will enable the union to sustain its proposals in the conference. These economic states-

men of the labor movement realize that industrial as well as all other relationships of life rest upon associated activity and that the spirit of conflict prevents clear thinking and retards progress. But workers alone cannot determine the nature of industrial relations. Employers also must put their faith in intelligence if constructive relationships are established. Intelligence assures a square deal to both groups and abandons efforts on the part of one to profit by taking advantage of the other. Where the principle of cooperation is accepted, the union is in a position to enter into the problems of production. With the principle formulated by the Federation some years ago—standards of living can be permanently raised only by increasing production—organized labor has a basis of common interests with management and therefore finds cooperation an advantage. By following policies based on this understanding, trade unions are lifting their undertaking to the spirit and purpose of economic statesmanship. As economic statesmen we are doing a constructive work second to no other group in the country.

In common with the change that has come in the use of this word in the field of politics we no longer think of a statesman as a person above the affairs of daily life, who gives utterance to ponderous statements and is generally out-manuevered by the politicians. We use the word to designate men actively responsible for urgent problems of national welfare, alert to see where constructive principles can be applied and competent to achieve practical results.

(1931, p. 59) While the A. F. of L. is the channel through which all organized labor cooperates and as such it has influence and effectiveness, it has no existence separate from the progress and development of affiliated national and international unions. Cer-

tain broad fundamental principles are characteristic of the American labor movement and those are promoted and strengthened by the federated trade union movement.

The work of the past 50 years may be summed up as an effort to establish status in industry for wage earners, to define their relationships within industries, and to establish securities for them in their work relationships.

The prerequisites to industrial progress for wage earners is organization to mobilize and direct their forces. Organization represents consciousness of labor problems and the practicability of attacking these problems as something to be solved. The first objective of the union is a collective work contract. The unorganized worker either accepts the terms offered or hunts another job if he can afford to run the risk of unemployment. Only when workers act collectively through their chosen representatives, can they negotiate a work contract, carefully weighing each item in order to reach mutually satisfactory terms. Acting collectively, workers become party to an agreement, and their relationship to the industry becomes truly contractual. As the terms of contract or the relationships existing under a contract are more carefully defined, new fields for collective undertakings open up and the essential partnership of Labor in the production undertakings is developed and utilized as the basis of progress.

The steel workers were among the earliest to negotiate work contracts, setting up a sliding scale of wages for their industry. The cigar workers and printers adopted scales of prices which were submitted to employers as the basis for negotiations. The flint glass workers, the glass bottle blowers and the window glass workers early persuaded the employers in their industries to the practice of annual joint

negotiations. In 1891 the International Iron Molders and the Stove Founders National Defense Association established the practice of conference and joint labor agreement covering the industry which has since been maintained uninterrupted.

It is unionism of this type that has been promoted through the federated trade union movement, which has helped to organize workers into unions and to federate these unions into national or international unions.

The Federation has been the instrumentality through which the collective support of all workers can be brought to the rescue of a group in an emergency, such as interruption of joint relations, a strike, lockout, the revolt of an insurgent group that refuses to follow accepted practices of the union. The Federation has helped to secure conferences between unions and employers, to present the union's cause to the public and to political authorities.

It has served as the clearing center for information on new developments in collective bargaining so that the information might be available for all groups.

In addition to the work contract, which usually contains work rates as well as definite conditions of work and pay, the collective agreement usually provides for the interpretation of the agreement and the adjustment of disputes arising under it. More recently agreements have been including provisions for sustained cooperation in the processes of production or sales.

During the 50 years of the Federation's service, national and international unions have made tremendous progress within their jurisdictions. The Federation has furnished the agency through which overlapping problems of trade organization have been adjusted and has promoted the spirit and practices of cooperation. It has served as the constructive force

among wage earners pointing out to them that their welfare could be better advanced by sustained intelligent self-activity than through efforts to establish a new order by revolution or by legislation. It has held that freedom and progress can be achieved by thought and organization. It has been at once the most effective force for the advancement of Labor and a constructive national asset.

Trade Union Advisory Committee (ERP)—(1948, p. 486) *Bona fide* trade unionists everywhere can only welcome the establishment of the Trade Union Advisory Committee and the program adopted by the July London Conference for mobilizing free labor behind ERP. The decision of this historic conference to have the Trade Union Advisory Committee collaborate closely with the Office of European Economic Cooperation (O.E.E.C.) and to secure adequate labor representation in the most important industrial subdivisions (transport, metal, etc.) will bear fruitful results. The decision to have affiliation fees and permanent functioning by the Trade Union Advisory Committee in guiding and mobilizing European labor for reconstruction is a highly significant and welcome development for the entire international trade union movement.

The Trade Union Advisory Committee must be popularized and strengthened. The four editions of the "International Free Trade Union News" should be devoted to this task. The International Labor Relations Committee should publish special literature toward this end. We recommend that there be assigned a representative of the A. F. of L. to give a substantial part of his time and services in the T.U.A.C.

We further recommend that the Executive Council invite the principal leaders of the T.U.C. to confer with it

at its January-February session with a view of strengthening the collaboration between the A. F. of L. and the British labor movement for the fullest and most effective participation by labor in assuring the success of the ERP in achieving continental economic integration and reconstruction, improving the standards of living and working conditions of labor, enhancing the growth and effectiveness of the Trade Union Advisory Committee as a unifying force of free labor in Europe and elsewhere.

We can only hope and pray that as a result of such intensified and expanded cooperation of the trade union movements of all the free countries the day will be hastened when trade unionism in France will be completely liberated from the clutches of Communism and become united under the banner of democratic labor like the Force Ouvriere and when there will be established in Italy a united democratic trade union movement based solely on economic lines and free from all political and governmental domination. It is with heightened hope and confidence that we look to the day when there will again be functioning in an inspiring and effective manner a genuine international of free trade unions. Freedom-loving labor throughout the world can count on the enthusiastic and energetic support of the A. F. of L. for the attainment of this great goal.

(1950, p. 114) During the year the A. F. of L. continued its active participation in the work of the committee. . . .

The Department of Labor, which is responsible for the formulation of our government's foreign and domestic labor policies, receives direct advice on international labor affairs from the leaders of American labor through this Committee. The Trade Union Advisory Committee provides the machinery through which the Department

of Labor works with the American trade union movement. . . .

In line with its desire to strengthen the labor aspects of American foreign policy the American Federation of Labor is actively supporting the work of the Committee and the Department of Labor's international objectives.

(P. 504) Never before was it so urgent for our labor movement and government to cooperate heartily and effectively in the extension and expansion of decent working and living conditions and the promotion of human rights on a world scale.

In view of the increasingly aggressive challenge of totalitarian despotism to our free society and American way of life, your Committee recommends the furtherance of the above-noted cooperation through the A. F. of L. representatives.

(1951, pp. 76, 471) A brief resume of the work of this committee was presented to the convention by the E.C. concluding with the statement that: The American Federation of Labor lends its full support to this committee, and welcomes this means of working with the Department of Labor in implementing the labor aspects of American foreign policy.

Trade Union Statistics—(1925, p. 33) We are, therefore, striving to collect and collate information on trade union membership that will enable us to gauge our progress and to plan for more effective organizing work. We hope to develop statistics for trades, for industries, and for cities, states and geographic and industrial districts. As the facts become available they will be published or made accessible in the most practical way.

(P. 229) As a basis for planning organization work exact trade union statistics are indispensable as measuring rods in estimating the job and to test the results of specific methods. We hope that the A. F. of L. will con-

tinue to improve trade union statistical information and to make the data available in periodic reports.

Trade Unity Conference (Anglo-Russian)—(1925, p. 333) A resolution was introduced into the convention which called for support to the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee in its efforts to convoke a world conference of trade unions of every country for the purpose of establishing unity in the international trade union movement. However, the convention declared it an "impudent proposal" and added:

"It is proposed that we join what is called the Anglo-Russian Unity Conference in an effort to bring about world labor unity.

"This is merely new language for the old 'united front' propaganda by which Moscow for years sought to bring world labor under its undemocratic and destructive sway.

"It is almost impossible to understand how any thoughtful democratic national labor movement could be so deceived as to lend the color of its support to such a treacherous proposal.

"The A. F. of L. is willing at all times to join with the free labor movements of other countries for the promotion and protection of the interests of the toiling masses. It will not lend its support to any movement to destroy from ambush the freedom of the workers of democratic countries. On the contrary, it will do all in its power to reveal the truth and to open the eyes of Labor everywhere to the infamy of this proposed treachery.

"The British workers have sent to us a message urging our sympathetic consideration of the proposal contained in this resolution. In addition to recording our own hostility to that movement, we return to the British workers and to all workers everywhere the call to stand by liberty, democracy, freedom, the right of peoples to self-rule, the right of national labor

movements to determine their own policies and their right to be loyal to the free institutions of their countries.

"Furthermore, we convey to the world the most solemn warning of which we are capable that we will not willingly tolerate in the Western Hemisphere any old world movement which seeks to impose itself upon American peoples over the will of those peoples. What the U.S. Government, through President Monroe, expressed to Europe as a warning against armed territorial aggression, we convey in equally emphatic terms regarding aggression by propaganda. The Americas stand for democracy. The Pan-American Federation of Labor is the recognized international labor movement of the Americas. Through it the American Republics give expression to the aspirations and ideals of their wage earning masses and the American peoples are determined that it shall so continue.

"Neither the red internationale of autocratic Moscow nor any other internationale may in complacency ignore this definition of American labor policy. American labor is friendly to all the world, insofar as the world is bent upon achievement of the aims of democracy. It will contest to the last every inch of ground whenever and wherever autocracy seeks to invade the hallowed soil of this hemisphere. And we shall accept no pretense of 'world labor unity' as a mask for invading disrupters and destroyers.

"The New World is dedicated to human freedom. We want all the world to be free and we shall help to that end wherever possible. But above all and beyond all it shall preserve and develop the freedom of the Americas."

Training for National and International Service (Labor)—(1950, p. 62)
Trade unionists have been steadily

lifting the status and influence of their organizations and consequently have wider and more important opportunities for service in both industrial and national life. Correspondingly in other countries wage earners have gained economic and political influence and as national institutions their policies and procedures are of importance in understanding the national life and probable developments within nations. Consequently the labor philosophy and union procedures of a nation constitute a very important part of intelligence for guidance of our foreign policies and relations. In this field also our embassies and legations need continuous service somewhat akin to that which has helped the European Recovery Program make a constructive contribution.

With opportunities for wider service in many fields the trade union movement should be seeking and developing facilities to prepare capable trade unionists to be ready to utilize these opportunities. We should not leave the development of such facilities to the initiative of educators who wish chiefly to expand existing educational institutions. We should seek institutions and personnel best able to work out this constructive undertaking. What we need in the international field may also be duplicated in the political field. At least we should keep this possibility in mind in connection with developments.

(P. 433) We especially need training facilities so that we may better perform the obligations devolving upon us.

We recommend that the E.C. consider plans for such training facilities.

Transportation Companies, Subsidies—(1939, p. 454) Res. 16:

Whereas—The continued high taxes on eral estate is still causing stagnation in the Building Trades; and

Whereas—The enormous subsidies paid to Commercial Highway, Waterway, and Airway Transportation Companies in the form of Canals, Harbors, Deepened Waterways, Streets, Highways and Landing Facilities, is one of the chief causes of high property taxes; and

Whereas—The large majority of those on relief in most cities are connected with the Building Trades, be it therefore

Resolved—That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to petition the American and Canadian Governments, as well as State and Provincial Legislatures, to compel all forms of Commercial Transportation to pay for all right-of-way services and other necessary facilities, in order that there may be a reduction in property taxation, which would again permit the Building Trades to function in a more normal capacity, bringing greatly increased purchasing power to our country.

Referred to Executive Council.

Travel (International) for Union Members—(1949, p. 58) A. F. of L. approved Res. 61 as follows:

Whereas—The promotion of world peace and international brotherhood is essential to the welfare of organized labor throughout the world, and

Whereas—International travel and visiting among the citizens of the several nations of the world are effective means of promoting world peace and brotherhood, and

Whereas—A primary cause of war is the fact that travel among the citizens of the world has been left largely to wealthy individuals and representatives of business, and

Whereas—UNESCO and other international agencies have pointed out the vital need for more travel on the part of average citizens, including especially members of organized labor

and other persons who are not interested primarily in profit, and

Whereas—The exchange of union members has proved to be a wholesome and effective means of promoting mutual understanding and international friendship, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota in October 1949, go on record in favor of:

1. Promotion of inexpensive tours abroad which are within the economic reach of the average citizens of the nation.
2. Negotiation of vacations with pay which will make possible international travel.
3. Inclusion in the education program of organized labor of information in relation to travel programs and encouragement of members of unions to participate in such programs, and
4. Recommendation to the standing committee on education of the A. F. of L. that study and support be given to working out programs of international travel for members of unions.

(P. 357) This resolution urges the establishment of inexpensive tours abroad so that members of organized labor will have an opportunity to visit other countries as a means of promoting international brotherhood and good will. It has been pointed out in the program of UNESCO that too much of the travel among the citizens of the world has been left to persons who are interested only in the profit motive and often in the exploitation of the peoples of foreign countries, rather than in the cultivation of their friendship. While rapid travel in this modern age is increasing the possibility of world wars, the same rapid travel may also be used as a means of creating good will and implementing world peace.

Travel Commission Proposed — (1954, p. 155) The A. F. of L. supported a proposal to create a U.S. Travel Commission to further more travel by American citizens in foreign countries for the purpose of promoting international understanding, scientific advancement, and cultural enrichment. The A. F. of L. proposed certain amendments to safeguard the safety and health of traveling Americans and to make sure that labor standards would not be impaired. The A. F. of L. also suggested the inclusion of representatives of labor on the Commission. The proposed bill was not reported out of the subcommittee, however.

(P. 587) Your Committee recommends continued support for legislation to create a U.S. Travel Commission responsible for the promotion of travel by American citizens abroad to promote international understanding, scientific advancement and cultural enrichment.

Trieste (Plebiscite for)—(1952, pp. 65, 549) Res. 117:

This resolution appropriately calls for ending the dangerously strained relations between democratic Italy and Tito's Yugoslavia by having "the destiny of the Trieste territory left to its inhabitants through an early plebiscite under U.N. supervision in the contested zones."

Your Committee recommends indorsement of this resolution. We further recommend that our government make every effort to rally British and French support of the proposal to settle this vexing problem along ethnic lines. In this connection, Yugoslavia, which has been receiving considerable military and economic aid from our country for the purpose of preserving its national independence now menaced by Russian aggression and Soviet satellite provocation, should be reminded in a firm and friendly man-

ner that, to be worthy of continued American help, it should reciprocate such life-saving aid by accepting this moderate and just proposal for eliminating Italo-Yugoslav friction over the problems of the destiny of Trieste.

Trip-Leasing (Highway)—(1955, p. 93) A. F. of L. proposed bill and reported to convention as follows:

As originally proposed, we joined in opposition to this bill chiefly because of its lack of assurance of conformity with highway safety standards as well as its being not in line with the rigid standards met by our Teamsters for safe driving in over-the-road hauls.

As reported, the bill contains requirements of "liability and cargo insurance covering all such equipment" which clause was not in the bill as introduced. The reported bill also includes no limitation upon time trip-leasing may be in effect or the period vehicles and drivers may be part of any agreement.

A much more loosely-worded bill on this subject was passed by the House in the Eighty-third Congress, but got no action in the Senate. Delay in final passage in both houses has served to improve the measure slightly, though we join with our Teamsters in opposition to the minimum 30-day rule applying to return trips.

Truman, Harry S., Address—(1953, p. 602) Ex-President Truman attended and addressed the William Green Memorial Service held at the 1953 Convention. His remarks are printed in the proceedings of the convention.

Tunisia (see: Iran, A. F. of L. Plan)

Typographical Union, International (also see: National Labor Relations Board)

Reaffiliation—(1940, pp. 57-58) Negotiations were entered into with the International Typographical Union toward reaffiliation with the A. F. of L.

(1941, p. 55) The E.C. reported on developments during the preceding

year which were projected to bring about a return of the ITU into the Federation. The membership of the ITU had refused, through a referendum to reaffiliate. The report of the E.C. to the 1941 Convention contained the following observations:

We are firmly of the opinion that the International Typographical Union will lose much because it has decided to remain outside the American Federation of Labor. Time will show and experience will prove that the best interests of the membership of the International Typographical Union are served through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and that in many ways both the organization and its members will suffer because of non-affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council expresses keen regret because of the refusal of the membership of the International Typographical Union to vote to return to the American Federation of Labor. We hope that in due course of time they will reconsider their action. We will welcome them into the American Federation of Labor when they decide to return.

In view of the fact that the International Typographical Union has decided to remain out of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council decided that conferences be held with representatives of the printing trades unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with the Allied Printing Trades Council for the purpose of considering a plan which would provide for the creation of a printing trades label reconstructed, improved and changed to be used by said Printing Trades Council exclusively.

The council also decided to consider a policy designed to protect the interests of the American Federation of Labor and the printing trades unions affiliated with the American Fed-

eration of Labor in the printing of publications, pamphlets, circulars and in fact all printed matter of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations.

(P. 399) The convention adopted the following report:

Your committee notes with deep regret that as yet the International Typographical Union has not reaffiliated with the A. F. of L. in which for many years it played so vital a role. There are a number of factors which must be observed in this connection, factors which materially affect the attitude of the parties involved in this question. First of all, the ITU is unique among trade union organizations in having within its membership two permanently organized groups, groups which share alike in the benefits of trade unionism to which their membership entitles them, but which nevertheless are frankly rival groups. This basic division within the organization can readily become the basis of further differences which may develop.

Second: The International Typographical Union is one single unit in a very closely knit group of cooperative unions; that is, the ITU is one of the unions in the Allied Printing Trades. This group of unions working jointly for the protection of their members' benefits has been exceedingly effective, as an association in their work. All of these unions and their members have profited richly because of their mutual aid in a common cause. The Allied Printing Trades of which the ITU is one has the full backing of the American Federation of Labor and of all state federations and city central bodies.

Third: The ITU is one of the unions which, in close cooperation with the other printing trade unions will be called on to play an ever increasing role in our national defense program.

From these three factors we realize that while on the one hand internal differences within the union are likely to play an important role in the consideration of any problem, on the other hand that a way must be found through which a united Typographical Union may function within the Allied Printing Trades as a functional part of the American Federation of Labor and as a part of the well coordinated allied printing industry, as a part of our national defense program.

The International Typographical Union has contributed richly to the rise and development of our *bona fide* American labor movement, and in turn its members have profited richly from the help that all of organized labor has given to this union. Your committee would ask that due consideration be given to the fact that the failure of the International Typographical Union to be in the American Federation of Labor may give encouragement to those groups which are promoting trade union piracy, and hence to the ultimate destruction of existing strong unions.

Your committee would commend the Executive Council for its splendid work in seeking to effect an adjustment with the International Typographical Union and would further recommend that the committee which has thus far so ably worked be continued, to the end that the ITU may again be in our organization.

Your committee would further recommend that to protect the interests of the individual worker in each of the printing trades and to protect the good name of the Allied Printing Trades, that pending these further negotiations no action be taken by the American Federation of Labor regarding the union label of the Allied Printing Trades unless the Allied Printing Trades themselves ask for such action during the interim of further negotiations.

(1942, p. 62) A referendum on re-affiliation of the ITU with the A. F. of L. revealed the membership wanted to remain unaffiliated. No further action reported during 1941.

(P. 415) The Executive Council's Report states that no steps have been taken this last year by the International Typographical Union which would bring that union back into the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee deeply regrets this fact. The rich contribution which the International Typographical Union made to the rise and development of our *bona fide* trade union movement, the splendid part played by its members in their respective state and local bodies in which they have served so long and so well, is a token of the need which the labor movement has for their continued cooperative action. On the other hand the benefits which the international, its affiliated locals, and its individual members have enjoyed during all these years, because they were an integral part of the American Federation of Labor should be well noted by all the members of this union. Your committee would urge that every effort be made to help effect reaffiliation of the International Typographical Union with the American Federation of Labor at the earliest possible moment.

(1943, p. 509) . . . the membership of the Typographical Union are to shortly take a referendum vote on the question of reaffiliating with the A. F. of L. We sincerely hope that this vote will result in bringing this great union back into the fold; that the Typographical Union is assured that in returning, their autonomous rights will be fully observed, and protected; that they are further informed by this convention that the conditions previously agreed to by a committee of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the officers of the International Typo-

graphical Union will be fully observed and carried into effect.

(1944, p. 124) The members of the International Typographical Union voted to become reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor through a referendum vote taken on May 17, 1944.

The Executive Council interprets this constructive action taken by the members of the International Typographical Union as evidence of a desire on the part of Labor to become united. It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the reaffiliation of the International Typographical Union will prove to be of mutual advantage and help both to the American Federation of Labor and to the officers and members of the International Typographical Union.

The International Typographical Union was formed in 1850. That means that the membership, through training and experience, have become well established in the field of trade unionism and collective bargaining.

The Executive Council extends a hearty welcome to the International Typographical Union and to its participation through chosen delegates, in the deliberations of the 64th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

We express the hope that nothing will ever occur which will interfere with the friendly and mutually helpful relationship now established between the American Federation of Labor and the officers and members of the International Typographical Union.

(P. 437) Your committee notes with great pleasure that the International Typographical Union has reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

This union, one of the oldest and strongest unions in this country, has contributed richly to trade union development in this country. It has, in

turn, been aided and supported by the other trade unions. It belongs within our close family circle. We welcome them back and join with the E.C. in expressing the hope that nothing shall ever occur again which will in any way mar the friendly and mutually helpful relationship now established between the A. F. of L and the ITU.

(Newspaper, Support Urged) — (1953, pp. 394, 646) Res. 10:

Whereas—In several cities where unfriendly newspaper publishers have shown a determination to use the Taft-Hartley law to break down and destroy traditional rights and prerogatives established by members of the International Typographical Union in more than a century of collective bargaining, and have refused to negotiate or to agree to minimum standards of wages, hours and working conditions not destroyed by law, strikes and lockouts have occurred as a last resort when all other recourses have failed, and

Whereas—In several cities where an agreeable settlement of such strikes and lockouts was found to be impossible, the International Typographical Union has established competitive daily newspapers so members of organized labor and the general public may not have to rely upon or patronize unfair papers produced by strikebreakers behind union picket lines, and

Whereas — Such ITU - established daily newspapers include Daily News-Digest at Allentown, Pa.; Meriden, Conn.; Monroe, La.; Beckley and Huntington, W. Va.; Springfield, Mo.; Texarkana, Ark; and the Jamestown, N. Y., Sun—all dedicated to fair dissemination of news and recognizing the rights of the readers to receive truthful, factual reporting of current events, and all worthy of the full support of union members in the areas of publication, and

Whereas—The International Typo-

graphical Union on September 16, 1952, launched *Labor's Daily* in Charleston, W. Va., Waukegan, Ill., and the Quad-Cities of Illinois, as a daily newspaper devoted to the cause of Labor and serving organized labor by presenting Labor's news truthfully told and Labor's views fairly stated, and

Whereas—It is traditional with organized labor that members should support and promote the products of union labor and withhold patronage from struck shops and unfair employers, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle of giving full support to union-produced newspapers in the cities above mentioned, and the withholding of patronage from unfair newspapers produced in shops where strikes and lockouts are continued, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor call to the attention of all international unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies the need for support, by all local unions and members of organized labor, of the ITU-produced newspapers in the cities above named.

Assistance in Taft-Hartley Fight— (1949, p. 46) The activity of the International Typographical Union in combatting the Taft-Hartley Act, and the need for more substantial assistance in the struggle, was reflected in Res. 31 which requested:

That the A. F. of L. Executive Council authorize and actively direct and promote more substantial assistance to the International Typographical Union in support of this defensive fight, against tremendous odds, which the ITU has waged in the preservation of the fundamentals of craft unionism as it has been known in this country.

(P. 487) Convention amended the

original resolution which was unanimously approved:

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted to the end that not only the ITU as a craft union but all other craft unions be accorded the special attention that the situation warrants in order that the extreme destructive burden of the Taft-Hartley law on craft unions be lightened as much as possible until that law is repealed.

Un-American Activities (see: Dies Committee; Communism)

Unemployment (also see: Full Employment; Unemployment Compensation; Hours; National Youth Administration (1939); Employment and the Shorter Work Week (1939); WPA)

Employment Regularity— (1928, pp. 45, 236) One of the most fundamental aims of wage earners is regularity of employment. The whole organization of life for the wage earner and his family depends upon steady income. The commercial organization of the community is in turn dependent upon the incomes of its residents for sustained patronage. When groups of workers of the community are unemployed business depression follows. The business community and the wage earners have a common concern for regularity of work.

During the past year reports of unemployment reached headquarters with insistence and frequency. No government agency had data disclosing the size of the problem. Definite information on unemployment was necessary to constructive planning of industries, or even a presentation of the difficulties wage earners were facing. Unemployment seemed higher than seasonal changes alone could account for.

(1931, pp. 108, 286) The Wagner bill, to provide for advance planning and regulated construction of public works, stabilization of industry and

aiding the prevention of unemployment during periods of business depression, became a law.

It provides for the establishment of the Federal Employment Stabilization Board to be composed of the Secretaries of the Treasury, Commerce, Agriculture and Labor. It shall be the duty of the board to advise the President of the trend of unemployment and business activity and of the existence or approach of periods of business depression or unemployment. The board also will cooperate with construction agencies in formulating methods of advance planning, to report progress and perform other functions assigned to it by the Act.

The President may be advised by the board concerning volume, based upon value, of contracts awarded for construction work in the United States, or in any substantial portion thereof, during any three-month period in comparison with the corresponding three-month period of three previous calendar years. It shall also consider all indices of employment furnished by the Department of Labor or any public or private agency.

Upon recommendation of the board that there is likely to exist within six months a period of business depression and unemployment, the President can transmit to Congress estimates for emergency appropriations. Such emergency appropriations shall be expended only for building roads, rivers and harbor works, flood control projects and public buildings under the provisions of laws now in effect.

The intent of Congress is to arrange for the construction of public works in such a manner as will assist in the stabilization of industry and employment through the proper timing of such construction.

For many years the A. F. of L. has pleaded with Congress for this legis-

lation. In 1893, the A. F. of L. declared that "while we applaud the humane efforts of private individuals to relieve the terrible distress of the unemployed, we most respectfully but emphatically insist that it is the duty of the city, state and national governments to give immediate and adequate relief." It was also repeatedly declared that arrangements to construct public works in times of depression should be made in prosperous times.

We are sure that if the advance planning law is faithfully carried out it will prove its effectiveness in times of business depression.

In U.S.—(1928, pp. 81, 237) No question caused greater concern than that of acute unemployment in the U.S. Members in both Houses of Congress delivered many speeches on this subject. The number unemployed was estimated by the different speakers to be from 2,000,000 to 8,000,000. Several bills were introduced with the view of preventing acute unemployment in the future. One provided for appropriations to be used when construction work had declined 10 per cent for a three-month period below the average of the corresponding three months period of the preceding three years. Others provided for the creation of employment agencies and others for investigations, out of which it was expected sufficient data would be obtained to awaken Congress to the necessity for action. The Senate ordered the Committee on Education and Labor to investigate the causes of unemployment and the relief necessary.

A most vigorous campaign should be launched in every city, town and hamlet in the U.S. where members of unions are located to demand of Congress some measure that would make it obligatory to appropriate large sums in good times to be expended when there is acute unemployment anticipated. The A. F. of L. always has

contended that unemployment is curable. Congress has power to furnish a remedy.

(1929, pp. 84, 287) After much urging the Senate Committee on the Census included in the census bill a provision to investigate unemployment. It passed the Senate. When it reached the House two provisions for taking a census of unemployment were stricken out. This was a day before the committee arose to report the bill back to the House. The Legislative Committee immediately began a fight to have the unemployment feature replaced in the bill. Only a short time was given to accomplish results. Twenty-four hours after the word was eliminated the bill was reported to the House and friends of Labor insisted on its to a census of unemployed, but by a vote of 189 to 188 the word was put back in the bill in the first section, but later on it was stricken out of another section. When the bill went to conference the conferees restored "unemployment" to the measure and both Houses approved of the report.

(1930, pp. 47, 303) The outstanding economic fact of the past year is serious unemployment. Business depression which gained impetus through the stock market crash last fall replaced a period of prosperity. Decline in production had begun in July, 1929, and had progressed unrecognized until the crash of the stock market. As credit extended for speculating purposes had greatly increased money rates, loans made to foreign countries had declined. While production undertakings were generally in a sound condition, failure to make the proper adjustment of credit forces and to provide wage earner and small salary incomes adequate to buy the products of industries, contributed to end what had been a long period of economic prosperity.

Beginning with November unemployment began to increase. The cat-

astrophe which overtook these unemployed workers and their families brought all of the evils that come from insufficient money to supply wants and necessities.

Under our present business economy, there have been frequent breakdowns due to failure to adjust production to markets and the inability of our credit system to meet such emergencies. The responsibility for such breakdowns rests squarely upon business management. Despite the progress that has been made in fact finding in the past decade, management has not adequate information and does not know how to use such information as is available in order to help prevent business depressions. Producing industries do not provide adequate machinery for accumulating and organizing the information necessary to guide them. The field of distribution is quite unorganized and only the first steps have been taken to accumulate information for the development of better management in this field.

The organization of business has become more complicated and more centralized due to mass production and mergers, and the consequences of management even more completely control the lives and welfare of an increasingly greater number of people employed in business. Management of modern industries has a much greater responsibility than management of small scale industries—just as driving an automobile in city traffic is a greater responsibility than driving a horse and buggy through village streets.

The consequences of management in a single producing establishment are increased by the fact that distinguishes our present economic structure—interdependence. Not only are the units of a single industry dependent upon each other in order that the whole industry may be prosperous, but industries and countries are

interdependent. If a serious shortage of raw materials is experienced in a single industry its effect may be felt throughout the world; the boll weevil in the U.S. may cause unemployment in the British textile mills. The past year has brought falling prices throughout the world and serious unemployment in Japan, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, Australia, and increasing unemployment everywhere even in France, although in that country the problem is negligible in comparison with other sections. Commerce and business are organized on a world wide basis—shortage of crops or production in any one country affects prices in all countries.

Since business organization is so sensitive and so intricately interrelated that the consequences of misjudgment in any one field are transmitted throughout the whole structure and every community, the responsibility resting on management is correspondingly grave.

Those elements in business which have been in the strongest positions to take care of their own interests have already made provisions against the emergencies that arise in business. Reserves have been built up to stabilize dividend payments, to replace machinery, to take care of amortization, etc. Those who have no protection against industrial emergencies are persons employed to carry on the work of production and distribution. To these groups the emergency means loss of job and income. The industry slows up its activities when depression develops. The immediate result is to intrench depression forces. Because industrial managements are unable to interpret trends they are guided by fear. They wait for a sign.

Wage earners and small salaried persons are groups who have practically no security in their work relationship. The work of these groups is

essential to the undertaking—as vital as the use of credit. When these groups are in a position to have included in their work contracts provisions to stabilize their employment and incomes, industry will provide securities for them in its planning. Persons employed by a production undertaking and giving service essential to production are in reality partners in the undertaking and the administration of the undertaking should be so organized as to recognize and compensate the relationship proportionately. These partners work together—instead of against each other—and should have the same stability in their relationship to the undertaking that is provided for the others who contribute to its operation. They put themselves in the work—that is, their time, energy, ability, interest. They help to maintain standards of production and service which constitute the firm's good will. These investments of personal capacities are equally as important as the materials, machinery, the money that buys them, or the directing management. Wide differences in compensation or consideration accorded those contributing elements is unjust. It rests with each group to secure proper recognition for its services and upon the individual to distinguish himself.

Where contributions are personal, and the contributions so numerous that the individual becomes relatively unimportant to management, these individuals are helpless to advance their interests unless they pool their influence by acting as a group. Individuals cooperating with each other on common problems may become a powerful institution, able to control their future and to have representation in the determination of their work contracts. We need information to point the way.

In the fact of interdependence of individual and group interests lies the

main explanation of the inadequacy of our industrial information. While information for some fields is fairly comprehensive, there are wide gaps and what is vitally important, no attempt to chart the interplay of interests, to discover how they must work together in order to sustain prosperity and synchronize progress in various groups. We need knowledge of the facts and principles of coordination in order to change all planning for progress from conflicts of interests to integration of purpose and activity.

Endeavor to this end can be advanced only under Federal Government leadership. The work done by the Committee on Recent Economic Changes laid the foundations for projecting the next dynamic inquiry—the development and coordination of government fact finding and information services in cooperation with the voluntary associations with inherent authority to represent distinctive functional groups in industry.

Never has the closeness of interest between the nations of the world been more clearly demonstrated than in the present year. The business depression, from which we have been suffering on this continent, has been world wide. We have suffered because of the depression abroad, and conditions in foreign countries have been intensified by the depression here.

European countries were very seriously affected by the stock exchange crash of last fall, for they had large investments in this country, and the Wall Street crash was followed by similar financial disorders abroad. Business depression spread, and very few countries were able to hold out against the general downward trend.

With business depression has come world wide unemployment. The suffering in the U.S. and Canada has been severe, but in foreign countries,

millions more have been out of work, and their plight was the more serious because in so many cases they had a long period of unemployment behind them.

Unemployment and business depression have cut down the market for our goods, for wage earners out of work could not buy our products and merchants cut down their orders. Exports this year have been 23 per cent below last year. Industry in general and manufacturers who depend on foreign trade, have seen their orders dropping off and have had to curtail production.

Following shows the number or percentage of wage earners out of work in foreign countries. These figures do not by any means show the whole number unemployed. They cover those persons who are either registered under unemployment insurance plans or who are members of trade unions or both. But they indicate the serious suffering European and Asiatic wage earners have been through this winter. The reports show more than 6,000,000 workers unemployed in these countries in March this year. The majority of countries report between 9 and 16 per cent of their wage earners out of work.

Comparing this year with last year, the Scandinavian countries and two small Slavic countries are the only ones which do not show increases in unemployment, and in most cases the increases are large. Last year the majority reported from 6 to 14 per cent out of work as compared to 9 to 16 per cent this year, and in those countries reporting for both years, the number out of work last year in March was 3,427,909 as compared to 5,020,649 this year. It is important to note also that there is an increase in part time unemployment. Those countries reporting for both years show in every case more on part time work in March this year than last. Part time work

also means reductions in wage earners' incomes.

It is significant that seasonal changes were the reason for laying men off in over half the plants. This suggests the magnitude of the seasonal unemployment problem. Probably seasonal dull periods are responsible for more unemployment than any other cause, and it is likely that a very large proportion of the workers in the U.S. and Canada lose a portion of their income every year because it is the custom for plants to lay off their workers without provision when the dull season comes.

Nearly all industries find their operations seasonal to some extent. But much seasonal unemployment is preventable to a very large degree. It is common knowledge that many plants have found it not only possible but advantageous to regularize their production schedules so that uniform operation is maintained throughout the year, and their work forces are given continuous employment.

The following figures from three industries give a picture of the huge number affected each year by seasonal unemployment. The figures are for the year 1929.

In automobiles, the industry needed 475,000 workers for six months of the year—these men and women had to depend on the automobile industry for their living. But 70,000 of them were laid off for three months and 150,000 for two months. How can these workers maintain their standard of living while their incomes are cut off? In clothing factories, 155,000 are needed for six months, but 4,000 of them are unemployed for five months—nearly all the other half year, and 11,000 are laid off for three months. In cotton textiles, 431,000 are employed for six months, and 13,000 of them are laid off for four months, and 21,000 for two months.

Here are 182,000 workers, in these three industries alone, who lost from two to five months work last year. This immense loss of income means a very serious lowering of living standards.

It has been estimated that under present conditions it costs \$2,400 a year to give a workman's family of man, wife and three children a standard of living which provides for a few comforts. This standard must be the minimum if American workmen are to help maintain our economic prosperity and to develop the qualities of character worthy of American citizens. This standard costs \$47 a week for a family of five, if the father has work for 52 weeks of the year. But if with the same wage he loses two months' work (eight weeks) he is immediately reduced below the standard sufficient to support health and decency, and if he loses five months, he is reduced to the poverty level.

A yearly wage basis instead of a weekly would give workers assurance of a steady income the year round and at the same time encourage employers to stabilize their operations so that their entire work force might be permanently employed.

Some plants are following the custom of laying workers off for two or three weeks in the dull season and calling it a "vacation." A layoff without pay is not a vacation.

After the strain of modern industrial work, wage earners need rest and recreation. Intelligent employers readily see that they also profit if their workmen are able to give their best when the pressure of work comes. A vacation is a very important preparation for the next busy season. But a layoff without pay does not give rest or recreation. Anxiety, undernourishment, feverish efforts to find other work, if any can be found, fear lest he may not be taken on when the

plant reopens—these characterize the workers' layoff without pay and are anything but a suitable preparation for the next season's work.

A true vacation with pay on the other hand gives the worker real rest, and often a chance to get away with his family for a short trip; and he has the assurance that his job will be waiting for him on his return. A yearly wage, planned to cover 50 weeks' work and at least two weeks' vacation, would mean much to workers in physical and mental well being and ability to do careful and responsible work.

A comparison of wages and employment in the depressions of 1924 and 1930 shows striking differences which have doubtless been the result of efforts to maintain wage levels and keep wage earners at work in this depression. A very just comparison can be made between these two depressions, for 1930 had until July been similar to the depression of 1924, about as severe, and probably a little more extended in time. (In comparing wage cuts, the comparison is made between the worst six months of 1924 and the worst six months of 1930 up to and including the month of June.)

In 1930, less than half as many firms cut wages and the wage cuts were almost entirely in smaller firms; only one-fifth as many employees were affected, and the wage cuts on the average were less severe. Employment was better maintained, the decrease in the number at work being only 9.5 per cent as compared to 11.5 per cent in 1924. (Comparisons of employment, workers' incomes and workers' buying power are made between the best six months of the boom preceding the depression and the worst six months of the depression through June, 1930.)

But there was more part time work in 1930 than in 1924. This may have

been due to the efforts of employers to keep workers employed by putting the whole force on part time rather than laying any off. Part time work reduced workers' annual incomes considerably. In 1924, workers' incomes declined only 2.7 per cent, while in 1930 they were reduced 3.8 per cent. (Since there were fewer wage cuts in 1930, this greater reduction was due entirely to part time work.)

In spite of part time work, however, workers' buying power was a little better maintained in 1930 than in 1924, because of efforts to keep workers employed and to avoid wage cuts. In 1924, workers' buying power fell 13.8 per cent, in 1930 only 12.9 per cent. But the fact that workers' buying power fell as much as 12.9 per cent this year shows need of better planning to maintain wages and employment, and especially to keep workers employed full time.

It is highly significant that more than one plant in every four laid off men because of increased efficiency, according to the conference board's study. Displacement of workers by machines and technical improvements — "technological unemployment" — is no less serious now than it has been at any time in the last 10 years.

In fact it seems likely that we may look forward in future to even greater mechanical developments than we have seen in the past and even larger numbers of workers affected.

The amazing developments of the past 10 years have already left us with a problem of unemployment which probably involves millions of workers. In older days, when machine developments took place more slowly, increasing production gradually created new jobs and workers eventually found work again. But in the past 10 years new machines and new techniques have been introduced so rapidly and so generally throughout indus-

try that there has not been time for adjustment. Increasing production has created new jobs, but these jobs have been quickly taken away by newer machines and newer technical changes.

Industries on which 40 per cent of our wage earners depend for their living actually employed 900,000 fewer wage earners in 1929 than in 1919 although the business handled was far greater.

In manufacturing, our factories produced 42 per cent more with 546,000 fewer wage earners; on railroads, seven per cent more business was handled with 253,000 fewer employees; in coal mines, production per worker increased 23 per cent and 100,000 fewer miners were employed.

But the effect of reduction in the number of workers in these industries is far more serious than these figures at first indicate. For in the 10 years from 1919 to 1929 population has increased and about seven million more persons are looking for work as wage earners and small salaried workers.

One would expect these newcomers to look for work in factories, mines and railroads as well as in service trades, stores, banks, commercial houses, insurance and other lines. But work in factories, mines and railroads can be had only by displacing someone already employed. For these three industries are not only not creating new work opportunities, but have actually added 900,000 to the army of job seekers by cutting their forces. Thus 7,900,000 men and women must look for work in stores, service industries, banks, and other lines outside manufacturing, coal mining and railroads. It is no wonder that these industries cannot furnish enough employment.

No adequate figures are available to show what proportion of these 7,900,000 have been able to find work.

We know that certain industries are creating new work opportunities and employing more wage earners and small salaried workers; service industries (such as hotels, restaurants, barber shops, laundries, gasoline stations, garages); salesmanship; insurance agents, professional groups. But studies made in different localities indicate that the jobs to be had in these industries have not provided for the great army of job seekers.

The decrease in work opportunities has had several effects. (1) With a surplus of workers, younger men have taken older men's places and it is becoming exceedingly difficult for men over 45 to find work. (2) When a man is laid off, it takes him longer to find new work because there are more looking for jobs. A study covering 750 workers who were laid off in different cities, finds that more than 60 per cent of them, nearly two-thirds were out of work three months or more before finding new employment, and 31 per cent or nearly one-third, were out of work six months or more. Many who have dependents are out of work for a year or more. (3) It is harder to find temporary work to tide over the unemployment period. The study showed that less than one-third (31 per cent) found temporary work. (4) Many who want work, but can get along without working by depending on someone else, do not try to find work. This means that family living standards are lower. (5) Many who are displaced in an industry where new machines have been introduced must find work in another industry where the skills required are altogether different, and often the new work means a lower standard of living. The study shows that 54 per cent of the new work was totally different and required learning new skills, and 48 per cent took a reduction in pay.

Part time employment is becoming a serious part of the unemployment

ment problem. As was noted above, there has evidently been more part time work in the depression of 1930 than in that of 1924. Even in a year of very high business activity such as last year, part time work in dull months makes severe inroads into wage earners' incomes. In the month of July, 1929, workers' incomes were lower than in June in industries employing over half the wage earners in manufacturing. These losses of income were due almost entirely to part time unemployment. The only figures we have greatly minimize the losses to those working part time because they include also those who worked full time and only the average for all can be calculated. But these average losses give an idea what part time means to the wage earner when it is remembered that they show only part of the loss.

From June to July, the average wage for workers in manufacturing in the United States dropped from \$27.79 a week to \$26.54, or \$1.25 a week. Since this figure includes many who work full time, losses of part time workers must be very much higher than this. Wage decreases were particularly large in automobiles, where the average loss for all workers was about \$4.50 a week, millinery and lace about \$2.00, women's clothing about \$1.60, and glass about \$1.40.

We have very little knowledge about the extent of part time work. The Federation is beginning September to collect figures on part time with its monthly unemployment reports. These will be exceedingly valuable as they will throw light on the extent of the problem.

A preliminary questionnaire on part time was sent in August to a small group of unions affiliated with the Federation. Replies were received from 198 unions in 12 cities, representing a membership of over 80,000. These reports show 26 per cent unem-

ployed and 15 per cent on part time in August. Where figures for part time are available in foreign countries, they show that in March this year 12.6 per cent in Germany and 28.9 per cent in Poland were working part time, and in Belgium and Switzerland over four per cent were on part time.

The social degeneration resulting from unemployment can hardly be estimated. First, there is physical deterioration, undernourishment not only for the wage earner but for his wife and children, often illness resulting from privation, anxiety for the future which is a constant strain on nerves. For growing children, undernourishment and privation at the period when they need to store strength for the future may mean permanent weakness.

The moral and spiritual deterioration resulting from undernourishment, anxiety and discouragement is even more serious. When a worker has given his best to his work and is laid off without consideration, when he has made every effort to save against the future only to see his savings wiped away again and again by unemployment, when his attempts to rise to a better standard of living are repeatedly annihilated by loss of work, is it any wonder that he loses hope? The injustice of it alone disheartens him. Can he be blamed if he develops an irresponsible attitude, lives up to the limit of his income while it lasts and appeals to charity when he is laid off? The wonder is that in spite of the constant drag of unemployment so many wage earners do save against the future, so few go to charity for help until they have exhausted every resource for independent living and made every possible sacrifice. This fact is striking evidence of the inherent courage, independence and self-reliance of American working men and women.

But the increasing insecurity of employment is having its unmistakable effect on the morale of wage earners. It is undoubtedly an important cause of the increase in wage earner bankruptcy, of irresponsibility and appeals to charity in cities where employment is particularly unstable. The habit of dependence develops from just such circumstances.

The extent of the dependence on charity is strikingly shown by figures from charity organizations in 79 cities collected by the Russell Sage Foundation. In the first half of 1930, over \$24,000,000 was given out in relief by these charity organizations. A very large portion of the relief was due to unemployment. An average of more than 160,000 families applied for help each month. Even in the prosperous year of 1929, in the three most prosperous months, relief given by charity organizations was over a million a month.

These figures, impressive as they are, can not show the full extent of the human and economic waste resulting from unemployment. To give a man charity when he wants work is to teach him dependence and take from him the satisfaction of earning his living by constructive activity. It is equally unsound economically to give men charity while they are idle instead of letting them create wealth by their labor. Unemployment is an indictment of our economic control.

No employer would depend on charity to keep his machinery in repair or carry his overhead in dull seasons. And yet thousands actually depend on charity to carry their work force when they are not needed for production. Is not their investment in men as much their concern and responsibility as their investment in machines? Is it not vastly more important to the nation that its human resources be kept intact?

We estimate that those wage earn-

ers who were thrown out of work by the business depression this year lost \$1,200,000,000 in wages in the first half of 1930. (This figure does not include agricultural workers or salaried employees.) Had they been at work they would have created wealth equal to more than the value of their wages. The country is therefore poorer by far more than a billion dollars. Their lost wages alone would have increased the total national income by 2.8 per cent.

This huge loss in workers' buying power has had its inevitable effect on business. It has added to depression forces and helped to postpone recovery. Business needs the stimulation of consumer buying. Because stores have seen their trade falling off, they have ordered less from manufacturers, and manufacturers have been forced to curtail production.

The importance of labor as consumer is one of the outstanding facts of the modern era. Eighty per cent of those who buy consumer products of our industries and use the consumer services of transportation, communication and other industries, are working men and their families.

Labor's purchase and use of industrial products has become a keystone on which our economic prosperity depends. Never has this been more forcefully demonstrated than in our present industrial depression. Workers' purchasing power in the first six months of 1930 averaged 12 per cent below the same period of 1929. With the cumulative effects of unemployment and part time work adding to depression forces, sales of department stores fell further below last year in June and July than in any other months this year. The failure of workers' buying power is shown especially in the clothing industries, for workmen must make last year's outfits do in order to stretch their reduced incomes over the necessities of living—food and shelter.

As the forces of business depression were gathering, the President of the U.S. called to conference in the White House representatives of industries, of railroads, and of Labor.

As a result of his conferences with employers and with Labor, President Hoover issued this statement to the press:

The President was authorized by the employers who were present at this morning's conference to state on their individual behalf that they will not initiate any movement for wage reduction, and it was their strong recommendation that this attitude should be pursued by the country as a whole. They considered that aside from the human considerations involved, the consuming power of the country will thereby be maintained.

The President was also authorized by the representatives of Labor to state that in their individual views and that as their strong recommendation to the country as a whole that no movements beyond those already in negotiation should be initiated for increase of wages and that every cooperation should be given by Labor to industry in the handling of its problems. The purpose of these declarations is to give assurance that conflicts should not occur during the present situation which will affect the continuity of work and thus to maintain stability of employment.

This definite repudiation of wage cuts as the method of meeting business depression was a constructive achievement. It meant a definite effort to maintain standards and to prevent the foundations of buying power from being completely undermined. It added a new element of security to wage earners' status. It was recognition of the principle that the misfortunes of business are not to be handed over to

wage earners in the form of wage reductions.

This agreement not to reduce wages has been lived up to by many large employers of labor who thus have shown their faith in high wages as an essential requirement for the maintenance of prosperity.

There have been wage cuts by some large companies but chiefly by small firms and firms of less secure financial foundations. Employers who have refused to make wage cuts deserve to be commended for their constructive policy and for their aid in averting a deeper business depression. Equal commendation is due labor organizations which cooperated by not raising issues that might embarrass or interrupt efforts to turn the tide upward. Unions have again demonstrated their methods and their appreciation of the interdependence between their interests and the interests of industry and society.

Strategic as was this agreement against wage cuts, it did not prevent great and widespread suffering from dismissals, lay-offs, and part-time work.

Difficult as this long depression is proving itself, it has disclosed with striking distinctness a growing responsibility on the part of management for the workers on their pay rolls and an appreciation of wage earners as consumers.

Labor's Unemployment Program.

Under our present business economy, people must have money to buy the necessities of life and whatever else they may include in their standards of living. For the great majority of people employment is essential as a source of income. Loss of employment is a tragedy. Unless work is obtainable, they can turn only to charity.

Society has a responsibility for providing service for all who need employment.

To provide aid in finding employment is the first constructive policy, though relief may be necessary for an emergency. Society through its organized channels owes it to its working citizens to provide them with information of all available work opportunities. Such a service would be equally useful to employers informing them where to get the kind of employees they need.

Private employment agencies profit through the misfortunes of workers. Labor turnover adds to their revenues. Their fees, even when legitimate, come at a time when the worker is least able to meet additional expenses.

Some industrial managements have been opposed to the development of a federal agency because they found a special advantage to them in requiring workers to apply on their premises. But this to those seeking employment means the heavy hardship of going from place to place, consuming time and physical energy which could be saved by accumulating employment information in a central office. Whatever the type of central office, whether for all industries or special offices for special industries, the State owes to Labor services essential to their progress and prosperity. The Government is now furnishing information and advisory service to other economic groups; the interests of wage earners are equally important to national advancement.

The State should also provide data on employment and unemployment indicating trends and other information necessary as the basis for constructive planning. Although widespread unemployment is recognized as a catastrophe, our government does not gather unemployment statistics and does not assemble comprehensive information showing when unemployment may be increasing or decreasing.

Because of the intricate interrelations existing in our economic struc-

ture, it is important to know shifts in employment as soon as they begin. Rapidity of technical change constitutes a distinct labor and social problem which if allowed to accumulate, will bring catastrophic consequences. Increasing productivity with growing unemployment and with low incomes to wage earners will surely wreck industries.

The basis for all planning to prevent unemployment is the records of what is happening in production, employment and unemployment. Employment and unemployment data should be supplemented by part time and man hours data. Accumulated records and understanding of the interplay of industrial forces will disclose constructive policies.

We propose as our program:

1. Reduction in hours of work.

As progress is made in increasing output and productivity, the world's needs can be supplied in fewer hours of work, and benefits of this progress should be shared by those who do the work. The shorter work day and work week bring to wage earners opportunities for other creative interests as well as for conservation of physical energy.

Where work hours—daily and weekly—are not progressively reduced to keep pace with scientific progress, practically the full cost of this progress falls upon wage earners in the form of unemployment. Instead of laying off employees as productivity increases, the work day should be reduced, the work week shortened and provisions for annual vacations with pay should reduce the work year.

Progress should mean leisure for the fullness of life for all. Shorter work hours take the element of drudgery out of work and raise the work life as well as leisure to a higher plane so that workers become more efficient as workers and better citizens.

Reducing the hours per day, the five-day week, and vacations with pay are major proposals in our unemployment program.

2. Stabilization of Industry.

The cumulative effects of unemployment reach far beyond the workers themselves. The most effective solution of the problem is prevention. When industries accept their responsibility to their wage earners, and abandon the habit of laying off employees in order to reduce costs, they must face squarely stabilization of production. This is a technical problem which concerns the whole work organization, and to which all can contribute useful information and service.

Management has records of policies and results which will help indicate how rush periods may be anticipated and plans for steady flow of work developed. Seasonal factors often are due to forces outside the control of industry. There are available technical skill and intelligence adequate to solve the production problems involved in regularization when management embodies in its thinking the principle of responsibility for regular employment and annual incomes for its employees. Every group in the business organization can help in solving the problem where the channels of cooperation are set up. In addition to what they can contribute to the problem within the plant, wage earners because of their numbers and contacts with outsiders can help create for the company public good will and support, and in some cases directly increase patronage. The will to give such help grows out of a feeling of partnership which underlies cooperation.

That the proposal to regularize production is practical has been repeatedly demonstrated by establishments that have tackled the problem. It can be done when management and all connected with the undertaking ac-

cept as basic in the determination of all policies that regular production must be maintained. Regularization requires careful planning and continuous watchfulness, and ties in with production economics. All groups in industry must become "employment" minded.

In working out a program to maintain regularity of production, shorter work days and work weeks should synchronize with technical progress. Vacations with pay should be a factor in planning for wages and employment on a yearly basis.

By thus assuring that the employees of various industries shall participate in the progress of industry and society through curtailment of work hours made possible by increased productivity, industries will help to provide buyers for the products which they put on the market. Progressive adjustments of hours should be accompanied by adjustments in compensation paid. Wage earners like all other citizens must have an annual income in order to maintain their standards of living and meet obligations incurred on that basis.

While individual production establishments must work out the problem of stabilization for themselves, there is needed in addition team work by the whole industry and team work between all industries. To accomplish this there should be comprehensive planning by an advisory body, representative of all production and consumer groups. Such a national economic council should plan the machinery for achieving economic equilibrium, and undertake to secure the cooperation of voluntary associations and governmental agencies in a coordinated undertaking.

3. Efficient Management in Production and in Sales Policies.

We must have money to pay the costs of living. The objective of all

economic activity is profits. The higher the profits the greater the amount that can be given the producers. Profits can be increased by elimination of wastes and greater efficiency in production and sales policies and methods.

Accumulated inefficiencies create the wastes that contribute to business failures and business depressions.

All producers are part of our business society, individuals in business to get profits on their investments. Some invest capital, others technical capacity to direct operators, others technical capacity to carry on the production processes. All are directly concerned in increasing the total sum accruing from their joint efforts so the share of each may be larger. There is mutual obligation for efficiency and mutual right to demand efficiency. Each contributing group through its group organization should provide itself with technical counsel for increasing efficiency in performing its special functions. The federal government should increase its service to industry both in the technical field and in supplying information on how to work efficiently.

4. Nation-wide System of Employment Exchanges.

A nation-wide system of employment exchanges, the state to establish local services and the federal government to provide the channels for pooling information and experience is essential to any plan for assuring continuous employment for workers; an employment service is fundamental for better employment. Local exchanges must be organized along lines that will assure the confidence and cooperation of those served—industries and workers.

5. Adequate Records.

Although our federal government and some of our state governments supply splendid statistical services, there are not available all of the facts

necessary to regularize production and prevent unemployment. Every unit and every functional group of our economic structure has a contribution to make in the accumulation of adequate records. With the government must rest coordination of available information and responsibility for furnishing it.

We believe this purpose would be greatly advanced if the federal government should consider unification of federal statistics so that they could be used for the widest comparative purposes.

Appropriations for statistical work should be sufficiently adequate to enable each federal department and agency to gather and compile the necessary information in its jurisdiction.

The principles we outline for federal agencies apply to state and municipal governments.

Organized industries such as trade associations, are also clearing centers for the facts about a whole industry. Union headquarters accumulate facts concerning workers as employees and as consumers and citizens. National and international unions can supplement the information compiled by trade associations.

In addition to the standards and indications separate groups may furnish, it is necessary to know the facts of industry as a going concern in a community or an area that constitutes an economic unit. The necessity for planning for coordinated information requires cooperation between the organized groups and industries. Coordinated planning is essential to cooperation to maintain prosperity and insure employment for all.

6. Use of Public Works to Meet Cyclical Unemployment.

Since we have not mastered the principles or the technique of sustained prosperity, we must be prepared to deal with business depression. Assum-

ing that business forces are controllable, we must plan to stop the swing downward. The best way to inject new activity on large enough scale to have appreciable effect is to speed up construction of public works. To be most effective, steps must be taken when indications of business depression are evident. There should be an agency charged with this responsibility, organized and alert to take action.

7. Vocational Guidance and Retraining.

Vocational training and retraining must be tied in with our unemployment program.

Vocational and industrial education should give the workers that grasp of fundamentals of his industry that he may be able to adjust himself to changes or even a new occupation. The facts of employment and unemployment are necessary in planning courses and for vocational guidance.

Every employment bureau of our proposed national system should be able to assist workers displaced by new machinery or new processes, guiding them to employment for which their skills and experience can be adapted or giving them whatever retraining should be necessary. Society owes to such victims of progress assistance in meeting their personal problems in adjusting so that they too may share in benefits of social progress.

8. Special Study of Technological Unemployment.

We need basic knowledge of displacement of workers by machines. We need to know when and where such displacements will take place and to establish the practice of providing in advance adjustments for such workers.

The President of the United States will be asked to arrange for special study of technological unemployment and related problems.

9. Study Relief Proposals.

Industries that have the problem of seasonal unemployment should work out some plan to take care of employees during such periods of unemployment as cannot be prevented by more scientific, efficient planning. This has been done in some instances by unions cooperating with management, and a jointly created fund furnishes weekly incomes to workers during periods of cyclical unemployment.

A number of unions have provided unemployment funds for the relief of members out of work.

We direct the E.C. make a thorough investigation of all plans, legislative and otherwise, that have been discussed or suggested for the express purpose of finding a practical way by which relief may be accorded those who are suffering from forced unemployment.

10. Education for Life.

In conclusion we believe that what is needed is not a revolutionary program or the creation of many new agencies, but overall planning based upon knowledge of significant trends so that existing agencies may function effectively and cooperate in carrying through a program for human progress.

The primary step is to have every individual prepared to take a constructive part in life and to make sure there are work opportunities available for all. This purpose necessitates that education be planned with specific reference to the world of work. The training period involves three phases—education, vocational training and placement. None of these functions can be performed efficiently without intimate and continual knowledge of industrial trends and developments. To plan their school program educational directors need to know: which industries are declining and at which rate; which industries are expanding

and at which rate; which industries are developing and at which rate; which technical changes are impending; in which fields will research and experimentation probably bring changes; what are the possibilities for expanding demand to absorb increasing productivity in industries where technical changes have been installed. Such information as this kept up to date is a basic necessity for that adjustment of policies that will keep education responsive to life needs.

Not all pupils are interested in going into industry. There are those who look to the professions, the semi-professional jobs, clerical and service employment. Educators need just as careful detailed information in these fields as they do on industry.

In addition to general education, everybody should have some special training through which he can earn his living. In our educational program we should include provisions for adult education. Now that educational opportunities are no longer restricted to our youth, it is possible at any time that the need may arise for workers to prepare for new or allied callings. This is a practical answer to the problem developing from technological progress and displacement of workers. The employment agencies should tie their work in with vocational training, retraining and guidance.

For, in order for planning to be effective, it is not enough for the leaders in each field to familiarize themselves with developments in other experiences, but there should be personal contact, conferences round the table between the leaders of all peoples for the purpose of discussion, interchange of experience and conclusions. Such discussions and conferences would have a profound effect upon all policy making and administration of work. What is important is understanding of the interdepend-

ence of problems and the interplay of causes and forces. The great problem is the need of finding the principles and technique of coordination. This is essential in making that preparation for the work of life that will avoid preventable wastes and will enable us to make constructive progress in planning for continuous employment. There is need for the specialist to make this thinking so comprehensive that it reaches out to encompass the whole of human experience in order to fit his functional service in a coordinated plan for progress in life.

(Pp. 93, 321) The past year has seen great progress in our unemployment reports, due largely to the splendid cooperation of local unions. The number of unions covered has grown from 930 in August, 1929, to more than 2,400 in August, 1930, and the membership covered has increased from 271,000 to 790,000.

We are also giving a further service to cooperating locals. Each month a brief survey of local business conditions and an interpretation of the local unemployment situation is sent out with the postcard questionnaire to every local in the 24 cooperating centers. From the interest shown in these reports we are convinced they are a valued service to local executives.

Our figures on unemployment receive wide publicity. They are given out each month in press releases and are carried by the leading papers and by hundreds of local papers in all parts of the country. Numbers of trade journals also quote them as authority on the employment situation. Through the present business depression, when unemployment has been such an important factor, the public has watched our figures with keenest interest. We have kept the problem before the public mind, showing the immense number of persons affected and the critical effects of unemploy-

ment on the general economic welfare. This constant publicity and educational work are most influential in stimulating action, and urging efforts to stabilize employment and prevent layoffs.

Because of the wide and constructive influence of our figures on unemployment, we are now extending our reports to bring information on part time work. Part time work is an important phase of the unemployment problem though one on which there is practically no information. A preliminary survey on part time work in August brought replies from 198 cooperating unions in 12 cities, and covered 83,000 members. Fifteen per cent were on part time work.

The public has little realization of the importance of this problem of part time work or its wide extent. Thousands of wage earners have their incomes reduced each year by part time employment. Our figures will show the need of action and give the necessary information for unionists and all others who want to work for constructive improvements.

(Pp. 104, 305) Notwithstanding the acute unemployment existing throughout the United States, the U.S. Congress failed to pass two measures dealing directly with this subject. Senator Wagner introduced three unemployment bills which passed the Senate without any particular opposition. S. 3059 provided for advance planning of public improvements, and \$150,000,000 was to be appropriated and thus made available for immediate use when unemployment became acute. The House passed this bill after emasculating its principal features. It is now in conference. S. 3060 providing for the establishment of a national employment system and for cooperation of the states in the promotion of such a system, failed of passage in the House. S. 3061 is the only bill that became a law. It provided that the

Bureau of Labor Statistics shall publish at least once each month changes in the employment.

(P. 322) The president of the A. F. of L. and the presidents of the departments were requested to call on the President of the U.S. and request that a long range planning committee of Public Works be created so as to avert future unemployment.

(1932, pp. 20, 313) Estimates based on government figures show that unemployment this year averaged 10,826,000 persons in the first nine months, and that in June, July and August the number of out of work passed the 11,000,000 mark.

Nearly one-third of all our non-agricultural wage and small salaried workers have been unable to earn their livelihood this year, and in the summer months more than one-third have been without income. This is the general average, but in many industries the situation is far worse. In October, union reports show 65% out of work in building, 46% in metal trades, 42% in manufacturing, 38% in water transport, 31% in theatres, and 50% among musicians and other professionals. During the summer unemployment in clothing and textile industries reached 51%. Some cities report conditions even worse than this. In October, building trades report that in Cleveland 76% of their membership were out of work and in addition 14% on part time so that only 10% had full employment; in Buffalo 70% were out of work and only 13% had full employment; in Birmingham, Detroit, Pittsburgh, San Antonio, Seattle, conditions are similar or even worse. Metal trades report that in Los Angeles only 1% of their membership were on full time in October, 66% out of work; in Cleveland only 4% on full time, 63% out of work. Similar reports could be listed indefinitely for other trades.

In addition to those entirely without

work, millions more have only part time employment. A number of industries, especially in manufacturing and mining, report that more than half those at work are on short schedule; in manufacturing, those on part time average less than three-quarters of their full pay, and many are receiving less than half pay.

Reports from trade unions show that an average of nearly 21% of the membership have been working part time this year (first 9 months) and that part time work increased from 19% in January to 22% in September.

With these losses, due to full or part unemployment, and with curtailment of wages in addition, millions of workers' families are living far below the minimum standard for health and efficiency. We estimate that, counting all workers and those dependent upon them, at least 60,000,000 persons are now living below minimum standards—nearly half our entire population. Forty millions of them have been dragged into poverty by depression; twenty million more are in industries where living conditions even in normal times are below standard.

Could there be a more serious indictment of our present economic order? We are denying one-third of our wage and small salaried workers the right to work; we are slowly starving nearly half our population.

Because the effects of unemployment are lived out silently, in millions of homes, our nation is not yet fully conscious of its significance or its influence on our future. Slow starvation means that gradually physical vitality is being sapped, anxiety and despair are creating a spirit of suspicion, fear and rebellion. Families are burdened with debts which will last long after depression is over, millions are driven into dependency. Skills for work are lost and even the desire to work, many will never again be able

to earn their living. People cannot go on for two or more years without work or income and keep normal. The futility of it destroys their self-respect. Resentment and despair may replace that fine spirit of independence and responsibility which has characterized our people. In short, millions are losing the capacity to live constructively and contribute in a creative way to our national life.

That we should allow this national deterioration when we have in our farms and industries a wealth of resources to supply every need, is sheer stupidity. Our productive capacity has not failed, but our planning to use and distribute the product. If as a nation we are alive to the problem and turn our combined intelligence to meet it, as we turned every resource to win the world war, we can check this wholesale destruction of human personalities. Our energies must be redirected to restore sanity and balance in economic life.

The Federation estimates of unemployment in the United States, based on government figures, show that this year nearly 8,000,000 more persons have been out of work than in April 1930. Unemployment this year increased steadily till September. Although normally employment improves during the spring and there are more jobs in summer than in winter, this year over 1,200,000 persons were thrown out of work from January to August; only 560,000 of them found even temporary work in September.

Trade union figures show a smaller percentage of unemployment than that of workers as a whole. The per cent of trade union members out of work this year has averaged 23.7, while the average for the country as a whole was 31.8% (nine months). This is striking evidence of the protection unions have given their members.

Due to unemployment and wage re-

ductions, workers' income at present is scarcely more than half that of 1929; their loss this year alone will probably be at least \$25,000,000,000. By the end of its third year the depression will have cost workers more than \$48,000,000,000 in wage and salary losses alone.

Unquestionably, workers have borne the brunt of depression. Their loss is far greater than that of any other group, far more devastating in its consequences. This \$48,000,000,000 of lost income exceeds the entire cost of the world war to the United States (slightly over \$40,000,000,000 to date). Although living costs have declined somewhat the relief afforded by lower prices has been slight compared to total losses.

Work is the source of our wealth. In agriculture, industry, transportation, construction, work transforms raw materials into goods that have value. The value created is the stream of wealth which supplies income to every family, whether worker, manager or millionaire; the force which creates it is the skill, intelligence and devotion invested by workers and management, coupled with capital furnished by stockholders or other investors. Those who invest the work of their hands and minds have a right to claim a good living from the proceeds of their investment; this is their only source of income. Time was when industry could not produce enough to provide a good living for all; production was limited to what men could make by their hands with simple tools. But today machinery has made it possible to produce more than enough to fill every need for all our people and add many so-called luxuries as well. There is no excuse for anyone to go hungry or do without any of the necessities for a good life.

Whether all shall have a good living depends on the distribution of income

at its source. That is, the payment in right proportion of wages, salaries and dividends by each individual operating unit. The proportion of this distribution is vital to our national life. Not only does it determine whether men and women shall live in comfort, or be deprived of the very essentials of life; it also helps to determine whether our economic life as a whole shall go forward with balance in continued growth and prosperity, or be wrecked periodically by business depression.

During our recent years of prosperity the natural flow of wealth was distorted. Income was distributed in such a way as to benefit the high income groups at the expense of workers and to encourage expansion of producing capacity without providing for the consumption of an increased volume of goods.

From 1922 to 1929 industry increased its dividend payments far more rapidly than its payments of wages and salaries; wages and salaries increased 45.5%; dividends 143.1%, or more than three times as much. (These figures cover all industry.) During the first year of depression, dividend payments actually increased 5% while wage and salary payments declined 15%. Each year from 1924 to 1930 more than \$5,000,000,000 has been paid by industry in dividends to stockholders and in 1930 dividends exceeded \$8,500,000,000.

Payment of huge sums in dividends helped to swell the incomes of the very rich. Only a small portion of the dividends paid in this country go to families of moderate income. In 1929 86.5% of all dividends were paid to persons who had an investment of at least \$100,000. Other factors also piled up income for the wealthy—speculation on the stock exchange, and bonuses, fees, special privileges given by industry to those it favors.

Thus, while workers' income increased by only 45.5% from 1922 to 1929, incomes over \$100,000 increased 389.3%. In 1929, when some 20,000,000 of our citizens were living below minimum standards for health and efficiency, 14,800 persons received incomes of more than \$100,000, and 513 received \$1,000,000 each.

What was the result of piling up excess income in the hands of a few while workers' share fell away?

Since a man who has over \$100,000 income cannot possibly spend it all for the necessities of living, he re-invests a large portion. Piling up riches, therefore, greatly increased the volume of money available for investment in industry. New corporate capital issues—that is, stocks and bonds issued to furnish capital to industry—increased rapidly and much of this new capital went to build new industrial plants and equipment. From 1922 to 1929, new capital issues increased 213% compared to 45.5% increase in wages and salaries. Thus, our producing capacity increased rapidly, without corresponding growth in buying power.

In addition to its huge dividend payments, as shown above, industry was piling up large surplus funds each year. For profits were so great that even after dividends and taxes had been paid, the surplus amounted to nearly \$2,500,000,000 each year (average). In the stock market boom plants were tempted to invest their surplus in brokers' loans where it would draw from 9% to 12% interest, with small risk to them. Thus, at the peak of the stock boom, industry was contributing \$3,600,000,000 to increase speculation. From January 1926 to the 1929 peak this speculative use of industrial funds increased 515.7%. A considerable portion of the income paid to the very rich also helped to increase speculation.

Summing up: The wealth created by industry was so distributed that new capital increased 213%, industrial surplus used for speculation increased 515%, while wages and salaries increased only 45.5%. Producing capacity was increased beyond the capacity of consumers to buy; speculation became more profitable than normal business activity.

Increased capitalization is a continued charge on industry. Every new issue of stock means a claim for more dividends. Beside these new stock issues, industry paid \$8,600,000,000 to its stock holders in stock dividends in these 8 years—another increase in the claim of stock holders over its income. A large part of the growth in dividend payments was due to this increase in capitalization and multiplication of shares of stock.

There is definite shortage of buying power among wage and small-salaried workers. Since they buy 83% of all goods sold to consumers, their buying power is vital to our national welfare. Industry depends on it. The shortage of workers' income was the brake which checked our economic progress in 1929. Engineers estimate that in that year of peak activity our industries were equipped to produce 50% more than could be consumed. Even the goods that were produced could not all be paid for. The deficit in buying power in 1929 was probably made up by selling goods below cost to those who otherwise could not buy. This represents a huge loss to industry.

If industry does not provide consumers with sufficient income to buy its product, it cannot sell enough to cover overhead and earn profits. Unquestionably, the "profitless prosperity" which thousands of business concerns experienced before 1930 was due to the shortage of consumer buying power. Paying money to increase dividends when wages and worker's buy-

ing power are not increased proportionately, is only cutting away industry's power to earn dividend. Consumer buying power must come out of industrial income; if it is not given at first in the form of wages, it will be taken later in the form of bad debts. And when the disproportion becomes too great, depression is the basic cure, with its widespread and unnecessary business wreckage. A consistent policy of increasing wages as rapidly as possible would in the long run bring greater and more general profit to all.

The effect of workers' income losses on business in general has been strikingly shown during the depression. When workers could not buy, retail trade took losses almost equal to the decline in workers' income.

Since all industry depends ultimately on retail trade as the outlet for its products these losses were reflected through our entire industrial system. Factories and mines found their orders cut; railroads have been in serious straits through loss of traffic; no industry has escaped. The market for over one-third of our consumer product has been cut away.

Industry cannot possibly recover until workers' buying power is restored. The income loss from unemployment has been very great, and millions of dollars have also been cut from worker's pay envelopes by wage reductions. Failure of workers' income was a primary cause of depression; we cannot hope to get out of depression by the same means which brought us in.

Relief — (1932, pp. 58, 361) Immediately when Congress convened on December 7th Senators LaFollette and Costigan became the joint authors of an unemployment relief measure which provided for an appropriation of \$375,000,000 to be used in supplying aid to those who were in dis-

tress caused by unemployment. The A. F. of L. supported this bill with all the power and influence which it could command. By direction of the E.C. a conference of the officers of national and international unions was held at the headquarters of the A. F. of L. on February 9th. A strong appeal for the enactment of unemployment relief legislation was adopted. Those in attendance at the conference called in a body upon the President of the U.S., the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate, urging them not only to favor but to bring about the enactment of the Costigan-LaFollette Bill at the earliest possible date.

The opponents of this relief legislation introduced a number of substitutes and amendments for the obvious purpose of bringing about the defeat of this important legislation. To our surprise and disappointment the bill was defeated by a vote of 48 to 35.

The E.C. continued its efforts to secure the enactment of unemployment relief legislation. It appealed to Congress for the passage of adequate relief legislation, emphasizing in a most forcible way the increasing need of those who were in distress because of continued widespread unemployment. The continued aggressive appeal of the E.C. for the enactment of unemployment relief legislation was inspired by a determination to redeem the pledge made organized labor by the President of the A. F. of L. when he made the following statement at the Vancouver convention:

"I propose to go, in the name of the E.C. and with the E.C., to the Congress of the U.S. as soon as it convenes and there tell them, in the name of Labor, that an emergency exists in the U.S. comparable with the emergency that existed during the war, and that we are knocking at the doors of Congress now, in the name of those millions of idle workers, and that we

shall appeal and demand that Congress, without further delay, appropriate a sufficient amount of money, let it be millions or billions, in order to feed the hungry and care for them."

Following the defeat of the Costigan-LaFollette Bill, Senator LaFollette introduced another bill providing for the appropriation of \$5,500,000,000 for relief of unemployment. Hearings were held on this measure. Senator Wagner later introduced a bill which provided that \$375,000,000 be loaned or advanced to the states for the purpose of relieving distress. He also proposed a measure which authorized the construction of public works. After all these relief measures had apparently met with defeat, a number of our friends in the U.S. Senate joined in the presentation of a relief bill which finally passed the Senate. The House also prepared and passed a similar measure. After numerous meetings of the Conference Committees of the two Houses and after repeated votes taken by the House and Senate, on controversial clauses, a bill was passed on July 16th and signed by the President which provided for the appropriation of \$2,122,000,000 for relief purposes. This measure authorized loans to states and municipalities for immediate relief of distress, for the construction of self-liquidating public works and for a limited amount of public building construction on the part of the federal government. It authorized loans to be made by the federal reserve bank direct to private industry and individuals based on adequate security if the applicant certified that a loan cannot be obtained through the customary channels.

The capitalization of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was increased to \$3,800,000,000, an addition of \$1,800,000,000. The measure provides that this added capital is to be obtained through sales of the Corporation's notes, debentures, bonds, and other

such obligations. A section of the measure provides that a special fund of \$300,000,000 is made available for loans to the states for immediate relief purposes. It provides that not more than 15 per cent of the amount thus made available can be secured by any one state. The bill provides that the loan for self-liquidating projects amounts to \$1,500,000,000. A provision of the law which is of especial importance to Labor, appropriating money for public works, provides that in the construction of relief projects convict labor cannot be used and that no individual employed shall be permitted to work more than thirty hours in any one week. It also provides that the wages to be paid must be predetermined in the specifications. Preference is given to ex-service men with dependents. The publicity clause of the measure which was adopted by the House was finally accepted by the Senate.

The A. F. of L. did not regard the amount of money appropriated by Congress for relief purposes adequate to meet the existing and growing needs for help and assistance to those who are suffering so keenly from the effects of unemployment. We urged Congress to regard the existing situation as a great emergency, serious in all its aspects and grave in its potential consequences. We emphasized the increasing needs of the approaching winter and the increasing demands which would be made upon relief agencies for help and assistance. It is the purpose to bring to the attention of the members of Congress when they convene on December 5th, the increasing needs of the existing situation and to appeal again for an urgent appropriation of an adequate amount to meet the requirements of the situation which now exists in all the states, cities and communities throughout the land.

(1933, pp. 91, 425) The present na-

tional relief bill is about \$1,000,000,000 a year, according to the July report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Of the total bill, about 5 per cent is now being furnished by private funds, 95 per cent by public funds; and of the public funds approximately 70 per cent is from the Federal Government, 10 per cent from the states and 20 per cent from local governments. This huge sum of relief is over and above the help given by neighbors, relatives, trade unions, churches and other organizations, which mounts into further millions, for care for the unemployed is now a large item in the budget of nearly every American family which has any source of income. For public relief, it is clear from the above figures that the unemployed are now depending largely on the Federal Government for sustenance, and the living standard they will be permitted, low enough at best, will be determined by the Federal money appropriated by the next Congress.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration was established by the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 and went into operation on May 22, 1933. Under the Act, Congress made available \$500,000,000 to be expended through the states, half to be given on a matching basis—one dollar from the Federal fund for every \$3 of public money spent in the state in the three preceding months; the other half is a discretionary fund from which grants may be made when necessary without regard to matching.

Up to August 31, 1933, \$150,135,000 had been expended from this \$500,000,000 Federal fund. With a winter ahead of us when need will unquestionably be greater than ever before, it seems probable that the remainder of this Federal fund will be exhausted by February.

In spite of the fact that unemployment had decreased by nearly 2,000,000 between March and July, and that

the number out of work in August this year was at least 5 per cent below last August, the number of families receiving public relief in our principal cities in August, 1933, was between 85 and 90 per cent higher than last year. We cannot expect relief needs to be ended as soon as men begin to go back to work. On the contrary, even if unemployment is reduced in the next months, relief needs must be expected to continue near or even above the present level. Since employers tend to reemploy those most recently laid off, the first jobs are not necessarily given to those who need them most, and we have a situation where thousands are finding their resources exhausted by long unemployment and are becoming dependent on relief, while other thousands are going back to work.

Relief given from Federal funds this summer was higher in August than in July: \$48,721,713 in July and \$49,882,034 in August.

In making grants from the \$500,000,000 fund, the Federal Administration adheres to the principles of Federal-state cooperation laid down in the Emergency Relief Act. The ability of states to contribute is investigated and state contributions required on a matching basis where possible. Texas, Illinois, Michigan, Kentucky, are among those required to raise funds through the action of their legislatures before receiving a Federal grant.

Although the field agents of the Federal Relief Administration are instructed to raise standards of relief, the amounts given are seriously inadequate in very many cases. While relief given per family averaged \$16.85 a month from April to July, amounts vary between different states from \$4.00 per family per month in Mississippi to \$30.00 in New York state. The average family receiving relief has between four and five members (4.4 members); when it is considered that, at June 1933 prices, \$21.50 a

week was the necessary budget to give a family of four even a bare subsistence, the serious inadequacy of even the highest relief of \$30 a month—\$7.50 a week—is obvious. The social consequences of a living at this level for 3,500,000 people are the more striking when it is realized that many of the recipients of relief are children. Reports from Philadelphia and New York State show that 44 per cent of the persons on relief rolls are children under 16 years of age.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration, in its rules for administering relief, states as follows:

"Relief shall be given as provided in this Act to all needy unemployed persons and/or their dependents.

"This imposes an obligation on the State emergency relief administration and on all the political subdivisions of the States administering relief. Insofar as lies in their power, to see to it that all such needy unemployed persons and/or their dependents shall receive sufficient relief to prevent suffering and to maintain minimum living standards."

While the provisions of the relief administration allow payments for rent, fuel and light, clothing, medical care and other necessities, since local funds, even when supplemented by Federal grants, are all too often totally inadequate to supply these needs, relief in most cases is limited to immediate needs for food. Rent is paid in some cases—in Milwaukee up to \$25 a month, and rent payments are also made in Boston and in New York State, although not in all cases, and in other localities—and clothing and medical care are sometimes included.

Relief furnished by public funds is being supplemented to some extent by distributing the surplus agricultural products taken over by the government. Of five million hogs slaughtered, those which can be used for food are being distributed by the Relief Ad-

ministration, but nothing has yet been done to provide for distributing surplus cotton, wheat, rice, eggs, poultry, butter and other products. Of the supplies of Farm Board wheat and cotton given the Red Cross for distribution, the wheat was exhausted by the middle of September, and very little is left of the cotton. Therefore, whatever surplus agricultural product is to be made available to the unemployed must be designated for that purpose by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

In view of the great need which faces the unemployed this winter, the following recommendations are made:

1. That the A. F. of L. insist on adequate relief appropriations from Federal funds by Congress immediately after its reconvening in January, so that funds may be available by February when it is expected the present appropriations will be exhausted.

2. That we insist that the surplus agricultural product be made available for distribution to the unemployed.

3. That the A. F. of L. and all state and local Federations of labor do all in their power to educate public opinion to the immensity of the relief need this winter. There is danger that taxation and appropriations for relief may not have the necessary public support, since there is widespread belief that the reemployment of millions has greatly reduced relief needs, and that relief needs are therefore less than last winter.

4. That special consideration be given to the character of taxation which is being passed by state governments in order to raise funds for relief. Higher incomes and surplus profits should be made to bear their fair share of the burden.

(Pp. 102, 428) The Wagner-Peyser Act "to provide for the cooperation of

the federal government with the several states and territories and the District of Columbia in relieving the hardships and suffering caused by unemployment" is being administered in a more practical manner than that followed by the Reconstruction Finance Committee in relief measures. The law provides for an appropriation of \$500,000,000, half of which is given outright to the states under certain conditions. The other half is granted the states on the matching basis of one federal dollar for three dollars of public money spent within the state for unemployment relief during April and May of this year.

Harry L. Hopkins was appointed Federal Emergency Relief Administrator. In the beginning there was some complaint that strikers were refused relief and that very small wages were paid by the states from the funds appropriated by the government. This has been changed, however, for on July 21 Administrator Hopkins issued an order that the Federal Emergency Relief Administration would not attempt to judge the merits of labor disputes and relief should be given the families of striking wage earners after careful investigation had shown that their resources were not sufficient to meet the emergency needs. If the Department of Labor determines that a strike is unreasonable and unjustified, the relief money is withheld. But under existing conditions no claim can be made that any strike is unjustified.

Mr. Hopkins also announced that the wages fixed in the supplementary blanket code to the National Recovery Act should apply to relief work.

The order stated that after August 1, these minimum wages should be paid: In cities of over 500,000 population, \$15 per week; between 250,000 and 500,000 population, \$14.50; between 2,500 and 250,000 population, \$14; less than 2,500 population, 20 per cent increase in all wages providing

this does not raise the amount in excess of \$12.

All of these wages will apply also to the immediate trade areas of such cities and towns. The prevailing wage rate must be rigidly adhered to in each locality. If the prevailing wage is 40 cents or more per hour, that must be paid, but in no case shall payment be less than 30 cents per hour. Grants made under the Emergency Relief Act of 1933 can be used only in paying wages at or above 30 cents an hour.

These rates represent a slight improvement as in many cases local relief administrations were paying 50 cents to \$1 a day. The order also forbade persons under sixteen years of age being employed, or working any one more than 40 hours in any one week except those in a managerial or executive capacity.

(1934, pp. 114, 543) It is a principle of civilization that society must make provision for those in need. With the breakdown of our business structure, those thrown out of jobs numbered millions from every walk in life. Whatever of old Poor Law attitude toward the needy lingers in our relief administration should vanish before the experience of the past four years. The unemployed are the victims of our inadequate understanding of economic principles and business administration together with maladjustments in foreign markets. No personal blame can be attached to them for their misfortune, nor should any stigma be associated with relief for their period of need. Relief is compensation for the injury which our economic cataclysm had done to their business and job investments. Organized society must assume responsibility for meeting needs due to social insecurities.

The relief problem is huge as is shown by the totals of unemployed and by the expenditures of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

In October, 1933, an unemployment relief census was taken covering families receiving public unemployment relief during that month.

The census showed the following significant facts: More than half the families on relief were in 8 states, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, California, Oklahoma and Texas, and a third of the families in the first four states. In three states, Florida, South Carolina and West Virginia, one-quarter of the population was dependent on relief, while the average for continental United States was approximately 10; 7 states have 5 per cent or less on relief; large cities averaged higher than the U.S. as a whole; small families (2 to 4 persons) less frequently turned to relief and larger families (5 or more) more frequently; detached individuals constituted 13 per cent of all relief cases and a larger proportion in the cities than in the United States as a whole. Children constituted a disproportionately large part of the relief group; 42 per cent of relief persons were children under 16, whereas this group constituted 31 per cent of the population. Those between 6 and 13 showed the greatest proportion, although each age group up to 18 showed an excess of relief cases over its proportion to the entire population.

(P. 117) When provisions have been made for the dependent young and aged—two groups for whom society has accepted its responsibility, and also for the sick, there still remain the millions seeking jobs, competent and willing to work. There are the girls and boys turning from schools into the responsibilities of adult life and the workers who have successfully held jobs over periods of years or even decades.

Wage earners are at a disadvantage in preparing against the emergencies they meet in earning their incomes. Few industries have paid high wages

or accepted the responsibility growing out of employing persons to work. We have long accepted the principle that ownership grows out of creative work, but have not carried the principle into modern production relationships. We have failed to recognize that workers who invest their producing capacity in making products or providing services have at least as real an equity in a business as the person who invests capital. This equity in the undertaking entitles the work relationship to some degree of protection. The rights of a worker attached to a payroll must be worked out by workers organized for collective responsibility and in negotiation with employers. We have just begun the development of the implications of Labor's equity in the job aided by legal recognition of the principle in Section 7 (a) of the National Recovery Act.

The next step in the development is acceptance of responsibility for a stable income for wage earners. Either there must be assured work or reserves must be accumulated to pay wages when production falls off.

The A. F. of L. has endorsed the principle of unemployment compensation and formulated principles recommended for legislative measures. We believe that the adoption of a federal measure similar to the bill introduced by Senator Wagner in the last Congress, would greatly facilitate the enactment of state measures and might facilitate the establishment of the principle by industries.

We reaffirm the principles adopted by the convention of 1932 for unemployment compensation measures.

(P. 120) The adoption of any legislative program would not remove the need for emergency relief during the coming years or make unnecessary a permanent relief program. There is need to rewrite our Poor Laws into public welfare measures enlarging their recognition of Society's obliga-

tion to all persons incapable of earning a living, and eliminating their stigma of pauperism. We recommend the following principles as basic in such a program:

Because every individual is entitled to an opportunity to earn his living, every worker deprived of employment is entitled to the essentials of life. Relief must be supplied the needy.

These essentials must not be provided at the expense of sub-standard living for the employed—extension of poverty is not a sound policy, for maintenance and restoration of buying is the primary objective in recovery.

To increase production and to develop new employment opportunities are the only ways to relieve unemployment. Our present production level is so low that we are not producing enough goods to enable our citizens to live at their accustomed standards. Some jobs can be available if the work week were drastically reduced to 30 hours without reduction in pay, so that the result would be immediate increase in buying in the retail market. Relief is not a permanent substitute for normal producing of wealth and earning of income. It should provide income for the emergency in such a way as to conserve the morale and producing ability of the individual. Work is the keystone in any relief program. A well planned program of public works and national conservation is the most direct way to start up the depressed heavy or durable goods industries. By putting the unemployed back to work in the heavy industries, new consuming power will still further stimulate the consumer goods industries.

(P. 571) The A. F. of L. requests the administrator of the FERA, also all State Administrators, to take immediate action to have the maximum of relief per family raised to meet the requirements made necessary by the

above mentioned increase in the cost of living.

(1935, pp. 66, 495) The extent of our national problem of relief may be best measured by the extent of unemployment. At the opening of the first year of depression, 1930, there were 3,216,000 unemployed. In March, 1930, the figures stood at 3,543,000. Three years later, in March, 1933, unemployment reached 13,689,000—its highest mark. In three years, more than ten million men and women were added to the jobless army—a development without precedent or parallel in the industrial history of the world.

In May, 1933, when the FERA began to function, the number of cases was 28 times greater and the amount expended almost 24 times greater than the same month of 1929.

Prior to May, 1933, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had carried on relief and work relief activities through allocation of funds to states. . . .

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration was established on May 22, 1933, and in that month 4,250,000 families, or nearly 19,000,000 persons, were receiving relief from public funds.

From the outset, the major portion of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration's work was devoted to direct relief activities. At the same time an effort was made to provide as much relief as possible in the form of work projects. One of the agencies designed to accomplish this purpose was the Civilian Conservation Corps, instituted under the Emergency Conservation Works project.

The CCC was formed to enroll unemployed young men between the ages of 18 and 25, to protect and improve the nation's forest lands. The boys were stationed at forest camps and given a cash allowance of \$30 per month of which not less than \$23 was

to be sent to dependents. In addition, each CCC worker was provided with food and clothing and medical care.

(1936, p. 129) Congress appropriated \$1,425,000,000 to be used in the discretion and under the direction of the President to provide direct relief and work relief on useful projects.

All activities of the government having supervision of projects for which funds from the foregoing appropriation are made available, shall not knowingly employ aliens illegally within the limits of the United States. The law also provides that the pay for persons engaged upon projects under the foregoing appropriation shall be not less than the prevailing rates of pay for work of a similar nature as determined by the Works Progress Administration with the approval of the President.

(Pp. 151, 715) Our first obligation in considering policies of relief for the future is to express our appreciation for the scope and the ideals of the relief program which the administration has sponsored. Never at any time in the nation's history has society accepted such definite responsibility for unemployment and for the rights of those to whom society cannot provide opportunity to earn their living. While there have been difficulties in administration and inadequacies in provision, the spirit of the federal administration has always been that of open-minded consideration of problems. We believe that the relationship between the federal and state agencies should in the future be better coordinated so that grants to states may be administered in accord with accepted and uniform standards. The most of our troubles have been due to the fact that never before has our nation been compelled to consider relief as a continuing social problem for which we must adopt policies and administrative standards. As the federal government cannot retire from the relief problem

without endangering our national existence, the question of the kind of relief and the scope of the program, together with that of federal responsibility for local standards and policies, is a public issue of first order importance.

We know that in the past direct relief in some areas has been too niggardly not to do serious damage to the capacities of many. We know also that policies in providing work have not always taken into consideration consequences to the individual employee or social and industrial implications within our organization for normal living. Unskilled workers have been employed and trained for jobs requiring special skills, while the skilled workers trained for those jobs were unemployed. Public buildings have been constructed with indefensibly low wages. It has been impossible to remedy these situations through state administrations. Therefore, we urge that funds should be allotted to local governmental agencies with the provision that unskilled workers should not displace or be trained to displace skilled workers. In addition, all relief administration must be lifted from the plane of charity to that of the administration of an inalienable right of free individuals.

In planning for the future we have two concerns. First, to care for immediate needs; secondly, to plan a long-time program.

First, as regards immediate relief needs. Since it is expected that funds for WPA work will be exhausted by January or February, 1937, immediate action will be necessary when Congress convenes to provide for the continuance of the Works Program. Industry is by no means ready to care for the 3,364,000 still dependent on this emergency work, nor are local governments able to provide direct relief for the rest.

A standard of relief must be main-

tained which keeps relief families in health, and will provide for necessary clothing, rent and medical care in addition to food. Wherever states and localities are failing to provide for these minimum needs, responsibility rests with the federal government to see that these needs are met.

Secondly, planning a long time program for relief, we must accept the principle of federal responsibility. Conservation of our nation is a social obligation which we cannot delegate to private charity or entrust to the chance of individual conscience. There is involved analysis of relief needs and coordination of federal, state and local responsibility in meeting them. As a nation, we have already set ourselves to the task of providing social security which rests upon economic security. If a family cannot support itself, there must be some difficulty beyond its power to meet. These difficulties may be roughly classified under different main causes, and each provided for according to its special nature: (a) Unemployment. This requires, first, unemployment insurance, and secondly, relief funds beyond the insured period, supplemented by a planned program for work on public projects. To do this in a constructive way and to avoid the makeshift of mere made work involves long term planning of public works for the nation as a whole, coordinating state and local needs with national needs in such a way that a reserve of needed work will always be ready. (b) Employment service. An adequate public employment exchange in each locality should be the connecting link between workers seeking jobs and jobs seeking workers. (c) Old age. An old age pension should provide for families where the breadwinner is beyond employable age and for individuals over this age. (d) Dependent children. A mother's pension should provide for mothers of minor children who, through widowhood or for other reasons, are left

without income. (e) Health insurance and disability pensions should take care of families needing relief because of illness and disability. Those handicapped by chronic illness constitute a special problem requiring special provisions.

These groupings outline the main types of need which bring families to relief. Experience would indicate that they can best be cared for by a plan for federal grants in aid to states, matched by state and local funds to cover the different types of need. Provision for some of these needs is already being made; others will require new services and further services in addition to the above may also be necessary.

The agencies dealing with these different types of relief must be closely coordinated, both nationally and locally, so that the whole program will function as a unit, while giving the different kinds of specialized care needed.

(P. 563) The A. F. of L. endorses the continued maintenance of government work relief through the Public Works Administration, the Works Progress Administration, the Civilians' Conservation Corps and such other agencies, until such time as the thirty-hour week or its equivalent, with no reduction of wages, is established on a national scale for the re-employment of the millions who are eagerly seeking self-sustaining employment in private commerce and industry.

(1937, pp. 170, 319) After several weeks of bitter debate both Houses of Congress passed and the President approved H. J. Res. 361 making appropriations for relief purposes.

The President recommended that not more than \$1,500,000,000 be appropriated for the fiscal year 1938. The A. F. of L. did everything it possibly could to have at least \$2,200,000,000 appropriated in order to prevent the

laying off of thousands of WPA workers. However, only \$1,500,000,000 was appropriated.

The law contains a clause that the funds appropriated should be distributed over the twelve months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938 and administered during such fiscal year so as to constitute the total amount furnished for relief purposes. Furthermore, the law provides that the Works Progress Administration shall liquidate and wind up the affairs of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration by June 30, 1938.

The bill provides that no alien illegally within the limits of the U.S. or aliens who have not filed declaration of intention to become citizens shall be employed. It also provides for the prevailing rates of wages.

Ten days after the law was enacted bills were introduced to appropriate money sufficient to employ all unemployed workers who cannot find employment in private industry. The Appropriations Committee of the House refused to consider this bill as it would conflict with the Relief Bill approved June 29, 1937.

(1938, pp. 156, 551) For the purpose of continuing relief, work relief and loans and grants for public works projects the following sums were appropriated by Congress:

For the WPA \$1,425,000,000. Of this sum \$484,500,000 is for the building of highways, roads, streets, etc., and \$655,500,000 for public buildings, parks, public utilities, electric transmission lines for rural areas, sewer systems, water supply and power systems, airports and other transportation facilities; flood control, drainage, irrigation, conservation, eradication of insect pests and miscellaneous construction projects; for educational, professional, clerical, cultural, recreational production service and other miscellaneous non-construction proj-

ects including training for domestic service, \$285,000,000.

The sum of \$75,000,000 is allocated to the National Youth Administration in addition to other unexpended balances for the purpose of aiding needy young persons no longer in regular attendance at school to obtain part-time work and training, and to aid others in continuing their education in schools, colleges and universities.

The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to expend up to \$175,000,000, together with unexpended balances previously allocated to the Farm Security Administration, such sums to be available for administration loans, relief and rural rehabilitation to needy persons.

Persons employed on projects operated under appropriations for the WPA are to be paid not less than the prevailing rates of pay for similar work in the same locality. Each relief worker is required to sign a quarterly statement of his earnings from outside sources and no person who refuses a *bona fide* offer under as favorable conditions as prevail on relief projects shall be retained on relief project rolls during such period that such private employment would be available. Any person who accepts private employment and loses same through no fault of his own shall not be discriminated against, but shall be entitled to immediately resume his previous employment status if he is still in need.

The Public Works Administration under Title II is continued until June 30, 1941, and the sum of \$965,000,000 is appropriated for carrying out the purposes of this legislation.

Funds will be used in making allotments to finance Federal projects; the making of grants or loans to states, territories and political subdivisions or other public agencies, and the construction and leasing of projects with

or without the privilege of purchase to any such public agency. Not more than \$200,000,000 may be allotted to Federal agencies for Federal construction projects which are confined to the following classes:

- (1) Projects authorized by law;
- (2) An enlargement or extension of existing Federal plants;
- (3) Hospitals and facilities for veterans;
- (4) Correctional or penal institutions under the Department of Justice.

Grants for non-Federal projects are limited to 45 per cent of the cost and not more than \$750,000,000 of this fund may be used for grants to defray estimated non-recoverable portions of costs of projects constructed for lease to public agencies.

Only \$15,000,000 can be used for administrative purposes. In order to hasten the beginning of work relief the Act provides that no fund may be allotted for any project which cannot be commenced prior to January 1, 1939, or can be substantially completed prior to June 30, 1940. Nor shall new applications for loans or grants to non-Federal projects be accepted after September 30, 1938 unless amendatory to applications received prior to October 1, 1938.

Under Title III of the Act the authorization for construction of public buildings outside the District of Columbia is increased from \$70,000,000 to \$130,000,000 and the sum of \$25,000,000 is appropriated for this purpose.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized to make loans to the Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration to the extent of \$100,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939. In addition \$700,000 is appropriated for administrative expenses, including printing and binding, for the fiscal years 1938 and 1939.

Title V provides for an appropriation of \$212,000,000 to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to make parity payments to producers of wheat, cotton, corn, rice and tobacco in accordance with the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938.

Under Title VI the United States Housing Authority is authorized to enter into contracts for contributions amounting to \$28,000,000 per year. The Authority is permitted to issue and sell its notes and bonds or other obligations in an amount not to exceed \$800,000,000 for the purpose of carrying out its objectives.

Another law enacted which will be helpful is Public No. 479 which authorizes the RFC to promote the economic stability of the Nation and to encourage the employment of labor, to make loans to or contracts to states or their subdivisions, public agencies, public boards and commissions to aid in financing projects authorized under Federal, state or municipal law.

Loans may be made through the purchase of securities and the corporation is authorized to bid for them. In addition the corporation is also authorized to purchase the securities of or make loans to any business enterprise when capital or credit is not otherwise available at prevailing rates for the character of the loan desired.

A further appropriation of \$250,000,000 was made to permit greater employment in the WPA until June 30, 1938.

According to statistics submitted by the Administrator of the PWA for every employee at the site of PWA work two and a half times as much indirect employment is created in factories, mines, mills and forests producing, fabricating and distributing necessary construction materials and equipment. Heavy industries are stimulated and consumers' goods are given encouragement.

(1939, p. 122) The enactment of the Work Relief and Relief Law because of its provisions created consternation among skilled and unskilled wage earners throughout the U.S. It appropriated only \$1,475,000,000 for the WPA. This was considered insufficient by the A. F. of L. which supported a measure for a larger appropriation.

The prevailing rate of wage provision and policy which had applied on WPA projects as a result of Executive Order was abrogated and set aside through the incorporation of the WPA Relief Measure of a provision for a 130-hour work month at a so-called security wage. The Theatre Project was also dropped from the Work Relief Measure for the year 1940. Art projects, however, will be continued until December 31, 1939. Following that date, local sponsors must be obtained who will be required to pay twenty-five per cent of the funds necessary in order to continue these art projects.

Another provision of the law provides that all employes of the WPA who have worked 18 months shall be "furloughed" for 30 days to give employment to needy persons who have been unemployed for three months. The statement was frequently made on the floors of the Senate and House that the men and women would not be "furloughed." Instead they would be discharged. This caused great alarm among the employes of the WPA as they realized that they could not return to the WPA for employment. It was estimated that 600,000 WPA workers who have worked eighteen months would be discharged. The bill originally had exempted persons 45 years of age and over, but this was stricken out, although it was stated that persons 45 years of age and over always find it difficult to secure employment in private industry. Members of Congress received thou-

sands of protests, but when an attempt was made to modify the bill it was defeated.

Another provision which originated in the House provided for \$125,000,000 to be expended by the Commissioner of Public Works. This would mean that that amount would be spent in giving work to the building trades workmen where for every employee on the site there would be two employes preparing materials. This provision was stricken out in the Senate and the conferees agreed.

The bill originated in the House Appropriations Committee. No public hearings were held. It was reported in the House June 14 with a rule for six hours' debate—that day and June 15. On the 16th after a few amendments were made the bill was passed by a vote of 373 to 21. During that time the parliamentary situation was such that it was impossible to get a straight vote on an amendment providing for the prevailing wage. Besides, it was evidenced later by the vote on passage that it would have been impossible under any consideration to have an amendment made in the House.

When the bill went to the Senate, Senator McCarran, at the request of the A. F. of L., introduced an amendment to restore the prevailing rate of wage amendment for all WPA work, which was passed without a roll call vote. Another amendment of the Senate restored the theatre project to the bill.

When the bill went to conference the provisions for the prevailing rate of wages and theatre projects were stricken out and other amendments made by the Senate were radically changed or eliminated.

No sooner had the bill passed Congress than a hue and cry came from all parts of the country. When it was understood that more than a mil-

lion persons were to lose their employment, and that those who did work would have to put in 130 hours a month for the same wages then received it is easily understood why such an uproar began. Building trades' wages were reduced from 50 to 75 percent. Furthermore, the bill had not been signed by the President an hour before contractors in New York, Cleveland and other cities demanded a reduction in the building trades wages.

When the Economy Act was passed in 1933 reducing the wages of Government employes 15 percent employers in all parts of the country began to slash wages. That was the fear which developed among building trades and other workers on WPA, that the standard of wages they had gradually secured in private employment by more than 50 years of effort would be torn down.

So disastrous would be the Work Relief Bill to the standard of wages established in the U.S. after years of sacrifice that the President of the A. F. of L. called a conference of representatives of all national and international unions to meet in Washington July 12. This conference adopted a resolution calling upon Congress to restore the prevailing wage rate and other important provisions eliminated from the 1939 law.

It also requested him to appoint a committee, of which he would be chairman, to wait upon the President, the Vice-President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives to present the resolution adopted and urge action upon it. These instructions were carried out and the committee forcefully presented the action of the conference.

Later when S. 2864, named the Spend and Lend Bill, was before the Senate, Senator McCarran again introduced his amendment as a rider and

fought vigorously for its adoption. It was defeated by a vote of 40 to 38. S. 2864 passed the Senate by a vote of 52 to 28, but when it reached the House it was refused consideration by a vote of 193 to 166.

When the Third Deficiency Appropriation Bill was considered in the Senate two further attempts were made by Senator McCarran to restore the provisions for the prevailing rate of wages. It was necessary to make a motion to suspend the rules to consider the amendment which required a two-thirds vote. The motion was defeated.

Senator Pepper submitted a motion to suspend the rules to permit the addition to the bill of an amendment that would cure a very grave injustice. The amendment was to repeal the clause adopted forbidding any theater project from being any part of the Works Project Administration program. The motion was defeated.

H.. 5681, which became a law (Public No. 393) authorizes the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation to purchase and distribute to persons on relief, at a cost not to exceed \$1,325,000, surplus products of the fishing industry. Experiments along these lines were made during 1937 and 1938.

(P. 169) The peak of WPA employment was reached at the end of February 1936 when 3,040,000 persons were employed on works projects. With the approach of the summer of 1936, the decline in need, together with the broad expansion of private employment resulting from the improvement in the general economic conditions in 1936 and the first nine months of 1937, permitted a downward trend in WPA employment extending through the period from March 1936 to October 1937. In the early part of October 1937, a low was reached of less than 1,450,000 persons receiving WPA employment. The sharp reces-

sion in business activity and employment which began in the fall of 1937 forced the reversal in the work relief employment trend. As the result, a steady increase in WPA rolls continued from October 1937 until early November 1938 when the new peak was reached of 3,270,000 persons employed on WPA. Although in previous years, there had been a marked decline in work relief employment in summer months, a contraseasonal increase was necessitated in 1938 by a combination of several factors. Among these were the exhaustion of benefits by workers receiving unemployment compensation, the hurricane in New England, the new policy of employing needy farm tenants and farm operators in the South, and the pressure of need accumulated during the early part of the recession when the plight of the newly unemployed workers had been less well recognized.

After November 1938, in spite of two supplementary appropriations, limitation of funds authorized by Congress forced the curtailment of WPA rolls. By August 1939, about 2,020,000 persons were employed on WPA. For the current fiscal year of 1939-1940 sufficient funds are available to provide employment to an average of about 2,000,000. It is expected, however, that the number at work will be reduced to about 1,500,000 by the end of the fiscal year.

During the past two years, increasing difficulty has been experienced by WPA in finding suitable employments for those on relief rolls. This has resulted in a broad expansion of WPA relief employment on various types of construction projects. Thus of the 2,436,000 employed on WPA projects on June 24, 1939, the largest portion, 1,705,000 workers, or 70 percent of the total, were engaged in the construction of highways, roads, streets, public buildings, recreational facilities, publicly owned and operated utili-

ties and of airports. The expansion of work relief into the construction field has in effect resulted in the transfer to WPA of a large volume of construction from PWA projects where the building is done under contract system and fair labor standards are required.

(*Job Security*)—(1932, pp. 31, 320) What every worker wants is a job and the sense of security that comes from having a dependable source of income. We want to earn our way and to have commensurate reward that will enable us to participate in those activities that will bring us opportunities for development. We want security so as to lay the fear of loss of job which haunts every wage earner. Fear is not the best stimulus to the highest quality of production.

As steps toward worker security we propose the following:

(1) Organization of the job market through a system of state employment services under federal coordination. Workers should be supplied with information of existing jobs for which they may be fitted and helped to make contacts with employers in need of workers.

The employment agency is indispensable to various proposals for wage earner betterment and would supply indices to unemployment, shifting vocational trends, seasonal industries, etc.

The strengthening of the state employment agency should be primary in every program for wage earner protection.

(2) Wage earners should be organized into unions of their own choosing and under their own control. No individual or group that is not looking after its own interest intelligently need expect to make the greatest possible progress. Only a wage earner organization can supply experience and opinion representing the needs

and aims of this group. Labor organizations are necessary to supply the contributions that will give balance in industrial planning and distribution of returns from joint production. Unions are essential to industry and society as well as to wage earners.

(3) Distribution of man-hours so that all may have an opportunity to earn a living. When workers have been added to the producing staff, none should be laid off until the hours for all have been reduced at least to 30 per week. Management should not be allowed to shift the costs of irregular production upon wage earners. As technical progress makes it possible to do our work in less time, a commensurate benefit for increased productivity should go to Labor in the form of shorter work week and more leisure. Unemployment and a lack of purchasing power are causes of depression.

(4) Higher wages. Consumer buying power should expand proportionately to increases in production and services available to raise standards of living. This is essential to prevention of depression. Wage earners and small-salaried persons constitute 83% of retail buyers. When their incomes are not large enough to supply an adequate retail market, business contracts.

(5) Vocational counsel and retraining. Every boy and girl should have the best counsel in finding the kind of work for which he or she is best fitted. This kind of assistance should be continued during adult years through employment services, to help them make adjustments to changes in industry. Vocational counsel should be connected with opportunities for retraining when necessary.

(6) The larger aspects of unemployment prevention through national economic planning. . . .

(1939, pp. 204, 522) As the tenth year of serious unemployment draws

to its close, we place the problem of getting the unemployed back to work in private industry as our first concern.

The persistence of unemployment, the inability of industry in this country to recover from depression and resume its normal rate of expansion, make it clear that the recovery forces which lifted business out of depression in the past are no longer operating sufficiently to break the present business stagnation. Nor has the Federal Government, with its spending programs and other recovery efforts, succeeded in putting the unemployed to work in private industry. For after almost seven years of partial recovery, we still find ourselves today with 10,000,000 who have no work in private industry; and at no time in these seven years has unemployment been less than 7,500,000.

The A. F. of L. is not willing to tolerate permanent unemployment. We know that idle plants can be brought into operation, idle capital can find investment in productive private enterprise and idle men be put to work producing the goods they need for a decent living. Our nation has all the elements necessary to provide an adequate living for every American family; we lack only the proper coordination of effort.

The employment of the nation's work force in private industry depends on the investment of private capital in productive enterprise. In the past century, private capital flowed freely into such enterprises without special measures for coordination of effort. The high profits afforded by developing our country's vast natural resources, building railroads, creating our unequaled industrial plant and equipment were sufficient to draw private capital into long-term investment. More recently, the requirements of a world war, the development of the automobile and electric power industries

and the building of our modern cities has provided highly profitable investment. In the years 1923 to 1929, private industry invested an average of \$12,000,000,000 a year to build industrial plants and equipment and private housing. The volume of work provided by these investments, the steady increase in workers' producing power by industrial improvements and mass production, resulted in a 23% increase in the average per capita living standard in the United States in the decade before depression (1919 to 1929) and in practically full employment of our working population.

Today, the picture is entirely changed. Now there is no longer opportunity for highly profitable investment in great expansion of the nation's producing plant and equipment, for our industries cannot sell enough goods to keep their present plant in operation. The high profits and huge fortunes of the past cannot be made in industry today. The Cleveland Trust Company estimates that the chance of even succeeding in business today is only half as great as in the past, and the profits rewarding those who do succeed are at least 20% less. The risks are greater, the reward less. Consequently, private capital is not seeking investment in productive enterprise, but instead seeks security in tax free government bonds. During depression, private investment in industrial plants and in housing shrank to \$3,500,000,000 or less, in contrast to the \$12,000,000,000 invested annually before depression.

It appears from these facts that our problem of industrial expansion today is entirely different from that of the past. High profits to be made by developing natural resources and industrial plants no longer draw private capital into productive investment. Profits today depend on an increasing sales volume of goods produced by mass production. This requires steady

expansion of consumers' buying power. Satisfactory profits can be made when consumers' buying power reaches high enough levels, for in 1937 the nation's leading corporations earned more than 10% on their net worth; but except in 1936 and 1937 consumer buying has not reached high enough levels to provide this rate of profit at any time in the past 10 years.

The failure of consumer buying power today is due chiefly to unemployment. As shown elsewhere in this report, the average hourly wage rate has been lifted by trade union action and legislation so that it is 24% above 1929. This higher wage level will provide buying power well above that of 1929 once industry can be expanded to higher levels of production and employment. There can be no doubt that once a high level of activity is reached, providing profitable investment and reducing risk, private capital will again flow into productive enterprise. This was the case in 1937, when private investment in plant and housing reached \$9,000,000,000, even though production was not yet high enough to put all the unemployed to work or to create the goods necessary to give everyone a decent living.

Our problem then is how to lift production, in the shortest possible time, to levels which will furnish stable profits and put the unemployed to work. We are also concerned with keeping production at high enough levels to provide a steady flow of goods, once the necessary volume has been attained.

The immediate lifting of production and the maintenance of a steady flow of goods can never be accomplished by individuals acting separately. It requires coordinated action.

We have no precedent for action on the problem which now confronts our economy. Coordination of effort can only be accomplished through the co-operation of all concerned in agricul-

ture, industry, finance, distribution, and service, with representation for the functional groups that constitute every industry, capital, Labor, management, and consumers. The Congress of the U.S. is the logical agency to act in behalf of the people, yet Congress has no advisory group possessing the technical knowledge and experience necessary to work out the complex problems of industrial coordination and provide a plan of action.

Many steps are necessary to prepare the way for industrial expansion through profitable private enterprise. Some can be taken by private industry and Labor acting in cooperation, some will require action by the Federal Government. Balanced expansion and maintenance can only be accomplished through coordination of effort by all groups concerned.

Federal spending and "pump priming" cannot permanently restore business to healthy activity unless it is coordinated with other action to assist private industry in resuming normal expansion.

Our problem is one of management on a national scale. Although more complicated than the management of any single industrial enterprise, many of the methods used in coordinating the activities of a large company, with branch plants and offices scattered across the continent, are applicable to the national economic problem. Also, our experience in organizing human relations on a representative basis in the political field will provide precedent for developing the agencies for individual government.

Modern industrial management when confronted with a problem of developing new fields for activity, turns first to its division of research and planning. Experts study the situation in all its aspects, then submit to management a plan for action. This plan may be modified, submitted to further study and adjusted by new discover-

ies—eventually it emerges as a workable project and is put into effect.

It appears to us that our national problems will yield to similar treatment. We cannot believe that American engineering skill, American labor, and the genius of American management, which have developed our unequalled industrial mechanism, will fail to solve the problem of national economic coordination if given a mandate to undertake it.

We emphasize the fact, however, that in the group which undertakes such a task, Labor, farmers and consumers must be adequately represented so that their interests will not be neglected. Industrial engineers and persons familiar with the problems of management and its administration of large business undertakings are also essential, for theirs is the particular knowledge of experience needed.

We urge that Congress set up an advisory council of this nature in the coming session with the mandate to develop measures by which private industry can expand production and maintain balanced prosperity. The suggestions of this advisory group should be submitted to Congress for action and made available to the general public.

This procedure follows democratic principles. There is an opportunity for public opinion to be informed and to express itself through its normal agency, the Congress of the United States. The character of the advisory group assures representation of every sector of our population.

We need not be at the mercy of haphazard forces which have governed business expansion during the period of national industrial growth. These forces at best brought about periods of high productive activity followed by depressions; they did not bring stable expansion; they are no longer adequate to meet our needs. During

recent years government controls have been extended over an increasing portion of our economic activity, with a growing danger of bureaucracy. We have need now of a central advisory agency, representing the economic groups concerned, forming a channel for their views and experience, commissioned to coordinate industrial activity.

Such an agency, advisory to Congress, can prepare the way for balanced expansion of private industry and reemployment of the unemployed.

(1933, p. 85) Unemployment increased almost steadily for three and a half years. In April, 1930, when the census was taken, 3,187,647 were reported out of work; in March 1933 when unemployment reached its peak, our estimate shows 13,689,000 out of work. From March to July this year, with the rapid increase in industrial activity, over 2,000,000 persons were reemployed, but encouraging as this gain is, it leaves 11,781,000 still out of work. Although our trade union unemployment figures show that employment was still gaining in August the gain was too small to make any substantial decrease in the army of unemployed who must face another winter without work and without resources. Unless the return to work takes place at a faster rate in the months just before us, the employed will suffer worse hardship in the coming winter than ever before.

(P. 87) Our estimate of unemployment covers all workers in the U.S. including farmers, farm laborers, management, professional workers, public service and the industrial groups. The figures are based on the census brought up to date by employment indices furnished monthly by the Labor Department and other monthly figures from the government: Roads; Bureau of Public Roads; Railroads; Interstate Commerce Commission; Federal employees; Civil Service Commission;

Hired workers on farms; Department of Agriculture; Armed Forces: Army, Navy, etc.; Local and state government; government reports from the localities.

A group of some 7,851,800 workers (in April, 1930) were not covered by any index and employment in this group is considered to vary correspondingly with employment in all other groups combined. This group includes domestic servants; automobile service; restaurants; clerical workers in banking, insurance and real estate; semi-professionals and others.

In addition to these workers who have already been employed, there are constantly being added to our population new recruits seeking jobs. Our estimate counts these as part of the total number seeking employment. The increase in this group from April, 1930, to July, 1933, is over 1,350,000.

Some groups cannot be accounted for in the estimate because no reports exist to show their conditions. Of these groups the following are counted as unemployed: 1. Those unemployed who have gone to the country to occupy deserted shacks and raise their food. 2. Those who are given food and shelter on farms but no wage payment in return for their work. 3. Those in forestry camps and on relief work are not counted as employed since they are not in permanent earning positions. 4. Many unemployed are of course able to find temporary work in bringing in intermittently a small income. This work cannot be accounted for and these workers are considered unemployed.

Offsetting these groups are three groups counted as employed because, lacking data on which estimates for their unemployment may be based, they automatically fall into the employed groups: 1. Teachers who are teaching school but not being paid. 2. Those unemployed who have gone to the country to live with relatives on

farms and are provided with at least food and shelter. 3. Those who were living on income from investments and are now forced to seek work; we have no way of estimating them.

In general our estimate aims to count as employed only those who actually have earning positions in normal industrial or service work.

(1934, p. 110) It is fully a year now since the President's reemployment drive put some 1,700,000 men and women back to work. During that year, unemployment has never fallen below the 10,000,000 mark, but has been continually higher than it was in September, 1933, when the drive ended. During the 12 months since the drive, we have made no progress whatever in putting these 10,000,000 unemployed to work.

The Federation unemployment estimates which have been published monthly for the last few years furnish a measuring rod by which we can follow the unemployment situation and know our progress. The figures which are widely used throughout the country are based on monthly employment data collected by the U.S. Government, which give as nearly accurate a picture of the situation as can be secured. These figures show that during depression, unemployment reached a peak in March, 1933, when 13,689,000 were out of work. The business boom of May to July, 1933, put 1,900,000 back to work; the reemployment drive from July to September created jobs for 1,700,000 more; so that by September, 1933, 3,600,000 were back at their jobs, and unemployment had been reduced to 10,108,000.

Labor expected this progress to continue as industry increased its activity this spring, and was confident that emphasis given the problem by the President as well as its catastrophic extent, would be enough to call forth every effort on the part of business to

put men to work. Instead, very few industries cooperated in the President's request to increase wages and shorten hours, and although business activity at its highest point this spring (May) was five per cent above last September, unemployment at this point was higher than last September by 140,000 persons.

Thus it is clear that we cannot count on increasing business activity alone to put the unemployed to work. Other measures will be necessary.

Part of the present unemployment problem is due to the failure of so-called heavy industries to recover from depression. At present 3,200,000 are still unemployed in the heavy industries, while increased consuming power has put back to work all but 600,000 in consumer industries. The heavy industries, producing durable goods, include: building, mines, industries manufacturing iron and steel, machinery, automobiles, building materials, railroad equipment.

(1935, p. 60) The problem of putting some 11,000,000 unemployed back to work in industry is one of the greatest tasks now before the American people. Many persons take it for granted that, as industry comes back to normal, the unemployed will automatically find work. We wish the problem were as simple as this. Careful observation of economic facts indicates, however, that (1) increases in the worker's productivity have been so great, both during the decade ending in 1929 and during the following five years of depression, that even a return to normal business will not give work to all who seek it. The problem will never be solved until reduction in the hours of labor goes hand in hand with the introduction and development of machinery. (2) The greatest progress made during depression in putting the unemployed to work was accomplished through the codes and the President's Reemployment Program, by shorten-

ing work hours; through this program, 1,800,000 men and women went back to work from July to October, 1933. (3) Very little progress has been made since then in creating jobs in industry, although business activity has increased considerably.

Reemployment under codes reached its peak in May and June, 1934, when 39,500,000 persons in all were at work in the U. S., compared to 35,700,000 at the bottom of depression. Since that time, employment has continually been below the 39,500,000 figure, although industrial activity has averaged 3 per cent higher during the first 6 months of 1935 than it was in May and June of 1934.

Comparing production and employment, we find the following: In manufacturing industries, production in the first half of 1935 exceeded the last half of 1934 by 16.3 per cent, while employment was higher by only 5 per cent. Comparing the first half of 1935 with the same period in 1934, for both manufacturing and mining, we find that production in 1935 exceeded 1934 by 4.7 per cent while employment was only 1.5 per cent higher. Thus it is clear that, at the present time, in our great mining and manufacturing industries which employ nearly one-third of all industrial wage and small-salaried workers, production is increasing more rapidly than employment.

This lag of employment stands out just as clearly when we compare business activity as a whole with employment in all industries and review the whole period from the bottom of depression to the present time. Employment gains made through codes have not been continued during the past year and consequently, by June, 1935, recovery in employment had fallen behind recovery in business activity. In the two years and three months since March 1933, which was the bottom of depression both for business activity

and employment, business activity has risen half-way back to normal but only 39 per cent of those laid off during depression have gone back to work. Of the 9,500,000 persons who lost their jobs during depression, only 3,700,000 had found work in industry up to June 1935 and all these jobs were found before June 1934. Business activity, on the other hand, has risen from a low point of 58.4 per cent of normal to 79.1 per cent of normal—a recovery of 50 per cent (according to the *Annalist* index of business activity).

It is clear from this record that we cannot count on recovering business to put all the unemployed to work unless business activity reaches a level very substantially above normal. To sustain business at a level adequate to give work to all would require large increases in workers' buying power, and maintenance of workers' buying power at a higher level than any thus far attained. By lifting workers' income through the economic power of labor organizations we have already started to lay the necessary foundation of buying power, but progress has not yet gone far enough.

Why has employment failed to increase with business revival during the past year? This is a question of vital importance, since the livelihood of millions depends on their finding work in industry as business recovers.

To answer the question adequately requires study of the economic factors underlying the present business situation. By comparing the business recovery of 1933-35 with previous periods of recovery and expansion since 1920, we find this significant fact: In recent periods of business revival, production has always increased more rapidly than employment.

Comparing the present revival with three previous periods of revival approximately equal to the present in degree of recovery, we find: (1) The increase in factory employment in

various revivals varied from seven to 16 per cent; in 1933-35, it was 31 per cent. (2) The increase in factory wage payments in previous revivals varied from 12 to 27 per cent; in 1933-35, the increase was 46 per cent.

Thus it is clear at once that our effort to control economic forces through organization has tended to speed the readjustment of labor income. This is the more important since workers' income declined more in proportion to the gross income of manufacturing industry during this depression than in any previous depression since 1920. The National Bureau of Economic Research states: "Wage liquidation paralleled the general drop in gross income . . . In this respect the recession of 1929-33 stands alone . . . for traditionally the decline in wage disbursements lags behind the drop in gross income of manufacturing industries."

The controlled revival of 1933-35 differed from previous revivals in other respects. Normally, in a period of business recovery, the primary emphasis is on production as a means of increasing profits and workers' income. Production increases more rapidly than wage payments and labor cost per unit of product declines. Work hours are lengthened without increasing wage rates and workers raise their income by working longer hours. Thus workers' share in the income from production steadily falls behind.

In the present recovery, this process occurred in the usual way until the introduction of codes. Then it was reversed. Instead of emphasizing production as a means of increasing income, under codes workers' income in many instances was lifted by shortening work hours and putting men to work. Thus is the period from the depression bottom to the beginning of 1935, wage payments increased more than production and labor costs were not reduced as rapidly as in previous

recoveries. A reduction of eight per cent in labor costs during this period compares with reductions varying from 12 per cent to 23 per cent in previous recoveries.

In previous recent recoveries, industry has depended largely on decreasing labor costs to permit reductions in prices to consumers and increase in profits to investors: Labor costs were reduced by increasing productivity; production increased faster than either employment or wage payments; and thus the total share of Labor as a group in the income of industry declined. This is the usual development when industry recovers from depression without measures for control. It results eventually in gains for investors and consumers at the expense of Labor. Its immediate effects, however, are greatly to speed recovery. For (1) reduced prices lead to greater consumer buying and (2) rapidly increasing profits together with the increasing demand for production of goods induce industrial executives to make rapid increases in the production of goods. Employment increases as production rises (though less rapidly) and the unemployed are returned to work more quickly than they have been in the present depression.

These forces, if allowed to operate unchecked, however, eventually produce an unbalance in industry—a shortage of consuming power, because Labor's income increases less rapidly than production. This shortage prevents production from reaching its highest possible levels and is instrumental, within a few years, in bringing on another recession. Such a shortage of buying power in 1929 is now generally recognized as one of the outstanding causes of the present depression.

In the present recovery, measures for control have emphasized the increase in Labor's income rather than the reduction of labor costs. Prices of

manufactured goods are not yet entirely readjusted—they are still high in comparison with the prices of other goods. As a result, consumer buying and the demand for production of goods have not yet increased as rapidly as in some other recoveries, and production and employment have recovered more slowly.

That recovery is proceeding there can be no doubt. Consumer buying today (June 1935) is 22 per cent above the depression low point and three per cent above last year. Profits of industrial firms are increasing. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York reports an increase of 48.5 per cent in profits of 163 industrial firms from 1933 to 1934, and the National City Banks report an increase of 18 per cent in the first half of 1935 over the same period of 1934 for a similar group.

The fact that employment failed to increase during the past year is probably due partly to the slow recovery of production and also to readjustments in industry following the large increase in employment in 1933. Industrial indicators today give evidence of a healthy development in business which promises gains in employment and production during the next few months. If workers' buying power can be maintained and further increased in proportion to industrial income as business rises we may look forward to a period of more healthy business than that of the pre-depression decade.

Gains in workers' buying power are shown by the figures on income recently released by the U.S. Department of Commerce. These figures show that the share of industrial wage earners in the nation's total income paid out has increased from 14.6 per cent in 1932 to 18.1 per cent in 1934. The fact that this gain was made during a period when the share of property holders and entrepreneurs did not increase shows a readjustment of

labor income. This readjustment is not yet complete, however, for wage earners in 1934 received only 18.1 per cent of the total income paid out while in 1929 they received 21.9 per cent. Labor today is receiving a smaller proportion of the total income than in 1929. The proportion going to investors (property income) on the other hand is practically the same as in 1929, and the income of entrepreneurs is actually a larger proportion of the total than in 1929 (16.4 per cent in 1934 compared to 15.8 per cent in 1929).

These figures indicate that a further increase in Labor's buying power is essential to assure a healthy recovery. This increase must be made by re-employing the unemployed as well as by increasing the income of those already at work. With the gradual increase of production and the consequent reduction of unit overhead costs; and with the steady increase in productivity and consequent reduction of labor costs, increases in workers' income and in workers' share of total income will be possible without unduly burdening industry. This will not be accomplished, however, unless we have strong labor organizations to enable workers to secure their share of industry's earnings.

(1936, pp. 158, 436) More than six years have elapsed since the census of unemployment was taken in 1930. Federal indices of employment which we have used to bring the census unemployment figure up to date gave a close representation of the changes in employment in the U.S. during periods of industrial decline, but in a time of rising business activity they do not show the full extent of reemployment. This is due to the fact that no satisfactory method has yet been devised to record the employment given by new firms starting in business. That these new firms furnish a substantial amount of employ-

ment is clear to those who have studied the biennial censuses of manufactures and trade; some estimate the total number of jobs offered by new companies since March 1933 at one million or more.

It is clear, therefore, that any estimate of unemployment which depends for its basic statistical data on the federal indices of employment will understate the number at work and overstate the unemployed. While government bureaus issuing the figures are in a position to adjust them to the biennial censuses of manufactures and American business and so arrive at a close figure on unemployment, this task is so complicated as to extend beyond the scope of most organizations outside the government. These facts point to the need for another unemployment census at the earliest possible date, and for periodic censuses in future. It is a serious matter, in a great industrial nation such as the United States, to be without any adequate method of measuring unemployment. Industrial changes deprive millions of American families of their livelihood; we cannot plan to provide adequately for these families during their unemployment nor can we make the industrial adjustments necessary to assure them productive employment in future unless we have this statistical information as a basis for planning.

The U.S. Employment Service records six million three hundred and seventy-five thousand registered for work on July 1, 1936, who were without jobs in industry. In September, the figure is approximately six million five hundred and thirty-seven thousand. We know that not nearly all the unemployed who seek work in industry have registered with the Employment Service; trade union members, for instance, usually register with their business agents and depend on their union to find work for

them. In September about five hundred thousand union members were seeking work, most of whom probably were not registered with the exchanges. Many other workers depend on other contacts to find their jobs. Therefore, it is clear that there are today many more than six million five hundred thousand unemployed who have found no place in industry, although business recovery is well advanced.

(1937, pp. 172, 352) Agitation for an unemployment census resulted in Congress providing for investigation on or before April 1, 1938, of the number of persons partially employed and unemployed together with occupations. A census of their dependents and their incomes is also to be made.

The questions to be included in the census are to be prepared by the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor, Works Progress Administrator, and the Chairman of the Social Security Board and the Director of the Census. The President is authorized to make such rules and regulations as are necessary to carry out the provisions of the Act.

(Pp. 181, 352) Gains in employment this year show the effect of preventing an increase in the work week. Although production increased less this year than last, employment increased more. In the 12 months ending May 1937, when the work week was not lengthened, Labor Department estimates of all non-agricultural employment show that 1,961,000 went back to work with a 16% increase in industrial production, while last year in the same period a 21% increase in production put only 1,542,000 to work, for 3 hours were added to the work week. Although these figures do not give an exact comparison, it appears that roughly, at least 400,000 jobs were lost in 1935-6 by adding 3 hours to the work week.

This year's gains, however, leave us with 7,800,000 still unemployed in the month of May. This figure is estimated from Labor Department figures on total non-agricultural employment of 34,722,000, by assuming that 5,000,000 have been added to the working population since 1929. The estimate of working population is ours. The employment service records 5,310,000 registered for work in May this year, 5,016,000 in June.

Our own reports from trade unions in 24 cities in July 1937 show that in many cases unemployment is still very serious in our own ranks. Union building tradesmen report unemployment still 37½% above 1929, in printing it is 150% higher, and the report for all trades shows unemployment 22% above 1929. Several cities still have a considerable part of their membership out of work: New York 19%, Los Angeles 16%, Philadelphia 15% and the average for 24 cities shows 11% still unemployed.

These figures are enough to indicate that the problem of unemployment is still very serious. We have 7,800,000 still unemployed when industrial production in the first half year was less than 1% below the 1929 average. To provide an adequate living for our population and put our unemployed to work producing it, we must look far beyond all previous peak levels of industrial production. The first step is greater buying power for those now at work, so that they can increase production and employ their fellows. The second is a further shortening of work hours.

Until the unemployed can find work in industry we must continue to provide them with public funds. At the end of July, 2,158,000 were still at work on the works program and there were 1,400,000 on state and local relief in May, the latest figure.

A retraining program is also badly needed, for several hundred thousand

have either lost their skills through unemployment or lost their trade through machine displacement. Such a program should be closely tied in with the U.S. Employment Service.

A periodic record of the number of persons unemployed, either monthly or quarterly, is essential if we are to plan so as to overcome this basic cause of poverty and demoralization. The Social Security Board is in a position to collect such information for the industries it covers. Steps should immediately be taken to see that the information is collected, and is made available to the public promptly enough to be of use.

An unemployment census, taken at least every ten years, is essential to give complete periodic checks on unemployment in the entire population. Such censuses, however, cannot meet the need for current information. When an unemployment census is taken, it should be accompanied by a complete census of population, with a careful enumeration of the employed as well as the unemployed. If this is not done, incomplete information is likely to result, making unemployment appear less than it actually is. Such misleading information would have the most serious consequences.

Building Trades—(1937, p. 610) The A. F. of L. requests the Congress of the U.S., in order to promote stability of employment in the building industry and forestall and alleviate future depression, to take the following steps:

1. Establish the Public Works Administration, as well as the United States Housing Authority, as a permanent agency of the Federal Government;

2. Establish a special fund or authorize special bond issues, in addition to their regular and normal funds, which shall be available to these two agencies for making loans and grants on additional construction projects, in

periods when employment in the building industry shows positive signs of a serious decline;

3. Instruct the Public Works Administration and the U.S. Housing Authority to develop long-term programs, and make plans and prepare projects at least three years in advance of normal construction schedules, in order to be ready greatly to increase construction activity in the United States at short notice in an emergency, and thus forestall any such disastrous stoppage in building trades employment as that which has impeded national prosperity throughout the past eight years.

The records of the A. F. of L. disclose that a committee consisting of four Cabinet Members was appointed by Congress to study this question and to set up machinery that could be used in the case of depression and unemployment. The appointment of this Committee by Congress was prompted by the resolution adopted at a previous Convention of the A. F. of L. calling upon the Government to take such action.

The records of the A. F. of L. further disclose that this Committee never functioned. Therefore, when the depression came in 1929, the Government was in no position to deal with it, whereas had the recommendations of the A. F. of L. been followed out previous to the time the country began to suffer from the depression, our Government would have been in position to immediately set the machinery to moving that would stabilize the building industry and defeat the depression in a very large measure.

Investigation—(1938, p. 420) The unemployment problem is still the foremost question confronting this nation.

The president of the A. F. of L. is authorized and instructed to appoint a national committee on unem-

ployment and public works. This committee shall be instructed to make a careful study and survey of the effects public work programs have had on the unemployment conditions throughout the nation and to prepare a full and complete report of their findings and recommendations prior to the next session of Congress.

The President and E.C. are authorized to establish an adequate agency through which an effective campaign sponsoring legislation for the correction of existing unemployment conditions can be carried on and through which a careful analysis of the entire question can be made for presentation to our Federal Government.

(Pp. 107, 472) The business recession which started after September, 1937, has added 3,500,000 to the ranks of the unemployed. In addition, there has been no increase in jobs to provide for the young persons who came of working age during this period, and these boys and girls add about 475,000 more to the total number to be employed.

In September, 1937, unemployment had reached the lowest point since recovery started, but there were still 7,513,000 out of work. By June, 1938, unemployment had risen to 11,445,000, a total increase of nearly 4,000,000. These layoffs brought our army of unemployed back to the levels of early 1935, cancelling the gains of the last three years.

During this nine month period of depressed business, from September to June, unemployment has risen steadily. Only one month, April, showed a slight gain in employment due to the spring busy season in industry; but spring employment gains this year were almost negligible and far below normal. Not until July was there any sign of a real employment upturn. The gain of some 41,000 jobs in manufacturing in July is small, but since it comes at a time when em-

ployment usually declines, it suggests a change for the better. Employment on farms and in road building also increased in July, making a total gain of 104,000.

Trade union members have fared very much better than employees in industry generally during these months of declining employment. Throughout the late spring months, April through June, while employment in general declined, trade union employment increased. Our figures show that 2 per cent of our members who had been unemployed in March were back to work by June, while in the country as a whole unemployment increased by 174,000 from March to June. Trade union unemployment declined from 21 per cent of the membership of 19 per cent in this period while general unemployment rose from 11,226,000 in March to 11,400,000 in June. Employment of union members has continued to increase through July and early August so that another 2 per cent of our unemployed are now back at work. Thus in the entire period since March, trade union unemployment has decreased from 21 per cent of the membership in March, to 18 per cent in July and 17 per cent in early August, while unemployment as a whole has not decreased at all; 23.1 per cent of all workers (omitting management) were unemployed in March and 23.3 per cent were unemployed in July.

Social security payments were by no means sufficient to take care of the large number of men and women who found themselves without work this winter and spring. WPA has steadily increased its rolls, and with the new Government funds, further increases are being made. From January 1 to July 30, 1938, 1,338,000 were added to WPA payrolls, so that on July 30, WPA employment reached 2,967,000. There were at this time 285,000 on CCC and about 300,000 employed by

other Government agencies, so that total emergency employment amounted to more than 3,500,000.

Funds provided by the Government spending program will also provide work on PWA, Rural Electrification, and the United States Housing Authority. Counting funds already allotted by these organizations, including large housing projects under the Federal Housing Authority loans and new WPA employment, and including work required in private industries to furnish materials and transportation, we estimate that the Government program will furnish 9,237,000 man-months of employment before July 1, 1939. This is equivalent to 770,000 full year jobs or 1,540,000 half-year jobs. It will greatly stimulate reemployment and recovery, for the men employed on these jobs will, by their purchases, create jobs for others.

The outlook is for further gains in employment this fall and next spring. In addition to jobs created by the Government, improvement in private business in the last few months promises an increase of private employment.

Hours — (1939, p. 164) The E.C. Report, in a special section under the given title, analyzed some of the reasons for protracted unemployment, and included the following indictment of the role which industry had played in bringing about increasing unemployment:

Clearly the following facts are basic in any consideration of our unemployment problem: With a steadily increasing population and a constantly growing work force, living standards must decline and unemployment must increase unless national production expands at a rate sufficient to balance the combined effect of population growth and workers' increasing productivity.

It is safe to say that today's unemployment would not exist if our in-

dustries had continued to expand at the rate of the pre-depression decade. For in that decade national production increased 43%. A 43% increase in national production from 1929 to 1939 would probably have created enough jobs in industry and agriculture to absorb all the 1,500,000 laid off by technological change and depression, all the new job seekers and the major part of the pre-depression unemployed.

Instead of a 43% increase in production, however, the year 1930 is likely to show about an 18% decrease below our 1929 production.

Since the national living standard must be measured on a per capita basis, we adjust these figures for the 8% increase in population. This indicates that the living standard we are producing today (1939) for each family is 24% below the 1929 level. Industrial expansion at the pre-depression rate would have produced in 1939 an average living standard 32% above 1929. Even at our recovery peak in 1937 however, the living standard we produced, on a per capita basis, was 7.5% below 1929.

The failure of industry to expand during the last decade has meant an immeasurable loss to our people. We know that even in 1929 20,000,000 persons in the United States or one-sixth of our population were living below minimum standards for health and efficiency. In 1935 to 1936, estimates based on a study by the National Resources Committee of the Federal Government show at least half of all American families living below the minimum health and efficiency standard. In that period the Heller Committee of the University of California, a recognized authority on family budgets, showed \$2,000 per year as a health and efficiency budget for a family of five. One-third of our families were living on \$780 a year or less, which is not even an adequate income

for single individuals; another third were living on incomes between \$780 and \$1,450, and in this group all families of four or more members and most families of two or three were below a decent standard. In all, 59% of our population were living below minimum health and efficiency levels.

Thus the failure of American industry to expand at pre-depression rates has meant starvation incomes for a large portion of our families and idleness for millions of our wage earners. A great nation, with productive capacity above any other in the world, with industrial equipment and manpower capable of producing a comfort level of living for every family, has kept its industries running at part capacity, has ceased to expand industrially. This we consider the tragedy of the 1930's. To restore our industries to normal productive activity and normal expansion, to get our idle men and women back to productive activity in our industries is the first task before us, the first step in solving the unemployment problem.

(1939, p. 168) The special report contained the following summarization:

Experience in the 8-year period from 1929 to 1937 gives striking proof that shortening the work week effectively compensated for technological unemployment. In manufacturing industries, the shorter work week has reversed the trend of declining employment and created jobs where technological unemployment would have eliminated them. In all we estimate that nearly 2,000,000 jobs were saved in manufacturing alone by taking ten hours from the average work week. Had hours remained the same, the 25% increase in production per hour would have eliminated some 1,700,000 jobs, whereas actually nearly 200,000 jobs were added.

In looking toward the future we note that a steady increase in produc-

tivity will make it both necessary and possible to reduce hours progressively and continually. With our working population growing steadily, even if less rapidly than the past decade, increasing leisure is a necessary part of the national adjustment that must be made to keep our work force employed. Increasing leisure is also an essential part of a rising standard of living for our people.

In addition to the progressive reduction in hours which must take place year by year, there are certain industries which have not properly shared in the shortening of the work week during the past ten years; there are others which, although hours are shorter, have not reduced their work week sufficiently to compensate for labor displacement. These last include: Telephone communication, electric power production, rubber factories, petroleum refineries, and oil wells, cigar and cigarette plants, and others. Industries in which hours still average over 40 per week include: Motor bus operation, wholesale and retail stores, hotels, laundries and dry cleaning establishments, railroads, service stations and others.

We reemphasize the need of continual striving toward the shorter work week on the part of all unions, keeping in view our 30-hour week goal.

While continuing to shorten hours, however, we feel that the major national effort should be to lift industry out of its stagnation and restore it to a rate of expansion which will progressively raise living standards and put the unemployed to work creating the goods and services needed by all. Future employment trends will involve major shifts of workers from producing industry to service industries, from one type of product or service to another, from one kind of work to another. Such changes are essential in a growing economy and are bound to affect thousands of workers.

It is essential, therefore, that the proper agencies be at hand to give workers the training they need to learn new skills for new jobs, that this training be adequate and easily available, and that they be helped to locate the employment for which they are trained. Employment exchanges and vocational schools, which are an essential part of our mechanism to combat unemployment, are discussed elsewhere in this report.

(P. 533) The convention unanimously adopted the committee recommendations on this subject as follows:

Your committee, in concluding this report desires to strongly register our concurrence in the recommendation of the Executive Council that the American Federation of Labor devote its best efforts to lift industry out of its stagnation so as to put the unemployed at work and progressively raise living standards. In this same spirit, your committee further recommends that this convention strongly reaffirm its endorsement of the six-hour day, five-day work-week, without reduction in pay and that the Executive Council be instructed to resolutely continue their efforts to forward the widest possible adoption of this shorter work-week program.

And we further recommend that the Executive Council be directed to initiate a campaign of publicity intended to exalt and to feature the high importance of the shorter work-week from a standpoint of public welfare, through its affiliated international and national unions and through State and Local Central Bodies.

(Unemployment (Permanent) Not Necessary) — (P. 204) The A. F. of L., in a special report to the convention, treated the subject of continued unemployment under the title "Jobs For All In Private Industry". The report follows:

As the tenth year of serious unem-

ployment draws to its close, we place the problem of getting the unemployed back to work in private industry as our first concern.

The persistence of unemployment, the inability of industry in this country to recover from depression and resume its normal rate of expansion, make it clear that the recovery forces which lifted business out of depression in the past are no longer operating sufficiently to break the present business stagnation. Nor has the Federal Government, with its spending programs and other recovery efforts, succeeded in putting the unemployed to work in private industry. For after almost seven years of partial recovery, we still find ourselves today with 10,000,000 who have no work in private industry; and at no time in these seven years has unemployment been less than 7,500,000.

The American Federation of Labor is not willing to tolerate permanent unemployment. We know that idle plants can be brought into operation, idle capital can find investment in productive private enterprise and idle men be put to work producing the goods they need for a decent living. Our nation has all the elements necessary to provide an adequate living for every American family; we lack only the proper coordination of effort.

The employment of the nation's work force in private industry depends on the investment of private capital in productive enterprise. In the past century, private capital flowed freely into such enterprises without special measures for coordination of effort. The high profits afforded by developing our country's vast natural resources, building railroads, creating our unequaled industrial plants and equipment were sufficient to draw private capital into long term investment. More recently, the requirements of a world war, the development of the

tries and the building of our modern automobile and electric power industries has provided highly profitable investment. In the years 1923 to 1929, private industry invested an average of \$12,000,000,000 a year to build industrial plants and equipment and private housing. The volume of work provided by these investments, the steady increase in workers' producing power by industrial improvements and mass production, resulted in a 23% increase in the average per capita living standard in the United States in the decade before depression (1919 to 1929) and in practically full employment of our working population.

Today, the picture is entirely changed. Now there is no longer opportunity for highly profitable investment in great expansion of the nation's producing plant and equipment, for our industries cannot sell enough goods to keep their present plants in operation. The high profits and huge fortunes of the past can not be made in industry today. The Cleveland Trust Company estimates that the chance of even succeeding in business today is only about half as great as in the past, and the profits rewarding those who do succeed are at least 20% less. The risks are greater, the reward less. Consequently, private capital is not seeking investment in productive enterprise, but instead seeks security in tax-free Government bonds. During depression, private investment in industrial plant and in housing shrank to \$3,500,000,000 or less, in contrast to the \$12,000,000,000 invested annually before depression.

It appears from these facts that our problem of industrial expansion today is entirely different from that of the past. High profits to be made by developing natural resources and industrial plants no longer draw private capital into productive investment. Profits today depend on an increasing sales volume of goods produced by

mass production. This requires steady expansion of consumers' buying power. Satisfactory profits can be made when consumers' buying power reaches high enough levels, for in 1937 the nation's leading corporations earned more than 10% on their net worth; but except in 1936 and 1937 consumer buying has not reached high enough levels to provide this rate of profit at any time in the past 10 years.

The failure of consumer buying power today is due chiefly to unemployment. As shown elsewhere in this report, the average hourly wage rate has been lifted by trade union action and legislation so that it is 24% above 1929. This higher wage level will provide buying power well above that of 1929 once industry can be expanded to higher levels of production and employment. There can be no doubt that once a high level of activity is reached, providing profitable investment and reducing risk, private capital will again flow into productive enterprise. This was the case in 1937, when private investment in plants and housing reached \$9,000,000,000, even though production was not yet high enough to put all the unemployed to work or to create the goods necessary to give everyone a decent living.

Our problem then is how to lift production, in the shortest possible time, to levels which will furnish stable profits and put the unemployed to work. We are also concerned with keeping production at high enough levels to provide a steady flow of goods, once the necessary volume has been attained.

The immediate lifting of production and the maintenance of a steady flow of goods can never be accomplished by individuals acting separately. It requires coordinated action.

We have no precedent for action on the problem which now confronts our economy. Coordination of effort can

only be accomplished through the cooperation of all concerned in agriculture, industry, finance, distribution, and service, with representation for the functional groups that constitute every industry—capital, labor, management, and consumers. The Congress of the United States is the logical agency to act in behalf of the people, yet Congress has no advisory group possessing the technical knowledge and experience necessary to work out the complex problems of industrial coordination and provide a plan of action.

Many steps are necessary to prepare the way for industrial expansion through profitable private enterprise. Some can be taken by private industry and labor acting in cooperation, some will require action by the Federal Government. Balanced expansion and maintenance can only be accomplished through coordination of effort by all groups concerned.

Federal spending and "pump priming" cannot permanently restore business to healthy activity unless it is coordinated with other action to assist private industry in resuming normal expansion.

Our problem is one of management on a national scale. Although more complicated than the management of any single enterprise, many of the methods used in coordinating the activities of a large company, with branch plants and offices scattered across the continent, are applicable to the national economic problem. Also, our experience in organizing human relations on a representative basis in the political field will provide precedent for developing the agencies for individual government.

Modern industrial management when confronted with a problem of developing new fields for activity, turns first to its division of research and planning. Experts study the situation in all its aspects, then submit

to management a plan for action. This plan may be modified, submitted to further study and adjusted by new discoveries—eventually it emerges as a workable project and is put into effect.

It appears to us that our national problems will yield to similar treatment. We cannot believe that American engineering skill, American labor, and the genius of American management, which have developed our unequalled industrial mechanism, will fail to solve the problem of national economic coordination if given a mandate to undertake it.

We emphasize the fact, however, that in the group which undertakes such a task, labor, farmers and consumers must be adequately represented so that their interest will not be neglected. Industrial engineers and persons familiar with the problems of management and its administration of large business undertakings are also essential, for theirs is the particular knowledge of experience needed.

We urge that Congress set up an advisory council of this nature in the coming session with the mandate to develop measures by which private industry can expand production and maintain balanced prosperity. The suggestions of this advisory group should be submitted to Congress for action and made available to the general public.

This procedure follows democratic principles. There is an opportunity for public opinion to be informed and to express itself through its normal agency, the Congress of the United States. The character of the advisory group assures representation of every sector of our population.

We need not be at the mercy of haphazard forces which have governed business expansion during the period of national industrial growth. These forces at best brought about periods of high productive activity followed by depressions; they did not bring

stable expansion; they are no longer adequate to meet our needs. During recent years Government controls have been extended over an increasing portion of our economic activity, with a growing danger of bureaucracy. We have need now of a central advisory agency, representing the economic groups concerned, forming a channel for their views and experience, commissioned to coordinate industrial activity.

Such an agency, advisory to Congress, can prepare the way for balanced expansion of private industry and reemployment of the unemployed.

(P. 522) In the introductory portion of this section of the E.C.'s report, your attention is called to the fact that there still remain some ten million wage earners who are unable to secure employment in private industry.

The Council points out that industrial conditions in our country have undergone a great change, that there is no longer the same opportunity as in the past for highly profitable investment in great expansion in the nation's producing plants and equipment. It points out that profits today must depend largely upon increasing the nation's capacity to consume.

In connection with this the Executive Council points out that Federal spending and "pump priming" cannot permanently restore business to healthy activity, unless it is coordinated with other action to assist private industry in resuming normal expansions, that the present problem is one of management on a national scale.

After reference to the problem facing industrial management, the Executive Council expresses the opinion that our national problems will yield to more cooperative action if this represents the several factors in the nation's economic life.

We cannot believe that American engineering skill, American labor, and the genius of American management which have developed our unequalled industrial mechanism, will fail to solve the problem of national coordination if given encouragement to undertake it.

The Executive Council, however, emphasizes the fact that in any national groups who undertake such a responsibility, labor, farmers, and consumers must be adequately represented so that their interests will not be neglected.

The Executive Council recommends that Congress create a National Advisory Council of this nature during the coming session, the suggestions of such an advisory group to be submitted to Congress for action and made available to the general public. Such an advisory council would give the people as a whole the necessary representation to guide Congress wisely instead of having Congress besieged by special interests with their own programs, prepared for their own self-advancement.

With these expressions of opinion your committee recommends adoption of the Executive Council's report.

(Shorter Work Week)—(1949, p. 254) In spite of the foreign aid and defense program and other measures which have had the effect of proping up demand production, and employment during this period of "readjustment", unemployment has risen steadily to a new postwar peak. . . .

The impact of unemployment in its early stages was largely confined to particular areas and industries. With unemployment now 4 million, the point where it could be considered a local problem has clearly been passed. Every industrial State in the country has been affected, and its widespread nature is further indicated by the fact that, with the exception of food proc-

essing, automobiles, and printing and publishing, each of the major industrial groups is employing fewer workers than last year.

The true employment picture is shown not only by the level of employment but also by the hours worked. Hours worked have declined significantly in some industries. In manufacturing as a whole, the average of weekly hours has declined by more than 1 hour between the first half of 1948 and the first half of 1949. This is due both to the elimination of overtime work and the institution of below standard workweeks (with equivalent reductions in pay) in industries where output has been reduced. . . .

It has also been estimated that during the past few months, one out of four unemployed persons was ineligible for unemployment compensation. Most of these were either not covered by any plan or had been unemployed so long that their benefit rights had been exhausted.

While these adverse developments are serious and the fact that they have caused a great deal of hardship should not be minimized, the situation calls for vigilance and a readiness to take timely appropriate action, rather than general alarm or hasty drastic measures. The forces which produced the postwar boom were too unstable and temporary to last for long, and this period of readjustment, while painful, is probably necessary to provide a less precarious base for future economic growth.

The recent downward trend should not obscure the fact that employment and economic activity generally is still well above any real depression level. While the unemployment rate of 52 per 1,000 for the first six months of 1949 was considerably higher than the 37 per 1,000 recorded during the first half of 1948, it was still much better than that of 1941, when, even during the so-called "de-

fense boom," the rate was as high as 100 per 1,000. Also, even during this period of gradually rising unemployment, between one-third and two-fifths of the unemployed in one month have either returned to work or found new jobs before the next month.

The fact that the present situation is not as bad as in prewar days would be small reassurance in itself, as long as the trend continues downwards. However, there are elements of basic strength in the economy which encourage the belief that stability will soon arrive and be followed by renewed growth. In many lines, current sales are greater than current production, and increased production should follow the working down of excess stocks. New investments in plant and equipment are continuing at a high level and business credit on favorable terms is readily available. Construction activity is on the upgrade again, after a period of relative decline, and federal, state, and local governments have undertaken many of the urgent public works which were deferred during the war. Outlays by the Federal Government are expanding generally and wherever possible are being routed to areas where unemployment is highest. Wages have held up quite well, and unemployment insurance and other social security benefits have helped to sustain buying power and the demand for goods. Holdings of liquid assets are still high and private debt is low. If and when consumer prices, which in many lines have not been as responsive as they should be to the change in demand decline, all of the elements necessary for a rise in the general level of production and employment will exist.

The mistake should not be made, however, of viewing these strong points as a sort of impregnable Maginot Line against depression. The present decline can be traced to inadequate

consumer demand at the prevailing level of market prices, for the surplus stocks which are now being scaled down could not have been accumulated had production not been in excess of demand. To call it an "inventory recession" is just another way of saying that sales, governed by effective demand, were too low. Rising unemployment further undermines effective demand, and consequently sales and production, which in turn results in more unemployment. Unemployment is bred of recession, and it in turn breeds further recession, and eventually, if not checked, depression. Too much faith should not be placed in the so-called "automatic correctives," for unemployment compensation alone can never replace the buying power that was lost with the loss of a job. Until the unemployment trend is reversed and those now seeking work find productive jobs, there is no cause for complacency about the future.

We must not be content just so long as our situation is better than "pre-war"—we are living in a new era and on a higher plane of activity, and our benchmarks and standards must advance with the times. Not only must past gains be preserved but new gains must also be made. It is not enough to secure the reemployment of those now seeking work—new jobs must be created each year for the million annual newcomers to the labor force.

To this end, the American Federation of Labor should once more consider a renewal of its drive for the shorter standard work-week and the shorter standard work-day, through collective bargaining. A reduction in the hours of work will be necessary over the coming years to keep our national productivity in line with our national income. This is essential if high unemployment is to be avoided. If the physical ability of our plants, machines, and labor force to produce exceeds the total national income or

product, the difference between the two is made up of unemployed workers, idle plants and equipment, or both. The long-term tendency, from the beginning of the century until the boom of World War II—a tendency which again appears to be asserting itself—has been for the rise in national productivity to exceed the rise in national income, with an accompanying proportionate rise in unemployment.

If this tendency for productivity to expand faster than the per capita product is to be reversed in the future—and it must be if prosperity is to be maintained—either “real” production-consumption income must be increased either by raising wages or reducing prices, or both, as fast as over-all productivity, or, failing that, working hours must be reduced sufficiently to offset the disparity. It may very well be desirable in the interests of greater leisure, or more feasible on other accounts, to take the shorter hours as an alternative, up to a point, to the higher income. It may be possible to do both. If, for example, per capita income rises 12 percent over a period of years while productivity rises 20 percent, hourly wages can be advanced 20 percent without increasing unit costs, while hours must be reduced six and two-thirds percent to maintain employment. If both of these are done, the weekly pay will increase by 12 percent even with the reduced work-week.

While shorter hours alone can not perform the full task of the expansion of job opportunities that will be needed in an ever-growing degree, it can make a very important contribution to the achievement of that aim. It is furthermore an entirely worthwhile end in itself, and an historic one for Labor.

Unemployment Compensation (also see: **Social Security**; **Social Security (Amendments)**; **District of Columbia**; **Post War Planning**)

Insurance—(1931, pp. 148, 368) Unemployment is the great fear that constantly shadows the life of the wage earner. Unemployment means loss of income. Working people must earn money in order to live and buy the things they need. They depend upon their wage earning power and wage earning opportunities to procure for themselves a decent living. They spurn charity and abhor dependency.

Invention, science and mechanical improvement have revolutionized factory production but while doing this they served to displace many workers during normal periods of industrial activity. Technical progress has been very exacting. Even during the peak production period there were many thousands of working people suffering from technological unemployment. Now, with many millions of workers idle, it becomes imperative that we deal directly and constructively with this great social problem.

There are just two approaches to this problem: prevention and relief. Either we must make employment secure or provide an income for the unemployed.

The early experiments were made with various forms of unemployment relief in many cities and nations in Europe. Municipalities such as Berne, Basle, Cologne, Leipsig, gave assistance to voluntary insurance undertakings. Other cities undertook to subsidize trade union insurance as in the Ghent scheme. In some cases the government made loans to private industries.

Voluntary benefit systems were established in Denmark and Belgium, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Spain, Switzerland. Holland has municipal insurance.

Switzerland experimented with compulsory unemployment insurance as did individual cities. Great Britain was the first country to adopt compulsory unemployment insurance. It has

since been followed by Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Irish Free State, Italy, Poland and Russia.

With recognition of the responsibility of management for controlling business, have come efforts to distinguish economic forces and to find methods of control. Industries have been looking to stabilization. Regularization of production brings regularization of employment. To maintain steady industrial progress understanding of the principles of industrial balance is necessary. We have just begun studying this field. The possibilities of the prevention of unemployment have increasing significance and must be carefully safeguarded against policies that crystallize unemployment and habits of accepting it as inevitable.

Unemployment is the most urgent problem of business today. It is the great fear that stalks like a ghost in wage earners lives.

Because unemployment cannot be eliminated at once, there must be provisions for relief for the unemployed. Individual companies have been experimenting with stabilization. In a few localities the principle of stabilization has been extended to groups of companies. These local developments indicate the possibilities of applying these principles to wider areas. This means the development of industrial control. In the United States the movement toward industrial control is further along than in most industrial countries.

Recommendations—During the past year many legislative measures providing for unemployment insurance were introduced in Congress and in the various state legislatures. The measures varied in character and form. Most of these measures were referred to the legislative committees created by act of the different law-making bodies for the purpose of making a

study and report upon the subject of unemployment insurance legislation. These legislative committees will no doubt submit a report of their investigations and studies in due course of time.

While it is the opinion that compulsory unemployment insurance legislation such as is now in effect in Great Britain and Germany would be unsuited to our economic and political requirements here and unsatisfactory to American working men and women, we recognize the fact that the owners and managers of industry through their failure to provide work for the working people of the nation who are able and willing to work have contributed much toward the creation of an increasing public opinion in favor of the enactment of unemployment insurance legislation. It is the opinion of the A. F. of L. that the owners and managers of industry will be largely responsible for the enactment of unemployment insurance legislation in the event public opinion becomes so crystallized as to demand unemployment relief through the enactment of compulsory unemployment insurance laws.

The A. F. of L. is directing its efforts toward the creation and enlargement of work opportunities. . . . No collective action of any kind has been taken and no response has been made to the appeals of Labor to accord to the working people of the nation an equal opportunity to share in the work available by the employers or management of industry. The ruthless discharge of millions of working men and women without means of support, dependent upon such relief as may be extended by municipalities and by local relief agencies, is in itself an indictment of our unsound economic and industrial situation, unsound and uneconomic because the owners and managers of industry have miserably failed.

American working people want work. They demand work. They abhor charity and they resent the imposition of the dole. They are proud in spirit and resolute in purpose. They must not and will not become the victims of a paternalistic policy. Work must be supplied to all who are willing and able to work. Managers and owners of industry must meet this social obligation and discharge their responsibility.

Working men have arrived at the point where they are firmly of the belief that they are as much entitled to work security, to enjoy the opportunity to work, as the owners of capital are to returns from their investments. Labor demands that these principles be recognized and accepted by the employers of Labor. Obviously, the owners and management of industry must decide as to whether working men and women shall enjoy the opportunity to work, or, whether as a result of the denial of this opportunity to work, industry shall have fastened upon it compulsory unemployment insurance legislation. It must be work or unemployment insurance. Working people must be privileged to earn a living or be accorded relief. If compulsory unemployment insurance is fastened upon our industrial, political and economic life, it will be because industrial ownership and management have failed to provide and preserve work opportunities for working men and women.

The A. F. of L., in contrast to the helplessness and failure of collective industrial management to offer a remedy for unemployment, renews the proposals which it has repeatedly offered as practical, constructive remedies for the unemployment situation:

"First, we propose that a national conference of employers and Labor be called by the President of the U.S. to deal directly and constructively with the unemployment problem and to de-

vise ways and means by which and through which all working people may be accorded an opportunity to share in all work available.

"Second, in order to accomplish this purpose we propose the immediate inauguration of the five-day work-week and the shorter work-day in all public and private industry.

"Third, the maintenance of the wage structure and wage standards.

"Fourth, work assurance—a guarantee to all those workers who are employed that they are secure in their positions and that through the application of the shorter work-day and the shorter work-week all would be accorded an opportunity to share equitably in all work available.

"Fifth, the prohibition of child labor and the employment of adults in order that the slack of unemployment may be taken up.

"Sixth, the stabilization of industry, with particular reference to those industries which are classified as seasonal in character. This would contemplate the application of a plan whereby improvements could be carried on during periods of seasonal recession when because of the seasonal character of the industry the demands for goods has substantially declined.

"Seventh, the application of a more scientific plan of industrial production so that a stable balance may be maintained in order that production may be carried on systematically over longer periods of time."

These remedies for the unemployment situation have been submitted by the E.C. and the officers of the A. F. of L. to the owners and management of industry, but thus far there has been no response or no reply. We are firmly of the opinion that if they were accepted and applied in the manner herein outlined that the need for unemployment insurance legislation would disappear and that work opportunities would be accorded all men

and women willing and able to work.

The practicability of the unemployment remedies herein proposed becomes increasingly apparent when we take into account the extent and capacity of our home market. In this particular respect the U.S. is exceedingly fortunate. Its greatest market is its home market. Its consuming abilities and its constant requirements are well-nigh incomprehensible. More than 90 per cent of all goods manufactured and produced in the U.S. is consumed and used in the home market. It has never been developed to its maximum capacity and for that reason its consuming power, which now seems well-nigh inexhaustible, can be further increased through the development of an increasing purchasing power on the part of the masses of the people.

On all matters of social justice legislation, the Canadian membership of organized labor who are affiliated with the A. F. of L., are free to act in accordance with their own judgment and their own decisions. While the economic proposals of the A. F. of L. as a remedy or remedies for the unemployment situation are as applicable to industry in Canada as in the U.S., the Council fully recognizes the right of the Canadian membership of the A. F. of L. to originate and support through the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress, such social justice legislation as in their judgment may be for the best interests of the working men and women in the Dominion of Canada.

(1932, pp. 39, 325) Report of E.C. adopted by convention:

The experience which working men and women have been forced to face and undergo during the past year, has been most bitter and disappointing. They cannot be expected to maintain faith in an economic order which has failed them so completely. They charge industrial management with

failure to stabilize employment. The facts are that the management of industry has not provided work security or created work opportunities for those who are able, willing and eager to work. Unemployment has increased; there are more workers idle now than there were one year ago; approximately 11,000,000 are out of work, seeking employment, unable to find it.

The A. F. of L. has always emphasized both the necessity and importance of supplying work for all. Working people and their families depend upon wages earned for a livelihood. Life and living, in the full meaning of that term, are inseparably associated with employment, wages, work security, the possession of a job and the exercise of the right to work.

The E.C. has given most careful, painstaking and serious consideration to the problem of unemployment and to the application of the principle of unemployment insurance. The Council would much prefer that working people be privileged to work and be accorded job security than to see them forced to accept relief because of unemployment. The extension and enjoyment of the opportunity to work at decent wages, so that working men and women may earn a decent living, is the real objective of the American Federation of Labor. The E.C. urges work first and relief second, but it must be clear that working people must be permitted to earn a living or be supplied relief. They must earn their living or be supported. They cannot earn their living unless jobs are provided and work opportunities accorded them.

Obviously, the owners and management of industry have failed to provide work for all and thus make it possible for all to earn a livelihood. Their failure is reflected in the fact that during the past three years unemployment has steadily increased and at the present time about 11,000,-

000 people are idle. The E.C. believes that the owners of industry and industrial management must have known that the creation of an army of 11,-000,000 unemployed, forced to shift for themselves, to become dependent upon local, state and federal relief agencies, would create an intolerable economic situation fraught with most serious consequences.

The economic facts arising out of the unemployment situation, the continued displacement of millions of working men through the mechanization of industry and the substitution of power for human service, make it absolutely necessary, in the opinion of the Executive Council to develop and put into operation through the enactment of appropriate legislation, an unemployment insurance plan which will provide for the payment of weekly benefits to working men and women who are forced to suffer from unemployment.

The Council holds that because the ownership and management of industry have failed to provide and maintain work opportunities for working men and women, unemployment insurance legislation is made imperatively necessary. The responsibility for this state of affairs rests squarely upon industry and industrial management. They control industry; consequently, they control jobs. Labor cannot wait longer; it must now act. Industry must be compelled to do what it has thus far failed to do. Work or relief must be provided. If industrial management fails to provide work, it must be compelled to assume the burden of supplying relief.

Having all these facts in mind, the E.C. at a meeting held July 12-22, 1932, directed the President of the A. F. of L. to draft and present to a subsequent meeting a plan of unemployment insurance legislation. These instructions were complied with. As a result of a detailed survey and careful study of the subject, the President

of the A. F. of L. submitted to a meeting of the E.C., held October 18-27, 1932, a report which embodied within it a plan of unemployment insurance legislation.

The E.C. has always endeavored to guard jealously the organization structure of the A. F. of L. For that reason the Council was apprehensive over the effect which compulsory unemployment insurance legislation might have upon the exercise of the right of working men and women not only to join but to maintain membership in trade unions. In the drafting of an unemployment insurance measure, the Council has constantly kept three very distinct fundamental principles in mind:

First, it has endeavored to provide in the plan which it submits to the convention a full measure of protection to the membership of the A. F. of L., and the preservation of the right to become a member and to continue membership in a trade union.

Second, that the payment of relief shall be made a fixed charge upon industry. Relief funds should be created out of the earnings of industry. The Council does not believe it is fair or just that any part of the money out of which relief would be paid during periods of unemployment should be collected from employees.

Third, that unemployment insurance should be compulsory and that the execution and administration of unemployment insurance laws should come wholly within the control and administration of federal and state governments.

The E.C. submits the following plan for the consideration and approval of the convention. This plan embodies within it the fundamental principles just enunciated and represents the best thought and judgment of the members of the E.C. and of the trained experts upon social justice legislation who rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of the plan. The Coun-

cil recommends this plan of unemployment insurance legislation for the favorable consideration and acceptance of the officers and members in attendance at the convention.

It would be desirable, were it possible, to press for the enactment of one uniform measure for unemployment insurance applicable throughout the United States. But, due to the provisions and limitations of the U.S. Constitution as interpreted by the courts, since the regulation of manufacture and industry lies primarily within the province of state rather than federal activity, it is practically impossible to enact constitutional federal legislation adequately providing for unemployment insurance covering employees engaged in work in the different states. The A. F. of L., therefore, advocates the passage of unemployment insurance legislation in each separate state, and the supplementing of such state legislation by federal enactments; such for instance, as bills covering employees engaged in interstate commerce or employed in the District of Columbia or in federal territories, or such as the bill recently introduced into Congress allowing corporations substantial income tax credit on their federal income taxes for such payments as they have made under state laws toward the creation of unemployment reserves.

It is evident that the local conditions of each state vary to such a marked degree that it would be unwise, even were it possible at the present time, to frame a single model bill to be enacted in every state. It is possible, nevertheless, to set forth certain general fundamental principles and standards to which such state legislation should conform. The A. F. of L., after mature consideration and discussion, has formulated the following principles which should guide in the framing of state unemployment insurance bills:

Every unemployment insurance Act

should contain specific provisions to protect union members from being obliged to accept work contrary to the rules and regulations of their organizations or employment under conditions such as tend to depress wages or working conditions.

Unemployment insurance legislation in this country should be carefully devised to promote its two primary objectives: (a) the stimulation of more regular employment, insofar as possible, and (b) the payment of unemployment compensation to those who are temporarily out of work through industry's failure to provide steady employment for its working forces.

The A. F. of L. advocates a scheme of unemployment compensation made compulsory by law. Voluntary schemes are unlikely to pervade industry generally, and are frequently open to other serious objections. Only by compulsory legislation can workers be adequately protected.

Since unemployment is, to a certain extent, one of the inevitable incidents of production and must, therefore, be regarded as part of the inescapable cost of industry, it, like other costs of industry should be paid by industry itself. It, therefore, follows that, as a matter of principle, no part of the contributions to support unemployment insurance should be paid out of the wages of Labor, but the whole should be paid by management as part of the cost of production. The necessary funds should be raised as a charge on industry.

The amount of such contributions must depend upon the local conditions in each state. A minimum contribution must be required sufficient to cover (a) the building up of adequate reserves, (b) the cost of the benefits to be paid under the Act, and (c) the costs of administration. To cover these costs the A. F. of L. believes that the contribution rate should be not less 3% of the total pay roll. The exact percentage, however, must vary

in different states, and will come to depend upon various actuarial data, which must be carefully collected as a basis for such determination from the experience gained both before and after the passage of the Act. The absence of complete data should not, however, prevent the passage of a law, since the liability of the fund is limited to the amount of the income provided by law. As experience is accumulated it will be possible to determine the income necessary to provide the benefits decided upon in the law.

At this time the A. F. of L. deems it inadvisable to take an irrevocable stand as between the plant reserves system or unemployment insurance embodied in the Wisconsin law and an insurance system such as is under consideration in Ohio and in operation in many European countries. Whatever plan is adopted, whether based on plant reserves or on a broader basis, we believe that it should be administered by the state and all reserve funds held and invested by the state. We are unalterably opposed to company-controlled unemployment reserves and believe that without state administration plant reserves will prove but another "company union" device. We are also of the opinion that, at least at the outset, it is advisable to have but a single unemployment insurance fund (with, if a plant reserves system is adopted, separate accounts for separate employers) and a flat rate of contributions by employers regardless of the industry in which they may be engaged. Later on, after more accurate data is obtained, the contributions in each industry, occupation, or enterprise may be scaled according to the hazard of unemployment, but sufficient data is not now available to warrant such classifications at this time.

Sound public policy requires that no insurance company in this country be allowed to invade this new field of unemployment compensation. No in-

surance company is allowed under present state laws to write this class of insurance. The Federation believes that this policy is wise and should in no case be abandoned.

All funds should be invested in federal securities or in the bonds of states or municipalities such as have never defaulted in the payment of principal or interest.

Insurance in general should cover temporary and involuntary unemployment. Unemployment means the conditions caused by the inability of an employee who is capable of and available for employment to obtain work in his usual employment or in another for which he is reasonably fitted. Nothing in the Unemployment Compensation Act should require an employee to accept employment, nor should any employee forfeit his right to benefits under the Act by refusing to accept employment under any or all of the following conditions:

(a) In a situation vacant directly in consequence of a stoppage of work due to a trade dispute;

(b) If the wages, hours and conditions offered are less favorable to the employee than those prevailing for similar work in the locality, or are such as tend to depress wages and working conditions;

(c) If acceptance of such employment would abridge or limit the right of the employee either (1) to refrain from joining a labor organization or association of workmen, or (2) to retain membership in and observe the rules of any such organization or association;

(d) Workers who quit work without good cause or who are discharged for misconduct shall not thereby forfeit benefits beyond a reasonable period.

The coverage should be as wide as possible. It should include clerical as well as manual workers. There are, however, certain classes of employ-

ment which it may be necessary to exclude from the general operation of the Act, and these classes will vary according to local conditions. It would seem that the legislation should approximate, insofar as practicable, the coverage of state workmen's compensation acts. As time goes on the scope or coverage of the Act may well be broadened.

The claim of employees to receive unemployment compensation as provided under the Act should be clearly recognized as a legal right earned by previous employment within the state. Receipt of unemployment benefits shall in no way entail loss of suffrage or other civil rights. Persons not legal residents of the state and those not citizens of the U.S. shall not by reason of that fact be disqualified from receiving benefits.

The amount of benefits to be paid and the number of weeks during which they shall be paid must depend upon the local conditions in each state and upon the amount of contributions paid into the fund. We are informed, for instance, that under the conditions prevailing in Ohio, a contribution of 3% of the total payroll makes it possible after a waiting period of three weeks per year to pay benefits for a maximum period of 16 weeks in a year based upon 50% of the normal weekly wages, but not to exceed \$15.00 a week.

It seems advisable to restrict the payment of benefits to unemployment occurring after a specified waiting period. The length of this waiting period will materially affect the amount of the benefits which can be paid and the length of time during which they can be paid.

(1934, pp. 78, 549) The sentiment in favor of unemployment insurance has grown rapidly in the last three years. Public men who had opposed this legislation have changed to its support.

During the first eight months of 1933 more than 60 compulsory unemployment insurance bills were introduced in 25 state legislatures. Bills passed one house in New York, Connecticut, California, Ohio, Minnesota, and Utah, but failed of enactment owing to congestion caused by various bills in the other house. New Hampshire, Maine, Oregon, Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia, Illinois, and Colorado have appointed commissions to study the unemployment question.

It is definitely understood that Congress cannot enact a federal unemployment insurance law. In 1931, Senator Wagner secured the appointment of a committee to make a general study of the unemployment insurance systems in use by private interests in the United States and by foreign governments with a view to determine in what manner such systems were instituted and were being operated. In its report the committee said:

The subject of unemployment insurance is not within the sphere of Congressional action.

Based on the investigation made by the Senate Committee of which he was chairman, Senator Wagner introduced an unemployment insurance bill. It provided for a five per cent federal tax on the pay rolls of all employers of 10 or more persons with a proviso that any contribution that any employer had made to an unemployment fund under an approved state law would be subtracted from the five per cent federal tax. Farmers, employers of domestics and those in government service were excluded as in the various state bills that have been proposed. Our president appeared at the hearing held by the Ways and Means Committee of the House in favor of the Wagner-Lewis Unemployment Insurance Bill. The committee voted to report the bill favorably, but for some reason this was not done. No hearing was held in the Senate. Both Senator Wagner and Representative Lewis will

reintroduce the bill in the next Congress.

(P. 119) In making provisions against the emergencies of unemployment, we ought to consider carefully the experiences of countries that have operated unemployment insurance systems—especially Great Britain and Germany.

Great Britain began with a plan that covered the highly seasonal industries and expanded the provisions to cover all industries in the hope thereby to meet the emergencies growing out of the transition from a war to a peace organization of production. The insurance fund had to be supplemented by grants from the national treasury.

The Unemployment Insurance Act has been repeatedly amended to meet existing need. The new Act of 1934 provides public assistance for those who have exhausted their insurance benefits as a separate group. Transitional benefits and also the administration of outdoor relief to the able-bodied unemployed, are placed in the hands of the Unemployment Assistance Board. There is set up a new national service to assist

persons to whom this part of the Act applies who are in need of work and the promotion of their welfare, and, in particular, the making of provision for the improvement and re-establishment of the condition of such persons, with a view to their being, in all respects, fit for entry into, or return to, regular employment, and the grant and issue to such persons of unemployment allowances . . . in accordance with the provisions of this part of the Act.

This board will take over those whose insurance benefits are exhausted and who are receiving transitional benefits, and secondly the unemployed whose relief has been furnished solely by the local poor law.

The board will provide and maintain training courses to help the unemployed adjust themselves to new fields of unemployment.

This new provision apparently puts main dependence for relief in this public assistance provision.

Provisions for casualties of industrial and social forces are only supplementary to the reorganization of business on a stable basis, social planning for the adjustment of production to social needs and standards and job planning on an extensive scale. A federal public employment service is the national center around which much of our planning should develop. Employment trends constitute a basis for vocational training and counselling, rehabilitation and retraining. The employment service could well be the forecaster of new employment fields. It must not subordinate its economic and social functions to financial responsibilities.

(1939, p. 63) Since the Social Security Act was signed in 1935 a new and very technical angle has been added to what wage earners and union officials need to know. Both employers and employees are under that Act paying contributions into the Old Age Insurance Fund for the accumulation of incomes to be paid the workers after they reach 65 years of age. Every wage earner needs to know how to check up on his payments which the employer withholds from his pay envelope and after adding an equal amount from the firm's funds pays into the Federal Government. No worker can afford to take a chance on everything being all right and run the chance of poverty or dependency because he didn't check in time. Every union executive should be ready to tell workers what to do, whom to see or to whom to write. American Federation of Labor headquarters will help executives to get started on this responsibility.

Every worker ought to be able to anticipate what his monthly insurance will be if he reaches 65, what his wife and dependents might expect should he die, and should share this information with his family. The family should know what to do in case of the wage earner's death. Such information is readily available and is uniform throughout the country, for the law is federal in scope.

Every worker needs to know whether he is eligible for unemployment compensation if he loses his job. Unemployment compensation laws are state laws and differ widely. Every worker should know whether he is eligible for compensation and what his rights would be—what benefits should be and for how long. He should know in advance what conditions might disqualify him for benefits so as to avoid any loss if possible and at least be advised in advance.

Union executives can readily prepare to serve their members in the security field. All they need is to learn the facts—legal knowledge is quite unnecessary.

A somewhat more difficult field is appeal from administrative decisions denying benefits. Here again legal training is not necessary and there is no need for the union or its members to incur the expense of hiring a lawyer for presentation of appeals. A simple presentation of the facts is all that is necessary. The Federation will be glad to assist unions when advice on principle or procedure is needed.

More complicated and technical are the problems involved in proposed amendments to state unemployment compensation laws. Persons and groups interested in reducing the outlay by employers for social security are diligent in devising such "economy" formulae and proposals. Not infrequently they undertake to line up union representatives and present convincing arguments which only painstaking study and technical anal-

ysis can refute. For the protection of Labor locally against this propaganda which is organized nationally, we urge that decision upon unemployment compensation amendments be deferred until after consultation with American Federation of Labor headquarters.

(P. 188) A serious threat to workers' interests is present in the trend in many state laws toward increasing the severity of the penalties for voluntary quit, discharge for misconduct, and failure to accept an offered job. Under some laws the worker is barred from benefits entirely under these circumstances and his wage credits are cancelled so that even after he has worked at another job and has been laid off through no fault of his own, he is not able to receive benefits on the basis of those wage credits. There is no justice in these extreme disqualifications. They are evidence of the defect Labor has consistently pointed out in the "merit" or "experience rating" laws. In their efforts to get favorable rates employers wish benefit payments to be as small as possible and are therefore devising schemes to bar workers from benefits. The purpose of the unemployment compensation laws is thus defeated. Labor will continue to oppose all forms of merit rating and to work for a true sharing of risks in the straight pooled fund with equal tax rates on all employers.

In a few states the obvious complexity and cost of the merit rating provisions persuaded the legislatures to repeal their provisions and substitute instead a plan for study. Others may find it wise to abandon this costly and undesirable tax differential when they try to put it into operation. It has no place in an unemployment compensation system.

(P. 192) Labor believes that proper amendment of the Social Security Act relating to unemployment compensation can be made only on the basis of a thorough study of our present federal-state system and the need for

more adequate standards. We need to develop our concept of the part unemployment compensation is to serve in meeting the problem of unemployment. It is clear that if unemployment compensation is to justify itself as a system distinct from relief it must pay adequate benefits promptly and for a long enough time to cover an appreciable amount of the unemployment normally expected in a year. It is equally clear that an unemployment compensation system based on payroll taxes cannot finance indefinitely prolonged periods of unemployment or care of the unemployable. The relation between unemployment compensation and relief and provision for persons temporarily and permanently disabled needs to be defined more clearly and the proper field for each delimited.

The American Federation of Labor supported an amendment to the Social Security Act providing for the appointment of an advisory council to study unemployment compensation and to recommend changes in the Social Security Act on the basis of its studies. Such a council should be composed of representatives of Labor, business and the public. This amendment failed to pass. We shall continue to urge the appointment of such a council to carry out this necessary study. We recommend particularly that such a study include careful consideration of the difficulties of harmonizing the many state systems now operating and the desirability of substituting a federal grant-in-aid system with appropriate federal standards of benefits for the present credit-against-federal-tax system for unemployment compensation.

Compensation for the man who is normally employed and is only temporarily out of work needs to be supplemented by a program for the worker temporarily or permanently disabled if we are to achieve a full measure of security. The man who is unemployed

because he is ill needs as much or more compensation as the healthy unemployed man. Failure to provide a disability program is likely to lead to irregularities in administering unemployment compensation laws as some agencies attempt to cover persons really unemployable in order to keep them from seeking relief aid. The Advisory Council on Social Security found benefits for persons totally and permanently disabled to be socially desirable. The American Federation of Labor believes that immediate steps should be taken to provide for these benefits either through an extension of our system of old age benefits or in some other way. It believes that immediate attention should also be given to providing benefits for persons temporarily disabled, either under an extension of workmen's compensation laws, or as a supplement to unemployment compensation laws. It is important that we recognize disability compensation as a natural and logical complement to our unemployment compensation and old age programs.

Since the unemployment compensation laws relating to benefits are made by the states at present, the American Federation of Labor believes the important next steps in state legislation must be:

1. to decrease the waiting period to one week.
2. to increase the duration of benefits by establishing a flat period within which benefits would be paid. This should be no less than 16 weeks in any state. Twenty weeks is preferable.
3. to simplify the benefit structure by paying benefits in round amounts, with not more than five classes of benefit amounts.
4. to relate benefit amounts to the class in which the worker's full-time weekly wage normally falls, rather than to annual or quarterly earnings which cheat the

worker of benefits he should receive.

5. to establish an adequate minimum payment, no lower than \$5.00 in any state, in order that benefit checks may be for significant amounts.
6. to eliminate all forms of merit and experience rating from the laws in order that the administration may be kept simple and as inexpensive as possible and in order that there may be no incentive to the employer to block the payment of benefits which fairly should be paid.
7. to secure payment of partial benefits at least equal to the difference between actual weekly earnings and the worker's benefit rate for full-time employment.
8. to prevent the introduction of excessive provisions for disqualification of workers from receipt of benefits to which they would otherwise be entitled. No disqualification should take the form of cancellation of wage credits or charging off benefits as if they had been paid when they were withheld. No disqualification for voluntary quit, discharge for misconduct, refusal to take job, or any other cause should be more severe than an increase in the waiting period, not to exceed five additional weeks. The pressure to keep benefit payments low for merit-rating purposes makes it especially necessary for Labor to guard against increases in the grounds for or severity of disqualification provisions.

Coverage—(P. 198) . . . Labor in every state has the responsibility of getting state laws changed to cover all employees whether only one or more works for the employer, and the American Federation of Labor will continue to urge on Congress the necessity of making the definition of em-

ployer in the unemployment compensation provisions of the Social Security Act, the same as that for old age coverage.

There is need to extend the coverage of unemployment compensation laws and to define more clearly the degree of responsibility which constitutes "independent enterprise" in order to prevent chiseling by some employers who wish to escape their fair responsibility for the tax. In a number of cases employers have changed slightly the method of paying employees, hoping thereby to have them appear as independent contractors rather than employees. Labor must be alert to block such unfair treatment of workers. One way in which these practices could be rendered useless would be so to extend coverage of unemployment compensation over all employed persons and so to clarify the meaning of the employment relationship that no employer could avoid taxation by such a subterfuge. We have a task before us to see that the law operates for the protection of workers, as was intended, and is not rendered useless by the many exceptions to its application.

The American Federation of Labor believes coverage of unemployment compensation laws should be extended to domestic labor, to employees of non-profit organizations, to salesmen, and to all agricultural workers except, for the present, those who are truly "farm hands" on small farms whose type of work makes its difficult to define unemployment.

While the inequity of exclusion from unemployment compensation coverage is different from that under old age insurance because the worker pays no unemployment compensation tax and his equity is built up for one year only rather than over a period of years, there is no sound logic for most of the exclusions by occupation, and the system is rendered less effective because of them. Labor wants fair treatment and security for all who are normally

employed and temporarily out of employment for no fault of their own. We will continue to urge enlargement of coverage. Particularly our next effort must be to secure federal and state legislation which will bring in the thousands of workers who are engaged in plants employing less than eight workers.

The problem of providing unemployment compensation for interstate workers was met for the railroad workers last year by the enactment of the Railroad Unemployment Compensation Law, setting up a separate system of compensation on a federal basis. The same problem exists, as yet unsettled, for the seamen. The American Federation of Labor worked with the seamen's unions in an attempt to get the same coverage for unemployment compensation as for old age insurance. Because the jurisdiction of the states over persons plying the inland waterways is limited and the status of workers whose work is partly on the vessel and partly on shore is so confused, most seamen are not covered by state unemployment compensation laws even though their employment is entirely on inland waters. The deep-sea officers and crews would in any case be outside the state jurisdictions. Only federal law can provide security for maritime employees.

(P. 201) Labor has worked for many years for legislation to protect some groups poorly equipped to bargain for their own rights, and more recently for security and protection of workers generally by legislation against disasters beyond the power even of organized groups to avert for their members. In all protective and security legislation, child labor laws, special regulations for labor of women, general wage and hour legislation and the whole field of social security, there has been a tendency to exclude some groups of labor from the laws. The theory, often unexamined, is that the

relationship between employer and employee is particularly close, so that the worker does not need protection from a large, impersonal, exploiting corporate employer, and that these fields of work are such that administration of the laws would be particularly difficult. Farm and domestic labor are two fields traditionally excluded from protective legislation.

It is time that we examined the theories behind exclusions and exploded those which are hollow. It is time that we recognized the facts and met squarely the situation of the excluded workers. In the large-scale mechanized farms the term agriculture has taken on new meaning. The huge fruit and vegetable ranches, the large beet sugar farms, vast irrigated areas employing mechanics and ditchmen, packers and truckmen, on an industrial scale — these are "farms" whose laborers are exempt from protection of the laws. Social and economic problems are created by the monopolizing of land and the irregular demand for thousands of workers for short periods. Workers are attracted from long distances by misleading accounts of conditions, to be exploited with long hours and low wages during the working seasons and left destitute at its end. There is no justification for exempting the owners of these "factory farms" from the taxes and excluding their workers from the advantages of the various laws designed to bring some measure of social security to workers who have little opportunity to build security individually.

The competition of these industrialized farms, with their underpaid labor in practical peonage, drives down prices and puts small independent farmers out of business. Yet these same small farmers have often been mistakenly persuaded in the belief that their interests lie in opposing social security legislation for "agricultural workers." Labor should make vigorous efforts to show small farmers

and small business men the truth of this matter and to enlist their help in extending the coverage of social legislation. The more stable markets which result from a sound program of social security widely extended, are of immeasurable value to small business men. Many such business men and small farmers would gain more by a broad extension of protective and security legislation even to include self-employed persons, than by helping some large business interests defeat the enactment or operation of such laws.

We must reexamine the exclusions from protective legislation in every field, and work to have these exclusions limited to those which are really necessary because of administrative difficulties too great for present solution and to those groups who can clearly be shown not to need the protection offered. We set as our goal justice and security for all workers as rapidly as it can be attained.

(Pp. 187, 631) The report of our Executive Council does not reflect progress in developing unemployment compensation equally satisfactory with that of old age insurance. We note that \$19,000,000 was appropriated for administering the law in 1938-39 but that the average weekly unemployment benefit was \$10.13. Such low benefits do not justify the administrative expenditure nor do they provide social security. Nor do state funds necessitate such low benefits. The standards written into state laws are too low. Substantial progress was not made in the past year in raising standards for the main legislative drive was toward administrative simplification. In addition the necessity for amending 49 different laws in order to effect betterment in dealing with the national problem of unemployment makes progress unnecessarily difficult. We recommend approval.

(1940, p. 120) E.C. directed attention to deficiencies and inequities of

federal-state system of unemployment compensation. The meager benefits and excessive disqualification provisions of most states together with a period of rising employment have resulted in the accumulation of unnecessarily large reserves. Some employers' organizations, hopeful of large tax reductions have opposed reasonable measures of benefit liberalization. The various proposals for amendments to the benefit structure, administrative procedures, and taxes are so diverse that a thorough study of the whole unemployment compensation program is badly needed. The American Federation of Labor is supporting a resolution which calls for the appointment of a representative advisory council to make the necessary study and recommend amendments to the Social Security Act. The work of a similar council in studying the old age insurance program has been praised by every one who knew the part it played in securing the major amendments in 1939. We call on all friends of Labor in Congress to create such an advisory council without further delay."

(P. 560):

We heartily approve the efforts to secure legislation providing for a thorough study of the whole unemployment compensation system. The failure of the states to provide reasonable benefits in spite of large and growing unused reserve funds which would have been kept within bounds had adequate benefit standards been adopted, makes it clear that federal standards are necessary.

Pending the adoption of a federal unemployment compensation system or adequate federal standards for minimum benefits, maximum disqualification provisions and a reinsurance fund to assure benefit payments, we recommend endorsement of the Executive Council's proposals for an immediate program of state legislation:

1. A flat duration of at least 16 weeks in every state. In those states

which can afford a better program, 20 weeks should be adopted.

2. A waiting period not longer than one week.

3. A reasonable minimum benefit—not less than \$5 in any state and higher in industrial states.

4. A benefit calculated in a manner which will pay at least 50 per cent of the worker's normal full-time wage. If quarterly-earnings formulas are used, the normal full-time wage should be deemed to be not less than one-tenth the earnings in the highest quarter. In no case should an annual-earnings formula be accepted.

5. A maximum of more than \$15 in industrial states in order not to depress so seriously the standards of the average worker.

6. The limitation of penalty disqualifications to an increase in the waiting period to a total of not more than six weeks. In no case should disqualifications cancel wage credits previously earned or charge off benefits as if they had been paid during the weeks of disqualification.

7. Benefits for partial unemployment in those states which still have no provision for such payments.

8. An elimination of experience rating.

We note with approval the A. F. of L.'s efforts to extend coverage of unemployment compensation to workers in small shops.

Merit Rating—(P. 428) Convention requested to endorse national legislation prohibiting employers' merit rating in connection with unemployment insurance, but to permit horizontal reduction of employer contributions in appropriate cases, after complete elimination of employees' contributions. A study of this problem was authorized with instructions to take such action as seems most advisable to secure the elimination of "Employers Experience Rating" plans without injury to the workers or the unemployed. . . .

State federations of labor urged to secure introduction in their respective state legislatures of bills for the repeal of any existing state laws providing for employers' experience rating in connection with unemployment insurance. The legal counsel of the A. F. of L. was to prepare a uniform law dealing with this subject for states to be furnished to the various state organizations.

(1942, pp. 80-82) Experience rating plans operate to reduce collections. Experience or merit rating plans vary from the individual reserves of Wisconsin to the Cliffe devices for reducing rates which ignore individual efforts to avert unemployment. These devices upset insurance principles and all other principles of thrift by reducing contribution rates during business prosperity and increasing them during depression. Merit rating focuses administrative machinery around reducing employers rates instead of paying adequate benefits to the unemployed—the purpose of unemployment compensation. In addition, it lays the foundations for competitive disadvantages between industries in the various states.

The result of merit rating has been to reduce employers rates quite without regard to the adequacy of benefit payments in proportions varying from 16 per cent of rated accounts in Kentucky to 90 per cent (Cliffe Plan) in Virginia. Some states have tried to safeguard rate variations by requiring reserves to be maintained within fixed ratios and in those states 41 per cent of all employers were allowed rate reductions. The Cliffe Plan which required that state funds be replenished only for the average disbursements of the preceding three years, has permitted 85 per cent of all employers to obtain rate reductions. The emphasis upon reducing rates has frequently impelled employers to oppose reasonable improvements in benefit provisions. . . .

Although unemployment compensation is intended to provide income for workers accustomed to supporting themselves until jobs can be found for them, in the fiscal year 1940-41 one-half of all unemployed persons were still without jobs when they had exhausted their benefits.

Obviously, benefit payments do not last until workers get new jobs. They must either use up reserves or seek relief. This situation would become serious in a real depression. . . .

. . . All variations in protection of workers are a most striking anachronism at a time when the national nature of the labor market and our economic structure are as crystal clear as they were in the economic depression of '32 and '33. Trade is geared to national markets which in turn feed into world markets. The only way to provide regulations for production and trade and to safeguard their employees against emergencies, is by federal legislation.

We are now in a period of drastic change occasioned by conversion of civilian production facilities to war needs. By the end of this year 50 per cent of capacities will be given over to war work. What additional conversions may be necessary only the exigencies of the war may disclose. We still have unemployment—even with peak employment. With dominance of war needs everything else is subordinated so that the really national basis of economic enterprise, the national basis of the labor market, and the national basis of industry and trade are plain even to those who could not see them in normal times. It became urgently important that we get our social security system ready to meet the emergencies of wartime change as well as conversion to post-war conditions. Social insurance is the only investment on which wage earners and their families can depend for security in either normal or abnormal condi-

tions. But well-organized, adequate social insurance will enable wage earners to face change without fear, and be ready to adjust to new situations.

Reinsurance for Trust Funds—(1941, p. 474) Res. 11 called for amendment to the unemployment compensation provisions to the Social Security Act, as follows:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled in Seattle, Wash., urgently requests Congress to properly amend the Social Security Act so that it will provide adequate minimum standards of unemployment compensation, a longer period of benefit payments, a shorter waiting period, wider coverage and a sound federal system of reinsurance for state unemployment trust funds.

The convention referred the resolution to the Social Security Committee.

(1942, p. 79) The complexity of the administration of the unemployment compensation provisions of the Social Security Law were pointed out by the E.C. in its report to the convention. The report stated in part:

. . . In unemployment compensation we find a sharp contrast to the simplicity and uniformity of old age insurance. The federal law simply provided a charge-back tax feature to induce states to enact unemployment compensation laws. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor urged from the first that at least federal standards to which states should conform be incorporated. For political reasons this was not done.

That initial indecisiveness and failure to take the same constitutional chance on federalizing the laws as was done with old age insurance, resulted in the chaos and intricacy of 51 formulas for providing and determining unemployment with almost equally wide variations in coverage.

The federal Act failed to decide positively whether unemployment com-

pensation should be provided to pay benefits to workers during emergencies or whether it should be used as an incentive to induce employers to regularize employment. This indecision was equally curious as it followed world-wide peak unemployment before which nations and employers were equally helpless, and during which time our Federal Government had to take responsibility for relief of a national problem. It was unfortunate in that it opened the door to competition in trickery and complicated formulas which required excessive record-keeping, increased the work of determining benefits and opened the way to so-called experience or merit-rating, which was seized upon as a device to reduce employers contributions to funds and give them a stake in opposing benefit payments. Some business enterprises, such as retail trade, are designed to follow regular patterns, while others such as mining and construction, agriculture and the garment industry, render their best service by irregularity in volume of employment. Yet every business enterprise is mutually interdependent upon all the rest and it is patently unfair to reward one at the expense of others for a characteristic that is inherent. While unemployment may be stabilized for a limited time in some plants of some industries, unemployment cannot be abolished. Seasonality and irregularity are the heart of some industries.

Employment security, therefore, follows two supplementary undertakings:

- (1) compensation during unemployment until new jobs are found, and
- (2) organization of the labor market so that workers can be quickly and efficiently put in contact with available jobs.

(P. 83) On four counts our present social security system violates sound principles for an unemployment insurance system:

- (1) We fail to utilize the solvency of the total fund because the effective base for each state is the state balance.
- (2) We decrease rates during prosperity and increase them during depression when employment is decreased.
- (3) We ignore the fact that the labor market is national in scope and that we need mobility in labor supply.
- (4) We ignore the fact that companies and units in national industries are geared to world markets.

After careful consideration on next steps, the Federation had a bill drafted which was introduced by Representative Eliot of Massachusetts.

The Federation believes that in view of gigantic conversion of our industries to war purposes the repercussions of the change-back will be so trying as to imperil our free economy unless it is adequately protected by social security for workers and initial capital for managements. Without economic independence assured by income, workers are in no position to maintain political and social freedom. Social insurance assures a minimum necessary to bridge over gaps between employment and protects workers against the devastating fear of loss of income with consequent dependence on doles.

Soldiers also need similar assurance of protection. Already enlisted persons are beginning to worry about what the future holds for them. Many of these enlisted persons are former wage earners and the sons of wage earners whose incomes do not allow for adequate savings against emergencies, nor can enlisted persons maintain insurance. The Federation has proposed these unemployment compensation benefits for demobilized soldiers while they hunt for jobs, to be paid from federal funds and administered by the Social Security Board,

which will help them find employment.
(War Displacement Benefits)

As the size of the war conversion program became apparent there was widespread apprehension as to the distress that would be occasioned and of the adequacy of our unemployment compensation program. The Director of the Labor Division of the War Production Board proposed federal funds to supplement state provisions so that benefits would be paid amounting to 60 per cent of displaced workers incomes up to \$24 per week.

The major purpose was to make it possible to hold skilled employees for companies converting to war production during the conversion process. Automobile companies were tooling up for aircraft production. It was in the interest of war production to keep skilled workers ready for the new production.

Unfortunately for the purpose, a number of state directors of unemployment compensation were in Washington at the time of the hearing, and sought to create the impression that the bill proposed Federalization, which it plainly did not. However, they anticipated growing dissatisfaction with the unemployment compensation situation would result in active demand for Federalization and sought to gain a temporary advance by confusing the issues involved in the war measure with states' rights and bringing in governors of various states in opposition to the bill. The main effort was to try to give Congress the impression that there was opposition to Federalization of unemployment compensation.

Their efforts did result in the defeat of the displacement benefits proposal. However, it was helpful in showing which state directors were willing to use their offices to defeat legislation which Labor thought necessary.

(P. 480) This portion of the Executive Council's report records the efforts made to provide adequate

unemployment compensation when workers are displaced because of converting plants over to war production. It regrets to note that the failure of the legislation reported by the American Federation of Labor was due to the action of some of the directors. With this comment your committee recommends adoption of the Council's report.

(1944, p. 149) In its annual report, under the general caption of "Social Insurance" the E.C. included a subsection on Unemployment Compensation citing experience under the unemployment compensation title. The following are excerpts:

... even under the approach to full employment of 1942, unemployed workers had exhausted their benefit rights before getting jobs. Obviously provision for short duration of payments may defeat the purpose of the legislation. The benefit formulas of the state follow two patterns. One provides a uniform duration for all workers who meet the financial eligibility requirement. The variable duration relates payments of benefits to the amount of employment or earnings the worker had in a previous period with a specified maximum.

A study of duration of payments in 47 states for benefit years ending in 1942, showed that in 32 of 47 states, one-third of all beneficiaries exhausted their benefit rights before finding work; in 6 states with variable duration formula, more than one-half exhausted their rights, and in one state nearly three-fourths.

Present duration provisions are inadequate even for a period of high employment as in 1942.

We question whether a system should be called unemployment insurance when eligible claimants have less than four potential weeks of benefits as in 5 states and large numbers of workers exhaust benefit rights before securing jobs. Rate of exhaustion rises as the weekly benefit rate drops—that

is, workers unfortunate in holding jobs are unfortunate in getting compensation.

The trend toward more rigid disqualification provisions is becoming pronounced. Unemployment compensation is intended to cover involuntary unemployment. Disqualifying provisions are intended to screen out persons voluntarily unemployed and they properly impose a longer waiting period. When in addition they cancel credits, they are amending eligibility—not merely penalizing voluntary unemployment.

There are many problems arising out of the legal provisions of disqualification and administrative decisions upon them. Decisions of appeal boards and courts should also be watched carefully. A bad precedent started in one jurisdiction tends to spread throughout the fifty-one. Unemployment insurance funds are not the property of employers and should not be administered as such. They are to pay compensation due workers under prescribed conditions and should be administered as a public trust for the benefit of workers.

Standards for state laws should provide benefits for at least 26 weeks and include provision for extension in emergency periods, with benefit amounts ranging from 65 to 75 per cent of full-time earnings.

Disqualifying provisions should carry no further penalty than delaying benefit payments.

Experience rating which has developed into a popular form of reducing employers' rate of payment, should be either abolished or safeguarded by increasing the rate of companies responsible for irregular employment so that an assured unemployment compensation fund would be available. When standards are raised so that the unemployment compensation system can perform its real function of enabling workers to maintain self-de-

pendence between jobs, then adjustment of the rate of contribution paid by all can be reconsidered.

(P. 596) Convention approved committee report containing in part: Your committee accordingly recommends that the Committee on Social Security work with the President of the A. F. of L. in preparing and submitting to the Congress legislation which will provide a comprehensive system of contributory social insurance and social security designed to attain the following specific objectives:

(1) A national system of Unemployment Insurance providing compensation in the event workers become unemployed through no fault of their own or from temporary disability on a uniform basis to all workers not otherwise covered who are employed by private employers, with provisions for inclusion on their own election by the self-employed and employees of the states, their instrumentalities and political subdivisions; such compensation to be a proportion of previous earnings with minimum benefits sufficient to prevent destitution and maximum limits with respect to duration and amount of benefit.

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Your committee further recommends that pending the enactment of such legislation every effort be made within the various states to improve the present State Unemployment Compensation Systems. The following specific proposals are recommended for submission to the state legislatures, forty-four of which will convene during 1945:

(1) That the present limitations existing in some states on coverage by the number of employees employed in an establishment or by an employer be removed;

(2) That maximum unemployment benefit payments be increased to \$25 per week.

(3) That the maximum period for which benefits can be paid to eligible workers be raised to 26 weeks.

(4) That the restrictive disqualification provisions which prevent workers who are involuntarily separated from their employment from drawing benefits be modified so as to remove the penal provisions from the State Unemployment Insurance Systems and restore the traditional freedom of workers to change their employment.

(1944, p. 149) As part of the general report on Social Security, a section was devoted to Unemployment Compensation, and A. F. of L. recommendations dealing with the administration of this part of the Law

(P. 596) The convention unanimously approved the report of its committee setting forth specific objectives for needed legislation. The desired amendments to the law were outlined on page 596 (1944) under the general heading SOCIAL INSURANCE and included in this reference book under SOCIAL SECURITY (AMENDMENTS 1944).

(P. 540) Res. 137:

Whereas—Organized labor has officially voiced its approval of the Kilgore-Truman-Murray Bill, S. 2061 which, if enacted, would have among other things extended reasonably satisfactory unemployment compensation federally administered to employees of private industry and the Federal Government, who will be separated from their jobs in private industry or the federal service, as the case may be, following the cessation of hostilities in whole or in part, particularly during the reconversion period, and

Whereas—The second session of the 78th Congress saw fit to enact the so-called "States Rights" Bill S. 2051, which leaves the responsibility of providing unemployment compensation to the several states, many of which are either unable or unwilling to provide adequate unemployment

compensation, and eliminates Federal employes from even these uncertain and meager benefits, and

Whereas—The Kilgore-Truman-Murray Bill, S. 2061, is still on the Senate calendar and can be revived and enacted if Congress chooses to do so, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 65th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the objectives and the principles contained in the Kilgore-Truman-Murray Bill, S. 2061, and direct its officers and legislative committee to make every effort to secure the enactment of this legislation with such amendment as may seem necessary after mature deliberation, including an amendment which would assure the presence of representatives of organized labor on the administration authorities set up under the Bill. Should it prove impossible to secure the amendment which seems advisable and the enactment of the measure during the remaining days of the present Congress, then to renew the effort in the next session of Congress to have measure enacted into law.

(1947, p. 555) Convention unanimously endorsed Res. 87 opposing efforts under way to disrupt existing federal-state arrangements for financing unemployment compensation in the states. The resolution follows:

Whereas—There is a well organized campaign afoot to disrupt the present federal-state arrangements for financing unemployment compensation administration in the states by substituting a 100 per cent offset against the federal tax for the present 90 per cent with the Federal Government furnishing all state administrative funds, and

Whereas—This proposal hits at the heart of the present federal-state system of unemployment insurance as provided in the Social Security Act of 1935 by greatly reducing the exercise of federal responsibility for an admittedly national problem, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor has consistently supported the appropriate role of the Federal Government in establishing standards for the operation of unemployment compensation in the states, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 66th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposed to this proposal.

This resolution requests the support of the American Federation of Labor in opposing any proposal designed to disrupt present federal-state arrangements for financing unemployment compensation administration in the states.

(P. 608) It is our firm conviction that the evils that beset our present state unemployment compensation laws can be overcome only through the establishment of a single federal system and we therefore reaffirm our support of legislation designed to that end. Pending the adoption of such a federal program we urge the state branches and all their affiliated organizations to continue their efforts to improve the benefit structure, extend the coverage, relax the disqualification and eligibility provisions of their state laws, in order that protection against wage loss from involuntary unemployment may be afforded all wage earners.

It is recommended also that wherever possible the protection of unemployment insurance be extended to those whose unemployment is due to temporary disability. This would fill the present gap between the protection provided by our state workmen's compensation laws and the increasing protection against other risks connected with illness now being incorporated in many collective bargaining agreements. In this respect our long experience in this field of workmen's compensation provides clear evidence in support of a single state fund. The

proposal supported by private insurance companies and representatives of some large industries to permit "electing out" by employers would if adopted only serve to weaken the system and result in disadvantage to the workers.

Your committee wishes also forcefully to call the attention of those of our membership responsible for state legislation to the current proposals of the National Manufacturers' Association and the Inter-State Conference of Employment Security Agencies to destroy the present federal-state responsibility in the administration of unemployment compensation. This proposal would substitute for the present 90 per cent offset against the federal unemployment compensation tax a 100 per cent offset, and thus place the responsibility for financing the administration of the state unemployment compensation laws and the state employment services completely within the hands of the state legislatures. This would not only destroy the national pool of administrative funds under which more favored states share the burden of the poorer states, but would remove from the Federal Government any effective control over standards. As these standards relate to prevailing wages and prevent the utilization of the unemployment compensation programs in breaking strikes, we strongly recommend that this dangerous proposal be vigorously opposed.

We have repeatedly called for the administration of the United States Employment Service to be placed within the U.S. Department of Labor. In view of the close tie between unemployment compensation and the employment services, we recommend that legislation be introduced providing for the transfer of both the United States Employment Service and from the Federal Security Administration to the U.S. Department of Labor.

(1948, p. 179) After relating the inadequacy of the unemployment compensation program, E.C. made the following statement: "Continuing experience bears out our judgment that the inadequacies and contradictions of our present unemployment compensation program will only be overcome through the enactment of a unified federal system."

The E.C. report continued with the following:

During the past year the threat to such minimum federal standards as are in effect with respect to the state unemployment compensation laws, which we noted in last year's report, was successfully met. Some of these standards are very important to Labor, such as those relating to personnel standards within the state agencies, the payment of benefits through public employment offices, the provision for opportunity for a fair hearing before an impartial tribunal for claimants whose claims for compensation have been denied, and that no unemployment compensation funds may be diverted to other purposes. Of more direct interest to workers is the federal standard that now provides that no state unemployment compensation law may deny benefits to an otherwise eligible individual for refusing to accept new work if the position offered is vacant due to a strike, lock-out, or other labor dispute; or if the wages, hours, or other conditions of the work offered are substantially less favorable than those prevailing for similar work in the locality or if as a condition of being employed the individual would be required to join a company union or resign or refrain from joining any *bona fide* labor organization. It is these minimum and basic standards from which a number of the state agencies are now wishing to be free. Under the guise of a tax simplification program employers and a number of state officials anxious to do their bidding would undermine the

unemployment insurance program. Though a bill was introduced to remove the Federal Government completely from any effective participation in the unemployment compensation program, the American Federation of Labor, with the active assistance of our state federations exposed its purpose and prevented it from being reported out.

It is evident that some revision is needed in the method of financing the administration of the state unemployment insurance programs, but this should not be the excuse for undermining the federal standards applicable to the state laws. We recommend that a trust fund for administration should be established which would be impartially administered and provide sound budgeting procedures and elasticity in administration. None of the laws introduced in the 80th Congress on this subject, in our opinion, however, meet these requirements.

In February 1948, under the terms of the Reorganization Act, President Truman undertook to strengthen the unemployment insurance system by permanently placing the United States Employment Service in the United States Department of Labor. This proposal was not only annulled by Congress, but Congress included in the Federal Security-Labor Appropriations Act the Employment Service to the Social Security Administration, thus further emasculating the Labor Department and undermining the usefulness of the employment service at one stroke.

(P. 451) Pending enactment of a national system of unemployment insurance and temporary disability insurance, much can be done immediately to meet the deficiencies of the present state unemployment compensation programs. . . .

We favor federal standards which would prohibit the states from denying or cancelling earned benefit rights to claimants whose unemployment is

a result of a quit for good cause or because it is not due to a cause "attributable to the employer." Pending adoption of such standards, the states should remove these and other stringent disqualification provisions.

Though there has been gradual improvement in benefit provisions of the state programs, the increase in living costs now makes it imperative that benefits be materially raised.

Federal Supervision Proposed — (1948, p. 260) Res. 78 favored "complete supervision of the unemployment compensation laws by the Federal Government."

(P. 465) The question of unemployment compensation laws includes some angles not presented by the resolution which require most careful consideration.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that the Executive Council appoint a special committee for the purpose of making a full investigation of conditions which have developed under the operating of existing unemployment compensation laws.

(1950, pp. 30, 474) Res. 25, proposing uniform regulation of unemployment insurance:

Whereas—The social and economic problems of our nation make our federal-state employment security and unemployment insurance program an indispensable government function, and

Whereas—Many substantial defects and inequalities exist in our present system that require immediate correction, and

Whereas—Some of the corrections most essential to an improved and satisfactory program are for a broader coverage, a more adequate weekly benefit amount, a more liberal duration of benefits, more prompt payments of benefits when the worker is out of a job, improved disqualification

provisions designed to protect the worker as well as the employer, improvement in the present system of tax contributions which now encourages the states to compete with each other in establishing low contribution rates, and the establishment of uniformity of the system among the different states, and

Whereas—Organized labor in general has advocated the establishment of a single national system of employment insurance, while the general trend has been, and still is, toward a decentralized plan in order to speed up as much as possible the payment of benefits and the handling of appeals, and

Whereas—Very little progress has been made by Labor in improving the program, either through federal or state legislation, because of the lack of coordinated effort by Labor toward the same objective, and

Whereas—Many of the states, including Texas, are committed through statute to comply with federal laws covering the program, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention go on record favoring the direction of our efforts toward amending the federal statutes to establish uniform regulations and proper minimum standards to which all states must comply.

(Pp. 323, 485) Res. 95 proposed an amendment to the unemployment compensation laws of the various states as follows:

Whereas—Most states have set up weekly cash benefits which accrue to the worker's account, and

Whereas—These benefits earned by each individual worker may accumulate to as much as \$1,000, and

Whereas—Said worker is justly and legally entitled to these benefits when unemployed, and

Whereas—In most states the amount due a worker goes into the general unemployment fund if not utilized or claimed in benefits by the worker within a specified time, and

Whereas—In most states no provision has been made under the law to make available to the dependents or beneficiary of a deceased brother the benefits which he had earned and were legally due to him at time of death, and

Whereas—In many cases the families of deceased brothers are left in dire need and want of financial assistance to tide them over the lean months that follow, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention endorse action to bring about changes in the existing unemployment laws of the various states, whereby a worker may designate his beneficiary on his state record, and in event of death, any and all monies due him shall be paid to his dependents in same weekly or semi-monthly amounts, and for such periods as may have been due him from his earned and accrued unemployment benefits.

(P. 224) The consistent failure of the state legislatures to meet the major deficiencies of the unemployment compensation program, together with the record of the persistent efforts on the part of the state agencies to work against the major objectives of a sound system of unemployment insurance support the contention of the American Federation of Labor that the only way in which an adequate and workable program will ever be developed is through the enactment of a unified national system of unemployment compensation. This is especially urgent now, as this nation is on the brink of a national emergency which will call for the mobilization and maximum utilization of the nation's manpower resources. As the workers of the nation are called upon to bend every effort to meet the new demands for production of materials necessary to defend our liberties against the threat of totalitarian aggression, they should be afforded a uniform and efficient system of insuring against the hazards of unemploy-

ment, coupled with a rational organization of manpower resources through a national system of public employment exchanges which can work in cooperation with the national and international unions.

(P. 225) It has been the consistent position of the A. F. of L. that unemployment compensation benefits should relate directly to the past earnings of the claimant and a needs concept should not be introduced into unemployment insurance. . . . We adhere to our firm conviction that ultimately the (unemployment compensation) program must be a single federal program. Until there is general recognition of this need, the A. F. of L. should support every attempt to improve the existing program such as that represented by H.R. 8059 and S. 3427, identical bills. (April 1950)

(P. 455) Convention approved committee recommendation:

1. Repeal the Knowland Amendment to the Social Security Act of 1950.

2. The critical international situation now requires again the mobilization and planned utilization of our manpower resources. As men and women are called on to work where their services are needed without regard to state lines and political boundaries a unified national system of unemployment compensation and public employment offices which can work effectively and cooperatively, with labor unions becomes imperative. Pending the development of such a national system we urge the state federations of labor to employ every effort to amend their state unemployment compensation laws to correct the major deficiencies cited in the Executive Council report. The time to make these needed corrections in our unemployment insurance program is during a period of high employment and not wait until the nation is confronted with large-scale unemployment.

(1951, p. 176) In its overall report on social security developments and

problems, the E.C. submitted a comprehensive report on Title III (Unemployment Insurance). Embodied in this report was the following statement:

The broad attack to undermine and weaken the established labor standards, waged with increasing intensity during the past year, was directed toward the weakening of the standards of unemployment insurance.

Behind this drive, there was the increasingly evident purpose of reactionary employers to subvert the principles of unemployment compensation to a private operation. The various moves made in Congress and in state legislatures have been particularly designed to instill in the public mind the impression that the payment of unemployment benefits is directly related to the beneficence of the employer and that it is, in a sense, the employer's gift.

It is more important than ever, therefore, for the trade union movement to re-state and drive home to every American the fundamental proposition that unemployment insurance benefits are paid to workers not as a privilege but as a matter of right. Labor insists that unemployment compensation is the responsibility of the community to help meet one of the hazards confronting a wage earner—joblessness. A system of unemployment insurance is a part and parcel of a competitive enterprise system. It recognizes the fact that risk-bearing essential to an expanding competitive economy carries with it an element of economic insecurity to the individual worker which only a community-wide program can meet.

Our system of unemployment compensation is a limited one. It is not a cure against large-scale depressions. It is, however, the first line of defense against recession and the most important device for compensating wage loss due to unemployment under rea-

sonably stable conditions. Its immediate objective is to provide for the unemployed worker, for a reasonable period, the opportunity to buy the essentials for living for himself and his family to the extent that his previous wages had enabled him to obtain. By this provision of purchasing power, unemployment compensation is designed to sustain the buying power potential upon which the production of the whole economy is based.

During the past year, the attack on unemployment compensation has been two-fold. One line of attack has been to cast doubt upon the efficacy of the system itself by creating a public impression that unemployment benefits are paid on a large scale to persons who in reality do not qualify to receive such benefits, or don't need them. In state after state, an attempt has been made to disqualify large numbers of workers through unreasonable changes in the disqualification requirements. In its desire to make sure that the system is demonstrably sound, the labor movement has set guard over the administrative procedures and has time after time revealed the spurious nature of the charges made.

Another important development has been the intensified attempt in the legislatures to entrench even more firmly the merit-rating systems benefiting large employers at the expense of small businesses. Pursuing the objective of shifting the costs from the employers best able to contribute to the system to the weakest employers, the attempt has been made to reduce even further the contributions of large firms. Concurrently, the emphasis has been placed to a growing extent upon the role of employer contributions and the alleged cost of these contributions to the employer.

It is important that there be a clear understanding of the extent to which the cost of employer contributions is

passed on to the consumer and to which, in the final analysis, the cost is sustained by the community as a whole with the larger employers escaping their proportionate share of this cost.

We believe that in the coming year the groundwork must be laid for a concerted drive to raise the standards of adequacy in the benefit amount, in the duration of benefits, in eligibility and in coverage of unemployment compensation. The time to reevaluate the unemployment compensation system and thus strengthen the whole of the American economy lies immediately ahead. Our task, therefore, is especially urgent.

(P. 532) Convention approved following report and recommendation on Report of the E.C. under this subtitle:

We wholeheartedly approve the recommendations made by the Executive Council in its report for the correction of far-reaching deficiencies in our unemployment insurance system. The time for revision and strengthening of the system is now, when high employment prevails. We urge every state federation to lay groundwork in the ensuing year for comprehensive revision of state laws and for a renewed drive toward a national system of unemployment compensation.

We call again for the repeal of the Knowland Amendment of 1950. And, finally, we ask for the provision of benefits, equal to unemployment benefits, to all persons unemployed as the result of temporary illness or disability not covered under state workmen's compensation laws, and call for federal standards to provide such protection in each state.

(1952, p. 194) In its report to the convention under the subtitle *The Hazard of Unemployment*, the E.C. stated:

... We objected ... to the plan to distribute federal funds to the states

on a basis proportionate to the distribution of state taxable wages as unsound and unrealistic. Neither was the Mills plan sound in putting relief to state funds in the form of repayable loans, placing a burden of repayment at the time when the state funds could ill afford it. No action was taken on these proposals in the last Congress, but they are likely to be pressed again in the coming year.

In the year ahead the problem of benefit financing must be reconsidered so that the system will be equipped to meet the possible burden of extensive unemployment, and at the same time provide for higher standards of compensation. Both the amount of benefits and their duration must be substantially improved.

It is equally urgent that coverage be extended to include employers of one or more employees and to bring into the system workers now left out, such as workers employed on the farms. A concerted drive should also be made to reinforce the true purpose of unemployment insurance as a part of the social security system. The recent trend of subverting unemployment compensation to the control and interests of employers must be reversed. . . .

(1953, pp. 181, 307, 640) The convention committee report was unanimously approved as follows:

As pointed out by the Executive Council, the foundations of the unemployment compensation system at the state level have been seriously undermined. As a result of the operation of experience rating systems and employer success in securing drastic eligibility and disqualification provisions in state laws which serve to unjustly deprive unemployed workers of benefits, the original purposes of the program have been perverted and its ability to perform in softening the impact of any future economic reverses has been greatly weakened.

The experience cited in the Executive Council's Report indicates clearly that the problem will never be fully solved as long as control over the provisions and administration of the unemployment compensation program remains so largely in the hands of the individual states. It is appropriate to reemphasize the view of the American Federation of Labor that control over the operation of the unemployment compensation program and the employment service system is properly a function of the Federal Government and should not be left to the separate and contending pressures operating within and among the individual states.

As long as the program continues to remain subject to individual state laws and administrators, however, Labor should devote its fullest energies in each of the states to the effort to remove the serious restrictions now contained in state laws and to improve their basic structure. The most important objectives which need to be accomplished in the revision of state unemployment compensation laws are: (1) a method of financing which does not include "experience-rating"; (2) the removal of harsh and unjustified eligibility and disqualification provisions which are serving today to deprive of benefits an ever-higher proportion of workers who become unemployed; and (3) an increase in benefits to a level of at least 50 per cent of wages, with benefits geared to wage-loss rather than a needs concept.

In the first session of the 83rd Congress, large corporate employer interests, working hand-in-glove with the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies, renewed their attacks upon all federal participation in the unemployment compensation program. The Mills-Mason Bills, which emerged from the House Ways and Means Committee as the Reed Bill (HR 5173) was the instrument of

these attacks. This bill, which would effectively undermine participation of the Federal Government in the operation of the program and leave it entirely under the discretionary control of state administrators, passed the House and is now before the Senate Finance Committee. We strongly urge that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions do all within their power to bring about the defeat of the Reed Bill in the forthcoming session of Congress.

(1954, pp. 287, 582) The Report of the E.C. contained an accounting of both developments and need for revision in the unemployment compensation program of social security. The convention committee submitted the following recommendations which were unanimously approved:

The most pressing need in the social security field today is a comprehensive overhauling and improvement of the unemployment insurance system. In the hands of reactionary state legislatures and in the absence of any effective standards governing the amounts and duration of benefit payments and qualification provisions, the system has completely failed to keep pace with present-day requirements.

The improvements that are most needed can be accomplished only through positive action on the part of the Federal Government. The only ultimate answer lies in the establishment of a single federal employment security system, in place of the 51 competing systems that now exist. The inability of state governments to maintain an adequate system of unemployment insurance in the absence of a strong federal role in the administration of the system and the enforcement of minimum standards has been proven by experience. The record of the past year further demonstrates the deficiencies and the failure of the "States Rights" approach to this issue. Not one state responded to the

recommendations of President Eisenhower, embodied in Secretary Mitchell's letter to state governors, by conforming to the standards for benefit improvements proposed in that message. Yet, in the face of a compelling need for constructive federal action, the most significant measure enacted last year in the unemployment insurance field was the Reed Bill, which weakened still further the role of the Labor Department in the administration of the program.

The basic deficiency in the unemployment insurance system today, from which all other weaknesses flow, lies in the method of financing now provided and required by law, whereby reductions in the employer tax to support the program can be accomplished only through the insidious device of employer experience-rating. From experience-rating stem the destructive pressures that have undermined the strength and integrity of the unemployment insurance system. As a result of the experience-rating incentive, employers have conducted a successful continuing attack upon the program, seeking to hold benefits to a starvation level and to secure new and increasingly harsh disqualification provisions which unjustly deprive unemployed workers of benefits in order to minimize the employer tax rate.

These pressures have advanced to the point where in many—if not most states—the system is being administered as though its primary purpose were the reduction of employer taxes rather than the payment of insurance benefits to unemployed workers. The elimination of experience-rating and the substitution of a sound, and non-discriminatory system of financing which apportions the tax load in an equitable way as a social cost upon all business and industry must be the continuing objective of the American Federation of Labor. As a minimum feasible step in the direction of the

elimination of experience-rating, the law must be changed so as to provide an alternative method of accomplishing reductions in tax rates where such reductions are justified by the condition of benefit funds.

As a further minimum step toward the reconstruction of the unemployment insurance system, a program of uniform national standards governing benefit amounts, durations and eligibility requirements must be adopted so as to remove from the shoulders of jobless workers the burden of cut-throat interstate competition which serves to hold benefits down to an inexcusably low level. Pending the establishment of a truly national employment security system, a reinsurance fund also needs to be established as a source of grants-in-aid to states whose benefit reserves are in danger of insolvency. The loan fund provided under the Reed Bill is inadequate and even dangerous since it unfairly penalizes those states confronted with the gravest unemployment problems and the greatest need for supplementary funds.

Federal legislation along these lines offers the best hope that the serious deficiencies of the present unemployment insurance program can be overcome and that adequate protection can be afforded the unemployed workers of the nation. It deserves the vigorous support of the entire trade union movement.

(P. 414) Res. 115 called for support for the establishment of a unified national system of unemployment insurance under the U.S. Department of Labor, and further

Resolved—That, pending the establishment of such a system, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge the adoption by the Congress of legislation establishing minimum national standards to govern the level and duration of unemployment insurance benefits and

eligibility for benefits, and an improved system of financing, as proposed in a bill introduced under the joint sponsorship of more than 80 members of the House and Senate in the last session of the 83rd Congress.

(P. 530) We regret that the 83rd Congress did not take steps necessary to strengthen our unemployment compensation laws. While progress was made by extending coverage to employers of four or more and federal employees, no positive action was taken to increase benefits or extend duration of payments.

The enactment of the Reed Bill (H.R. 5173) is a serious weakening of existing unemployment compensation legislation.

We recommend that every effort be made to substitute a genuine reinsurance bill for the weak loan provisions of this law.

Unfair Labor Practices (see: Norris-LaGuardia; NLRB)

Union Industries Show—(1952, pp. 350, 554) Res. 134-137, inclusive, called for full participation of affiliated national and international unions and fair employers in the Union Industries Shows, sponsored by the Union Label Trades Department.

Your committee is of the belief that no greater demonstration of practical Labor-Management relations has occurred in the northeastern section of the United States than the Union Industries Show, held May 17 through 24, 1952. This show was the greatest exhibition of any kind ever held in the New England area. Upwards of three-quarters of a million spectators marched through Mechanics Building in Boston to view this all-union spectacle.

While the Union Industries Show held earlier this year did not establish a new attendance record over prior shows, it did set a record in viewers of the show in cities of comparable size. The 1952 show did ex-

ceed all prior shows in the degree of participation and in variety and quality of exhibits. With an aggregate value of \$20,000,000 involved in the colorful and educational displays, the quality of the show was greatly enhanced by an additional number of "live" exhibits; new exhibits employing the element of motion; and the special events held at intervals throughout the vast hall. The greater quality of the 1952 Union Industries Show is attested by the broader coverage given it by television, radio and the daily press than occurred in connection with any earlier show.

Your committee concurs in the belief of officials of the Union Label Trades Department that future Union Industries Shows should embody a greater number of "live" and "motion" exhibits as the most effective means of demonstrating and dramatizing the craftsmanship of American Federation of Labor members and the quality of the products and services which they produce and render. It is hoped that national and international unions and other exhibitors participating in future shows will benefit by the experience gained in such "live" and "motion" exhibits as the most effective method of impressing their message on viewers and in holding spectator interest. The special events held at the recent show in increased number over those provided in earlier shows were an effective augmentation to the show itself and can be used beneficially in connection with virtually all exhibits.

The growing success of these shows from the standpoint of public interest, and the increased cooperation and participation extended by management, fulfills the basic purpose of the show in effectively demonstrating existing Labor-Management relations to the American public. Your committee is confident that no greater demonstration of good Labor-Management relations can be found anywhere. The

American Federation of Labor is indebted to those manufacturers, distributors and service industries which participated in the show and who joined with us in clearly and forcibly demonstrating to the public the extent to which private enterprise and free labor can work together.

It is noted that the Eighth Union Industries Show will be held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 18 through 25, 1953. Your committee concurs in the decision of the Union Label Trades Department to hold successive shows in a section of the country considerably removed from that of the prior show.

(1953, pp. 523, 570) Res. 151:

Whereas—The Union Industries Show sponsored and produced by the A. F. of L. Union Label and Service Trades Department each year impresses millions from coast to coast with the many benefits being derived from good relations between our A. F. of L. unions and their "fair" employers, and

Whereas—This annual exhibition now ranks as one of the greatest events of any description in this nation; and each year continues to grow in size and quality and gain more and more public acclaim, and

Whereas—Participation in this all-union display of A. F. of L. craftsmanship and service is limited to our A. F. of L. national and international unions and the employers whom they invite, and

Whereas—Benefits which accrue from participation in this annual exhibition are enjoyed by A. F. of L. members, their families and friends, therefore, be it

Resolved—That each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be prevailed upon to make every effort to take part in each of these shows, and, be it further

Resolved—That each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged to invite their "fair" employers to participate in these exhibitions.

(1954, p. 415) Res. 119 pointed out the public relations value of the Union Industries Shows, urging all national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. to make every effort to take part in these shows and to urge their "fair" employers to participate.

(P. 595) This resolution was submitted to this convention by the Union Label and Service Trades Department and urges that each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be encouraged to make every effort to take part in Union-Industries Shows and to invite their fair employers to participate in these annual exhibitions.

Union Investments—(1927, pp. 40, 260) The assets of trade unions are considerable. A very incomplete summary of 1926, which covered reports of national and international organizations but not the funds of many local unions, showed assets amounting to \$35,897,727.36. Some of these assets represent funds kept in cash; some represent real estate; a considerable amount is invested for purposes of revenue. Some unions have invested their funds in labor banks; others in investment companies; and others in stocks and bonds.

When unions embark upon business enterprises, they are entering upon undertakings that require a different type of information from what is required in managing unions and are incurring two-fold danger—financial risk and risk of union strength. Union finances are its sinews. If union funds are imperilled the union itself is in danger of disintegration.

The investment of union funds is a serious problem for the labor movement, for what is involved is the

strength and future to the union itself. Results of labor banking experiments confirm the warnings that the A. F. of L. has repeatedly made. These banks should have the advice of banking experts, and should protect themselves by arranging to get the benefit of federal as well as state examinations. Some unions that have financed various undertakings have involved themselves in most embarrassing difficulties. It would be well to study the causes of failure in labor banks and investment undertakings.

Union Label Councils (Affiliation of FLU's)—(1954, p. 415) Res. 120 called upon each federal labor union affiliated with the A. F. of L. to affiliate and become a part of the union label council in its respective area.

(P. 595) Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and urges the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor to encourage directly chartered federal labor unions to subscribe to the intent of this resolution.

Union Label Trades Department (Affiliation With Urged)—(1954, pp. 416, 596) Res. 122:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge that all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor affiliate with the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Union - Management Cooperation (also see: War Production Board; Labor - Management Cooperation) — (1925, p. 35) Labor believes that the best interests of all participating in production are promoted by cooperation and that seeming conflicts of interests may be harmonized in the light of more comprehensive information and experience from cooperation itself.

The first function which the trade union seeks to perform is that of col-

lective bargaining. The establishment of this practice enables the group of producing workmen to have a voice in determining standards of work and pay. The principle of workers representation is thereby established and opportunity is afforded to these representatives to become experts in their field. In addition to possessing expert information these representatives must have that independence of the group with which they are bargaining that gives bargaining equality. This basic feature in the relations between trade unions and the employing group makes a fundamental distinction between trade unions and company unions and discloses one of the reasons why company unions are not an adequate substitute for trade unions.

After collective bargaining becomes an established practice, it can provide methods and agencies for rendering continuous service in interpreting and applying the terms of the working agreement and in meeting new problems. By developing this continuous service the functions of the union become increasingly interwoven in plant procedure. The field to which bargaining procedure is applicable is limited, however, to matters to be decided by joint agreement and judgment.

There is a still more important service that the union can render—that of participating in finding better methods of production and greater production economies. A group of workers cannot enter into this type of cooperation unless they know the results of their work will not be used to their disadvantage. There must be mutual confidence and that stability that makes possible future planning.

A demonstration of the practicability and the value of this union function occurs in the Baltimore and Ohio development in union-management cooperation which has passed the experimental stage. Because of

the success of the development of this road, the method is being applied to other railroads—the Canadian National, Chicago and Northwestern, and Chesapeake and Ohio. The development is the special contribution of the Railway Employees' Department to trade union methods and progress. It employs machinery and procedure developed from that used in the function of collective bargaining, and its prerequisites are strongly organized, well developed trade unions and dependable, competent, expert advisors. The development itself must be carried on in the spirit of an educational undertaking.

(P. 231) Most fittingly the A. F. of L. completes its discussion of new economic problems with a presentation of the constructive services of the union. After collective bargaining has been established, it is then possible to develop the procedure and technique for dealing with problems of mutual concern. The principle of collective bargaining is put to continuous service when confidence is established and there are agencies for doing equity to all groups. Efforts to improve production methods and eliminate waste must be accompanied by reasonable assurance of regularity of employment.

We endorse the satisfaction expressed in the principle of the Baltimore and Ohio development and recommend the pamphlet *Union-Management Cooperation* to the study and consideration of all trade unionists.

We also approve the recommendations that our National Headquarters keep in touch with technical experts and engineers in order that the experience of management-cooperation with trade unions may be put at the service of all concerned with production problems.

(1926, p. 51) Products of modern industry are not the work of any one individual but of scores of workers,

each contributing something essential to the finished whole. If the entire work process is done most efficiently and most economically, the whole group operates like a perfectly synchronized machine. This comes through the will to cooperate working in accord with a predetermined plan.

The basis for cooperation is laid in the collective agreement negotiated by unions and management. Such an agreement establishes standards of equitable work relations and begets confidence that makes possible continuous cooperation in dealing with other problems arising out of the day's work. The union is essentially an agency for cooperation for service to the union members and to the industry in which its members are employed.

The union first of all injects order and stability in work relationships—achievements of value to industry and to the workers. It establishes more equitable standards of work and pay. It becomes responsible for group discipline. It maintains standards of craftsmanship. It makes possible opportunities for individual development. It is concerned to maintain and increase production standards, for increased productivity is recognized as a basis for wage increases.

The union establishes the practice of reaching agreements on joint relations by conferences in which both groups concerned present their views on problems and contribute to mutually acceptable conclusions. As soon as management agrees to adjust relations through conferences with representatives of voluntary organizations of workers, the way is open to intelligent, constructive solution of constantly developing problems in production and industrial relations. Such relationships make it possible for all engaged in industry to continue to develop and grow through the problems of the work they are doing.

The union with its traditions and

accumulated group experience is the custodian of the craft skill of the industry. The management that seeks the cooperation of the union is taking a course that assures most intelligent production results.

Conflict and arbitrary management are poor production policies. Conference and cooperation lead to united work efforts.

Throughout all of industry where collective bargaining obtains, are more or less definitely developed undertakings in cooperation between management and unions for more efficient production. Major responsibility rests upon management for developing the machinery for getting the most benefit from this cooperation.

After all, industry embraces the investment of money included in a corporate unit of capital called company or employer and the investment of wage earners in the form of wages which in most instances total annually more than any other form of investment in a particular industry. This being true all have invested interest in industry. To safeguard and promote best that invested interest demands a greater degree of understanding and cooperation between employers and trade unions.

The trade union movement is ready and anxious to do its full share and looks to management to assume its prior responsibility. Cooperation can proceed no faster than the necessary technical provisions are provided.

Management has its distinctive functions. Management secures the finances, makes ready the plant, keeps abreast technical progress, purchases, plans and directs. To use the materials which management supplies, man the machines, and carry out plans, workers are employed. They bring to the factories creative ability and labor power necessary to supplement the preparations of management. Workers and management are reciprocally dependent. This is obviously

a relationship that calls for cooperation, a cooperation that is to all intents and purposes a real partnership in a work undertaking.

Partnership implies joint responsibility and decision of matters involved—in the case of industry, for problems of production. The workers' group to function in such a partnership must have organized channels for developing decisions and carrying out undertakings. The organization must be a voluntary one.

As soon as an agreement is reached between workers and management, workers must assume definite responsibility not only for the terms of the contract, but for maintaining the spirit of partnership or cooperation. It is fundamental for efficiency in production that the spirit and method of teamwork be followed. In this as well as in developing agreements there should be joint participation through representative groups. The committee that is responsible for working out production problems should be a different agency from that concerned with grievances.

The fundamental principles that should underlie all industrial policies are:

Regularity of employment with a stable work group;

A low turnover which is advantageous to industry has an equal if not greater value to workers—to them it means continuous employment, a stable income;

Every worker has a right to be freed from all avoidable uncertainties of employment — both from those arising through poor labor administration and from mismanagement in production and effects of speculation in raw materials or finished products.

The A. F. of L. has consistently stood for justice to all workers, skilled or so-called "unskilled." We have maintained that there are no workers wholly unskilled and the distinction

between wage earners is one of degree only. The so-called unskilled or common laborers are the backbone of industry. Low economic standards cannot prevail among these workers without injury to all. We maintain, therefore, increased efforts must be made to organize these and all workers in order that there may be established machinery for self-betterment and that the workers may take their rightful place in determining questions of life and work.

Every worker has a full right to a just portion of the wealth which he helps to create, a full right to earn out of his toil an opportunity for his children equal with that of any citizen, a full right that every just safeguard shall be afforded him for his physical safety, for his health and comfort while at work.

Every worker has the right to compensation for physical injury or disease occasioned in the course of production. Every worker who has been injured or disabled in industry has the additional right to opportunities for rehabilitation in order that he may receive the necessary assistance or training to enable him to be self-sustaining.

(P. 317) That modern industry is organized upon a basis of interdependence of process, makes it imperative that many groups work together in related processes. The ideal is cooperation between all in furtherance of definite plans. Cooperation comes through a common will. The differences between working together and cooperation are psychological but plainly manifest in concrete products.

Many "open-shop" managements in recognition of the interdependence of process have organized channels for employee representation and company unions, which it is alleged have some of the external aspects of trade unions. But they are essentially and fundamentally different in the poten-

tial spiritual and substantive forces that constitute the difference between merely working together and cooperation.

Labor recognizes to the full the necessary and natural and rightful functions of management. Management "secures the finances, makes ready the plant, keeps abreast of technical progress, purchases, plans and directs." But actual production, the carrying out of the plans, requires not only labor but the intelligent, voluntary and responsible cooperation of the labor force. Joint decisions must be reached and Labor must have its organized channels for reaching these decisions in cooperation with and not in subservience to the management.

The A. F. of L. believes that cooperation between all groups concerned with production results in a very genuine partnership that brings reciprocal benefits of the highest value: to the workers it means opportunity for creative expression, to the management it means achieving the purpose of industry under the best possible conditions. In view of the attention focused upon company unions, shop representation plans, American plans and the like, at this time your committee recommends that the President of the A. F. of L. arrange for a comparative study of the results of union-management cooperation and employer-controlled unions and like schemes. After analyzing and classifying the results of these two policies we shall be in a position to let facts speak for themselves.

(1928, pp. 42, 236) When the union is accepted as the method by which workers shall participate in industry and collective bargaining is established the workers have a real contract that gives them status in the industry. This status makes possible a sharing of interest in production that is the essence of partnership. Interest brings a desire to contribute

and hence a release of creative initiative. Sometimes this happens among the workers as individuals and sometimes in an organized way through the union. The latter, of course, brings the more valuable results. The form that this concern takes varies greatly; sometimes it is a joint educational project to provide skilled workers for the trade or industry, sometimes an employment service that connects these workers with employers who need workers, sometimes a contribution to administrative problems, or participation in improving production standards, the regular adjustment of misunderstandings and difficulties that come in all live situations, and finally systematic cooperation with management to make production effective.

These various constructive relationships recognize the fact that workers have creative ability and can and do make valuable contributions to industry from an experience that otherwise is closed to management. There are definite things that can be done only by workers, which cannot be done by management for workers. Many of those with the responsibilities of management fail to grasp that workers can think as well as obey orders. This thinking can be utilized by the industry if the right methods are employed. Industry can expect to have the cooperation of employees only when voluntary agencies are the channels. Employers' substitutes will not serve the same purpose. Cooperation assumes equality in the undertaking. The trade union is the only agency which workers themselves have created to conduct their relations with employers and it is the only agency that gives them equal footing with management or other representatives of the corporation.

(1940, p. 549) The importance of the extension of union-management cooperation in the production of ma-

teriel of defense was projected in Res. 181 unanimously adopted by the convention. The creation of a special committee to plan for a service agency to counsel union-management cooperation undertakings was authorized by the convention.

Union Membership (Interest in)—(1927, p. 41) The union has its administrative problems which are similar to those of all other cooperative undertakings. First among these problems is that of maintaining a stable, active and efficient membership. To accomplish these purposes, the members must realize that the union is an agency permanently necessary to them as a business agency and as a medium for expressing their needs and wishes as workers. The union must, therefore, do effective publicity. It is not enough just to get results. It is necessary to show union members what the union has accomplished in order that they may appreciate the need of promoting the major agency. The workers should have the evidence to help them realize they need the union just as much as the union needs them. It is the function of the various trade organizations to give their members information of the achievements of their unions and it is the function of the federated labor movement to give to all interpretations and facts of most significant happenings. It also devolves upon the federated movement to help employers and the general public to understand what unions are and do. Good will and understanding provide opportunities for unions to perform their duties to industry and to society.

All people are interested in undertakings that give them an opportunity to do something. It is important that unions maintain active work that will afford each member an opportunity to make a personal contribution of service. When a few people do all the work, the others soon

lose interest. This fact leads to the next thing a union must do to maintain its members: Provide the means for educational development.

If all union problems are treated as opportunities to get additional information in order to solve new problems; if each new achievement is regarded as new vantage ground for still further development; if we look upon life as well as industrial progress as constant unfoldment, the union becomes an agency for growth and education and a part of the individual growth of each member.

The union should not overlook the fact that pleasure is also a necessary factor in wholesome living and good health. Some social feature should be a part of each meeting and special meetings should be wholly social or with a social background. The spirit of friendliness is one of the strongest ties the union can foster. Many a union provides its members with the advantages and benefits of a club. In order to hold its membership the union must continually provide service and benefits. The union should be inseparably a part of progress—social and industrial.

In addition to these tangible cohesive forces, the union must consider practical services and benefits—such as insurance, investment advices and opportunities, employment service, old age pensions, unemployment aids, opportunities to improve craftsmanship. The union which provides such services in addition to promoting better working conditions and higher wages will have most genuine loyalty and support.

(P. 318) The affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies, local unions and other units of our American labor movement should give earnest attention to the problem of awakening the membership to a greater interest in the work of the unions.

Lethargy may lead to disaster. Interest to be lasting must be based upon understanding. Inclusion of social activities in trade union affairs is helpful in promoting pleasant and agreeable contact between the members and their families. Insurance benefits and unemployment aids are also useful in arousing interest. The discussion and promotion of definite plans to improve craftsmanship should be given more attention. Through it all, extreme care should be used that the membership is given an understanding of the underlying philosophy and aims of the trade union movement. We request the E.C. to take steps to arrange for an exchange of opinions on this subject between the various units of our labor movement through the medium of official publications and the general labor press.

Union Records—(1929, p. 65) The A. F. of L. feels that it cannot emphasize too much the value of accurate yearly reports from local labor movements. They show progress made during the year, and the methods of work which have produced results; they point out matters needing particular attention where immediate action may forestall difficulties. They enable the labor movement to profit by the experience of thousands of local leaders. We need especially an accurate record of local membership. And here the reports are far from satisfactory. Central unions often have no accurate account of membership in affiliated locals and must rely on estimates. Large inaccuracies occur from this method of reporting, as our two years' experience with these reports has shown.

The A. F. of L. feels that for the report next year each central body, at least six months in advance of the end of our fiscal year, should ascertain the exact membership of all locals affiliated, either by letter or by personal interview with the officers.

United Nations (also see listings by subject, i.e., Forced Labor International Bill for Human Rights)

United Nations Relief Fund (also see: Labor's League for Human Rights)

Labor Conference Proposed—(1942, p. 628 (Res. 22 favored the convening of an international conference of all the labor unions of the United Nations. In lieu of the proposed resolution the convention adopted the report of its committee on the subject of Anglo-American Trade Union Committee.

"An Epochal Year"—(1945, p. 20) Closely following the end of the war in Europe was the San Francisco World Conference to determine the final form of the Charter of the United Nations. The American Federation of Labor had been preparing for service in this conference through the work of our Postwar Planning Committee and the recommendations of our Executive Council for amendments to the charter.

The American Federation of Labor was denied direct representation in the San Francisco Conference but accorded opportunity to submit its proposals. We urged inclusion of a bill of rights assuring basic personal freedoms under the United Nations as essential to human progress, stability of government and peace between nations. We urged principles of equity between nations and acceptance of the Chapultepec Agreement for unity in the Western Hemisphere. We urged inclusion of the International Labor Organization with the changes in its charter to adapt it to function under the United Nations Organization. We urged provisions for representation of great national functional groups so that our citizens would be kept informed on problems and able to register their experience and judgment. Such representation would as-

sure national support for United Nations Organization.

Although the Charter is not perfect, it makes agencies available through which the nations of the world can discuss international problems and work out ways of dealing with them. Orderly conference and adjustment are provided as alternatives to use of force. The American Federation of Labor strongly urges full participation in the United Nations Organization and acceptance of responsibilities under it.

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We believe all members of the United Nations Organization should have the same rights and the same responsibilities and that even-handed justice in accord with moral standards should characterize its work...

(1946, pp. 57, 608) Early in 1945 when arrangements were in the making for a world conference to act upon the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the officers of the American Federation of Labor requested representation of President Roosevelt. We assumed that our experience would be helpful in deciding upon world institutions as would that of employers and farmers. However, the President decided otherwise and appointed only government representatives along with a few individual citizens. The basic functional groups were not included as advisors as was done in the Pan-American Conference. Several score organizations were invited to send representatives, not with the duty of advising, but only to be available should official representatives seek advice.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor prepared recommendations for amending the Dumbarton Oaks draft and authorized President Green to present them to the United States representatives in the conference.

The proposals urged the inclusion of a United Nations Bill of Rights

guaranteeing civil rights to all individuals throughout the world; a statement embodying the democratic objectives in support of which the United Nations combined for war; and principles which underlie justice between nations formulated under the Pan American Union.

The American Federation of Labor urged the type of representation utilized in the I.L.O., the only League of Nations organization that weathered the war, be followed for the policy-making agency of the United Nations, the General Assembly, and for the Economic and Social Council authorized to deal with social and economic matters.

We recommended that in addition to a government representative in the General Assembly, a representative from each of the functional organized groups—employers, farmers and workers be added and that the Social and Economic Council be comprised of twelve government representatives and four each from these functional groups.

We urged that the International Labor Organization be made an agency of the United Nations with its work expanded, and recommended that the Philadelphia Declaration be made the preamble to the constitution.

The spirit of some of our recommendations with respect to basic principles was included in the preamble and the purposes and principles of the charter approved by the San Francisco Conference, but our recommendation upon the principle of including functional representation was not accepted.

The Charter provides that the General Assembly shall consist of all member nations with not more than five representatives. Each member have one vote. The Assembly will have annual sessions and special sessions when need may require.

The Assembly shall initiate studies

and make recommendations for the purposes of:

- a. promoting international cooperation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;
- b. promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

It may consider general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security.

It elects eighteen members to constitute the Economic and Social Council, the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Trusteeship Council. It shall admit new members, suspend or expel members. It shall consider and approve the budget; receive and consider reports from agencies constituting the United Nations.

The Security Council shall consist of eleven members, six selected for a term of two years and not immediately eligible for reelection. Permanent members shall be the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America.

The Security Council has executive authority to take action in the interests of peace and to stop aggression. The Security Council shall determine the existence of a threat to the peace and may recommend action to the parties concerned. The Security Council may use economic as well as military force.

Each member has one vote. An affirmative vote of seven members determines procedural matters. Decision on other matters is by an affirma-

tive vote of seven provided the permanent members concur. Any member whose country was party to the dispute under consideration shall abstain from voting.

All member nations shall undertake to keep armed forces and the necessary facilities available to the Council. The Council shall have a Military Staff Committee consisting of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Council.

The United Nations will undertake international economic and social co-operation to promote:

- a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and developments;
- b. solutions of international economic, social health, and related problems; and international culture and educational cooperation; and
- c. universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Specialized agencies may be established by inter-governmental agreements in economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related fields. Responsibility for the agencies shall lie in the General Assembly. They would report through the Economic and Security Council which may furnish information to the Security Council.

Chapter S-XI-XIII added to the Dumbarton Oaks draft provides for the Trusteeship Council to deal with non-self-governing nations.

Chapter XIV added by the San Francisco Conference contains the provisions for an International Court of Justice which is now in process of organization.

The Secretariat will consist of a Secretary-General and staff. The Secretary-General will be designated by

the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council.

Staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General in accord with the regulations approved by the General Assembly and assigned to the various councils and organs of the United Nations. The Secretary-General shall make annual reports to the General Assembly on the work of the organization.

Amendments become effective when approved by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified by two-thirds of the members through their constitutional channels, including the permanent members of the Security Council.

A general conference to review the charter may be held at any time and place determined by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly and a vote of seven members of the Security Council.

Regional arrangements consistent with the purposes of the United Nations, dealing with matters related to the international peace and security, shall keep the Security Council advised of activities.

Though there are provisions in the charter which do not conform to democratic principles and which fall below levels of procedure in effect in the more democratic countries, the Charter represents the level and degree to which agreement could be reached by the fifty nations represented in San Francisco. In view of existing war tensions, national differences, differences in political experiences and thinking, the Charter represents substantial progress in trying to propose ways and means to deal with the causes of war and to promote the arts and procedures of peace.

We urged our Senate to ratify the Charter and make it possible for our Nation to assume its responsibilities in the United Nations—our greatest hope for security against future wars.

The American Federation of Labor will continue to press principles of representation that will give basic functional groups within each nation participation in and responsibility for the success of the organization.

(P. 608) We note with gratification the constructive efforts our Executive Council made while the Charter of the United Nations was in the process of formulation. Some of the recommendations of our Executive Council were incorporated in the final draft or, as in the case of our proposal, for an international bill of rights, a commission has been authorized to draft recommendations.

Although our recommendations of principles of representation for member nations in the General Assembly and on the Economic and Social Commission were not approved, we believe it basic for the effectiveness of these organs that functional citizen groups share representation with the Government of each member. Only such representation can make wise and authoritative decisions and secure for the United Nations the national support of its members. We recommend that the Executive Council watch for the opportune occasion to urge again the adoption of provisions for representations which will enable the citizens of member nations to participate directly in the responsibilities of the United Nations.

The United Nations Charter was a series of compromises necessary to meet the practical problems of 51 States with diverse progress toward democratic institutions and even with diverse definitions of democracy. Accordingly, it provides for limited co-operation and even allows veto right to privileged nations. While democratic countries might concede limita-

tions on majority rule in initial stages of world organization, it is unthinkable that such limitation be continued indefinitely as the international organizations take on the functions and responsibilities of world government which should exist only through the will of the governed. We have seen the veto power used not to protect rights but as a sanction for obstructive tactics and as a smokescreen for acts of aggression and violence.

We wish to voice a solemn warning that we will not continue to support international organization blindly for we hold human liberty as a priceless heritage which should not be sacrificed for any international co-operation that does not respect national self-government based on civil rights for individual citizens. Unless aggression and totalitarian government can be curbed, the United Nations cannot assure the peace and there is more security for human liberty in a federation of countries believing in democracy. But such federation would necessarily be on a defensive basis, because of the war risks entailed by progress in the techniques of atomic fission. There are, however, conditions which make peace more perilous than war.

We urge that no effort be spared to make the United Nations an effective agency for world peace and when necessary that constitutional changes be made, we urge with equal emphasis that we safeguard human liberty and civil rights as the basis of a life worthy of free human beings.

(P. 59) Under the title "Toward World Order," the E.C. submitted a comprehensive survey of the development of the United Nations to date. The following are excerpts from E.C. Report:

Labor finds serious problems in the structure and the procedures of the United Nations. Membership in the United Nations is confined to nations

and each nation is free to determine its own representation. Obviously the functions of some agencies can best be performed by persons with official status and responsibility. Equally obvious is the conclusion that the decisions of agencies dealing with our economy and our culture can best be made by persons representative of the citizen groups accustomed to determining similar matters in our democracy.

At present we can only vaguely foreshadow developments from the operation of forces which, if successful, will grow into world government. The American Federation of Labor is concerned to preserve the ideals and the guarantees that have afforded us democratic opportunity. We believe that direct representatives of citizen groups should represent our nation in the General Assembly, not only to present our views but to develop and maintain in all our citizens a sense of personal responsibility and interest in what eventually may be world legislation. We believe that our representative in a world agency considering world trade and employment should be selected by organizations responsible for those functions at home—organized employers, agriculture and labor. Government, whether local, national or world in scope—whether administered by public or private representatives—is a service which must promote not only immediate objectives but must advance the welfare of all. With the privilege of representation must go responsibility of service.

(P. 63) From this sketchy and incomplete record of the work of United Nations agencies, it is obvious that its decisions and work in international fields will vitally affect developments and agencies in our own nation. It is also obvious that if we would retain democratic institutions in our own country we must extend principles of democratic representation to our in-

terests and activities in the international field. For example, our Government has proposed an International Conference on Trade and Employment which looks forward to the establishment of a permanent agency in this field. If these non-government agencies which control free enterprise in this country do not have proportional representation in the international agency their authority at home may be minimized.

These principles of representation include:

1. The right of an organization to select its representative or to name a panel from which selection is made.
2. The right to such representation in connection with agencies dealing with matters affecting our welfare.
3. The right to advisory relationship in connection with agencies dealing with matters affecting our welfare but where regulations provide or make possible only government representation.
4. The right to free access of information needed for representative service.
5. Congress should require Administrative agencies of the Federal Government to observe such rights of representation in making official appointments.

(P. 609) In these sections, the Executive Council records progress in setting up the various organs of the United Nations and other international agencies which will be coordinated by these agencies. One of the most important of these is the Commission on Human Rights which, in addition to drafting an international bill of rights, will consider civil liberties, status of women, freedom of expression, rights of minorities and prevention of discrimination. The work of this Commission will deal with the ba-

sic concepts of liberty which constitute the democratic way of life.

These sections summarize steps which the officers of the American Federation of Labor should take to secure for the A. F. of L. the right to consultative relations with the Economic and Social Council under Article 71 of the Charter. The United States delegation approved our request, while Senator Connolly sponsored our cause in the Committee on Advisory Relations of the General Assembly.

Our acceptance was opposed by members of the World Federation of Trade Unions, but it was obvious that our free trade unions had a distinctive experience to contribute for which the other international labor organization was in no way competent.

Security Council—(1946, p. 533) Res. 96:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago urgently recommend the immediate strengthening of the United Nations Organization by the adoption of three amendments to the United Nations Charter to provide for:

1. Reorganization of the United Nations Security Council and the World Court to give fair representation to all nations and to decide by majority vote all matters involving aggression, or preparation for aggression. There must be no veto to protect aggressors.

2. Delegation to the Security Council of the powers to suppress aggression and control heavy and scientific weapons. The powers to be delegated should be strictly limited and well defined and these powers must be interpreted by the World Court. Aggression should be defined as an attack with weapons of violence by a sovereign state or its citizens against the territory of another sovereign state, or the production of specified weapons of violence by any sovereign state be-

yond quotas set by the Security Council, or by refusal to permit inspection by duly authorized representatives of the Security Council.

3. Establishment of a strong International Police Force. Such a force must be established to impartially support the powers of the Security Council.

The details of these amendments and the methods of procedure under them should be in accordance with the Quota Force Plan, and be it further

Resolved—That we urge the acceptance of the proposal of the United States Representative on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, for the creation of an International Atomic Development Authority. We further urge the incorporation of that proposal into the Quota Force Plan, and be it further

Resolved—That until such time as the above measures, or similar ones, go into effect, we urge the maintenance of the armed forces of the United States at levels recommended by the Chief of Staff, United States Army and the Chief of Naval Operations, United States Navy.

Referred to Executive Council.

(1947, p. 179) The E.C. devoted a section of its annual report to discussion of U.S. Foreign Policy. The following excerpt is from that report

... Our foreign policies are made by Congress and the Executive Branch of the Federal Government and by ambassadors and ministers and all in the foreign service, and by our representatives in the United Nations. Foreign policy is effective only as we support it by public opinion and by power to enforce.

Practical experience has taught us that unless citizens keep representatives advised of their wishes and their judgment on policies, those representatives are guided only by government policies and their own experience. A national representative can take a

strong position when he knows he has national backing. The American Federation of Labor is in some measure meeting this need through the work of the Committee on International Labor Relations. This committee should be directed to keep all unions advised on the work of the United Nations, the problems handled by our representatives in United Nations agencies, and specific problems in our nation's foreign policy. While our unions can depend upon the metropolitan press for general information, they look to the Federation for aid in knowing the labor implications. If foreign policy is to be democratically determined, not only must our labor movement be prepared and alert to keep its membership advised, but those basic functional groups—Labor, Industry, and Farmers—should have opportunity to aid in shaping official foreign policies—national and international.

We note with approval a proposal in Congress to urge amendment of the Charter of the United Nations to abolish the veto power of the five nations and to substitute majority rule for all determinations. We urge that to this amendment be added those presented by the American Federation of Labor through our national delegation in the San Francisco Conference which took final action on the Charter. The work of the United Nations has confirmed the wisdom of those recommendations. There is need for direct citizen participation in the United Nations to prevent its development as a bureaucracy responsible only to the governments of member nations.

Our first recommendation is:

That Chapter I, Article 9, paragraph 2 (which reads—"Each member shall have not more than 5 representatives in the General Assembly") be amended by adding: "two of whom shall be government representatives and the other three

selected from nominations from the most representative organizations of farmers, industrial employers, and wage earners".

That Chapter X, Article 61, paragraph 4, be amended by inserting (just where these words follow in the paragraph)

"who shall have as official consultants representatives of Industry, Labor, and Agriculture chosen from nominations by the most representative organization in these functional fields."

The Charter should be further amended to carry out the purposes of Chapter I, Article 2, paragraph 1: "The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members." Accordingly amendments should be adopted to eliminate the privilege of permanent membership by any member in an agency, and the right of veto.

The American Federation of Labor believes that the work of the United Nations should be kept close to the people of all nations through participation of such national functional groups. Such participation would replace existing provisions, giving consultative status to non-governmental agencies, for the experience of such groups would be considered in the formulation of national policies.

(1947, p. 465) The convention approved the position of the Executive Council by adopting the following committee report:

... the A. F. of L. severely condemns all forces and governments that refuse to cooperate and even put obstacles in the path of nations striving to speed world reconstruction and the organization and maintenance of lasting peace.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends approval of the position of the Executive Council urging "amending of the Charter of the United Nations to abolish the veto power of the five

nations and to substitute majority rule for all determinations." The deteriorating international situation makes it more urgent than ever for the A. F. of L. to work with redoubled energy for the acceptance of the amendments it proposed to the United Nations Charter during the UN Conference held in this city. All the sad experiences and shortcomings revealed by the UN in its functioning to date underscore the correctness of the Executive Council in stressing the "need for direct citizen participation in the United Nations to prevent its development as a bureaucracy responsible only to the governments of member nations."

A. F. of L. Role—(1947, p. 179) The Executive Council submitted a general report of the participation afforded the A. F. of L. in the United Nations through UNESCO (United Nations Economic and Social Council). The convention unanimously adopted the report of the committee as follows:

(P. 564) The Economic and Social Council has a potential power to promote human welfare and world peace that is far greater than the Security Council whose performance has been so futile. When the United Nations began to organize, the American Federation of Labor urged the General Assembly to include the A. F. of L. among the voluntary organizations selected to advise the Economic and Social Council. The A. F. of L. is the rally center of the free trade unions of those countries struggling against totalitarianism. Our international duties and services in this capacity have rapidly multiplied.

Our A. F. of L. consultants have performed two services of outstanding importance: (1) the submission of a Bill of Human Rights which has aroused the workers of many lands to the significance of the work of the United Nations and (2) in substitut-

ing a counter-proposal to the U.S.S.R. assault on the I.L.O. to weaken that organization and transfer its functions to the Council, so that the I.L.O. emerged strengthened and with specific duties to conserve free trade unions.

We recommend approval of their work and look forward to its expansion as the Economic and Social Council develops into a functioning agency under peace conditions. The Council through the agencies for which it is responsible will make policies to promote economic welfare and will deal with causes of economic friction.

Human Rights, International Bill (U.N.) (also see: UNESCO (1948))

(1948, pp. 84, 486) The most fruitful results of the work of the American Federation of Labor consultants has come from the working out of an International Bill on Human Rights. We were the only non-governmental labor organization that took part in all stages of this work, from the drafting sub-commission through the working group to the full Human Rights Commission.

The World Federation of Trade Unions took no part whatsoever in this struggle for human rights (which includes trade union rights), obviously avoiding any commitment in the East-West clash that was a constant occurrence in these Commissions. The American Federation of Labor alone urged the inclusion in the draft of the demands of organized labor. Results of this contribution are many, especially in the Draft Declaration on Human Rights which came out from the last Commission meeting as a good document. The preamble, upon our instigation, reaffirms faith in the need for the "promotion of social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

(P. 71) In its report to the convention, dealing in general with international problems, the E.C. deplor-

ed the fact that the U.N. "had been unable to deal effectively with problems basic for world peace." The report further states:

The Atlantic Charter, the United Nations and its machinery, were born out of the purposes and experience of a Western European civilization. They seek more personal freedom and government with the consent of the governed. The U.S.S.R. under the guidance of a philosophy that imposes authority and out of experience only with a police state, seeks, as a powerful nation, to divert the United Nations to serve totalitarian purposes.

Contracts are the device of Western European peoples for determining the conditions under which they work together. As they are mutual agreements, both parties make concessions for reaching the widest area of agreement. Order results from faithful fulfillment of contracts.

When nations, disciplined to abide by agreements, find they are dealing with other nations which exact the maximum in concessions, only to disregard their obligations under contracts, orderly relations do not develop. When groups place a premium on facility in making the benefits from contracts unilateral, efforts at cooperation lead to futility.

This background highlights present-day diplomacy and sustained joint efforts through the United Nations to make adjustments that will forestall resort to force. War can now unleash such terrifying forces and destructive weapons, that it means annihilation of populations.

We find the way forward blocked by the inability of the Security Council to perform functions under the Charter.

We find planned abuse of the veto power accorded to permanent members of the Council.

We find intolerant and aggressive use of the veto denying membership in the United Nations.

We find refusal of member states to cooperate with investigating agencies.

We have seen the smaller countries of Eastern Europe, unprotected by federation or collective defense, brought one by one under subjugation by armed force, secret police and Communist agents within their nations.

Though beset by many critical and disillusioning situations, the United States continues to struggle for action through the United Nations on matters and situations involving war potentials.

Our government, together with France and Great Britain, is trying to bring order through adherence to joint agreements with respect to Austria and Germany. U.S.S.R. violation of the four-power control has resulted in the Berlin crisis. World situations are made more involved and difficult by divergencies in basic philosophies, and conflicts in wills.

These facts throw a greater responsibility for constructive progress on efforts for European recovery and cooperation between non-governmental organizations. Economic recovery in Western Europe will bring to those nations opportunity for political freedom. To prevent further advancement of the Iron Curtain westward, Germany and Austria must be included in recovery plans. The industrial resources and know-how of the German people are essential to revival of European economic self-dependence. Even with the handicap of boundaries fortified by customs duties, there has been an approach to a European economy resting on diversification of natural resources, transportation facilities, and varying technical skills of workers. The intra-European commerce between countries formerly equaled that with their trade with the rest of the world. To restore this economic inter-relationship is the purpose of the Economic Cooperation Administration which works with the European organization created by

countries participating. We hope an integrated European economy will result.

Forced Labor—(P. 83) The E.C. pointed out, in its report to the convention, that forced labor was one of the foremost among the basic issues in the East-West conflict in the U.N. during the preceding year. A. F. of L. consultants sustained our item on forced labor before the Agenda Committee of the Council (Economic and Social Council) and succeeded in having it put on the agenda for the July, 1948, meetings. Through a series of manipulations, however, a postponement was gained on the forced labor item until the succeeding session.

In the meanwhile, the World Federation of Trade Unions maneuvered to block the American Federation of Labor's item on forced labor by submitting a proposal to investigate alleged violations of trade union rights in eleven countries—all outside of the Iron Curtain. Immediately the American Federation of Labor's consultants responded by welcoming, on the one hand, any investigation of the violations of trade union rights, but demanding, on the other hand, that such an investigation be a general one referring to all countries with an industrialized economy and a trade union movement, and certainly including the countries behind the Iron Curtain. A long and impressive list of such violations of trade union rights in Soviet Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia was added to make our case a strong one.

(P. 443) The following committee recommendations and report were unanimously adopted by the convention:

The Executive Council report on this subject points out that the U.S.S.R. has used its veto power to prevent the United Nations from performing its functions. We do not believe that the situation would be rem-

edied by abolishing the veto. The difficulties in the United Nations go much deeper than can be remedied by legislative action. The U.S.S.R. would continue its policy of aggression in order to communize all nations, regardless of any change in the Charter. Its philosophy of life and its objectives to be attained by government are absolute contradiction to those of the democratic way of life. The Kremlin is determined on conquest of the world whether by cold war or atomic bombs. Peace with democracies has no place in the Kremlin's plans.

The time has come when we should seriously consider as defense strategy a world union of democratic nations to promote our general welfare and to defend our way of life against enemies.

We recommend that the Executive Council study various proposals for changing the Charter of the United Nations and report to the next convention.

(1950, p. 21):

Whereas—Peace is the fruit of justice, justice is the product of law, and law is rooted in government, and

Whereas—Conflicting governmental units have always ceased their warring when united in a common government, as evidenced by our own thirteen colonies, and

Whereas—Representative federal government is America's discovery and America's contribution to the society of man and has been adopted in principle by the great majority of nations, and

Whereas—Labor has long recognized a need for a world united under law such as visualized by Samuel Gompers in 1914 when he called for "a world federation competent to do justice between nations and able to maintain the peace of the world," therefore, be it

Resolved—That a Charter Review Conference of the United Nations

should be called as soon as possible for the purpose of building the United Nations into a true federation of nations, with a code of international law, a bill of human rights, adequate international police force, and any other machinery not otherwise inconsistent with the sovereignty of nations but found to be necessary for the maintenance of world law and order, and be it further

Resolved—That should Russia abstain, our nation should proceed to unite with other like-minded nations in a partial world federation, thus taking a realistic step toward realizing man's dream of a united world and, at the same time, giving to the democratic nations a strength through unity so great as to deter further Russian armed aggression, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor be requested to use whatever means are at their disposal, including education, political action, and publicity mediums of radio and newspaper for carrying out the purpose of this resolution so that, in this year of centennial remembrance of Samuel Gompers, we can stride forward to the realization of his goal, freedom and security for all men under world laws.

(P. 459) The convention referred this resolution to the International Labor Relations Committee for study.

A. F. of L. Consultants—(1950, p. 122) The slight downward trend noted in world economy at the close of 1949 evoked new hopes and an invigorated spirit of aggression among the representatives of the U.S.S.R. and its satellites in the United Nations. This new aggressiveness was also reflected in the conduct of the Soviet Government-controlled agency and auxiliary calling itself the World Federation of Trade Unions. Our consultants took the offensive and maintained the initiative against W.F.T.U.

We exposed this later as destructive in its aims and actions.

During the past year, A. F. of L. consultants energetically pressed the issue of slave labor in the U.S.S.R. and its satellites. In this endeavor, our consultants have had but one aim: to rouse the civilized world against the barbarous and degrading treatment of millions of human beings with a view to eradicating every expression of this pernicious evil, no matter where it might be manifested. They gathered unimpeachable evidence to show that the slave labor camps operated by the Russian Secret Police (M.V.D.) were an organic feature of the entire Soviet economy and its highly publicized system of "social" planning. In some economic sectors, this M.V.D. production is predominant; in others it actually monopolizes the field.

Among the other activities of the consultants, their intensive work in the Human Rights Commission deserves special mention. During the past year this Commission has drafted a Covenant on Human Rights. The covenant, in contrast to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is a treaty which has legal binding power after ratification by the respective nations. It is first in a series of others to follow in the future. The Russians, who were absent, never accepted the idea of such a treaty, and they also opposed the proposal of implementation.

As everyone knows, the legally binding power of a treaty is only real when the means of enforcement exist. The American Federation of Labor will have to continue its efforts to have implementation made more effective in order to have enforcement become a reality.

In this connection it must be noted that the World Federation of Trade Unions did not feel it appropriate to cooperate in the endeavor to guarantee the rights of man. The W.F.T.U.

representatives were absent on all the Commissions where constructive work was to be done.

With the establishment of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the American Federation of Labor decided to assist the I.C.F.T.U. in getting consultative status of Category A and to withdraw after the acceptance of the I.C.F.T.U. by the Economic and Social Council. The I.C.F.T.U. appointed four persons to act as its consultants to the United Nations.

... (P. 505) ... As a result of the continued initiative and positive approach of the A. F. of L. in this highly important UN agency, the American Federation of Labor has won worldwide recognition and esteem for its broad vision, genuine and effective humanitarianism, and determined championing of human rights and the cause of free labor.

Your committee notes with approval and recommends your endorsement of the decision of the Executive Council to turn over to the I.C.F.T.U. its representatives and personnel in the Economic and Security Council. We are confident that the I.C.F.T.U. will maintain the same leadership and pursue the same vigorous course of constructive proposals, while at the same time unmasking and resisting the W.F.T.U., which in the United Nations, as elsewhere, serves only as a menial agency of the Kremlin's Foreign Office and its worldwide Communist conspiracy.

(1951, p. 83) The American Federation of Labor was among those who strongly urged adherence to a new world organization to deal collectively with problems affecting world peace and in promoting the well-being of all peoples of the world. We urged amendments to the Charter of the United Nations to provide more adequate representation for labor and industry in those problems which direct-

ly concern them. But instead of providing direct representation for wage earners and employers, an advisory and consultative relationship was provided for international non-government economic agencies. The American Federation of Labor secured the consultative right to represent free trade unions when the World Federation of Trade Unions was the sole global labor organization. When the I.C.F.T.U. was organized, the A. F. of L. automatically gave up this consultative status and right to independent representation in favor of the I.C.F.T.U.

Our relinquishment of that status in and relationship to the U.N. now places the duties and responsibilities of defending labor's rights and those of the free trade unions, as well as promoting the hopes and aspirations of free workers throughout the world, upon the shoulders of the I.C.F.T.U. To that end the Secretary Treasurer has appointed two Vice-Presidents of the A. F. of L., together with two officers and representatives of the C.I.O. as representatives of the I.C.F.T.U. In addition, a branch office has been created in New York City to facilitate and enhance the work involved.

The American Federation of Labor has long abhorred war and all that it involves in human loss and material destruction. We, therefore, condemned the unwarranted full-scale invasion of the Republic of Korea by the Communist armed forces of the so-called People's Democratic Republic of Korea abetted and now aided by the Chinese Communist regime and encouraged and supported by Communist Russia. We are in complete sympathy and accord with the Security Council of the U.N. in declaring this invasion a breach of the peace and pledge every assistance to the U.N. in bringing to a successful and victorious close the war now in progress.

ress and forced upon the free nations of the world.

Developments since the Korean war have tested existing machinery of the United Nations. Unfortunate differences in the United Nations among various countries over policy in pressing military action against aggression to success and victory have raised problems of great significance. Some of the more important of these problems have grown out of our Constitutional provision that treaties become the law of the land upon ratification of the Senate. Already one state law has been declared unconstitutional because of a United Nations proposal ratified by Congress.

The right to declare war by the executive branch of government without consent of Congress, the sending of drafted citizens to serve under U.N. command, where political decisions rest with the U.N. and the extent to which the United Nations actions and decisions may limit determination of our own foreign policy, these and similar problems have arisen and require our careful study in order to determine policies, changes or amendments that may be required and be effected to increase the efficiency of the United Nations and, at the same time, avoid infringing upon our constitutional provisions and safeguards. The Executive Council is fully alert to these and like problems.

(P. 469) Your Committee on International Labor Relations has gone thoroughly into this section of the Executive Council Report dealing with the UN. We recommend it to you for endorsement and further propose that:

1. The convention greet the progress made by the UN—despite certain short-comings — in its rallying the forces of peace and freedom to resist the Russian-instigated and directed wanton aggression against the Republic of Korea and its defenseless people.

2. The convention welcomes the initial steps taken by the UN-ECOSOC on the basis of the proposal first made by the A. F. of L. and subsequently by the ICFTU, to which we relinquished our consultative status, to survey and stop the spreading menace of slave labor emanating primarily from Soviet Russia and its satellite areas.

3. The convention notes with intense indignation the widespread and increasingly frequent kidnapping of political opponents resorted to by the Soviet Government and its secret agents. This outrageous violation of elementary human rights and barbarous aggression by the Soviet dictatorship and its Quisling regimes have assumed especially grave proportions in Germany, Austria, Hong Kong, and various countries in Asia where dissident artists, intellectuals, helpless refugees, and even members of Parliament have been kidnapped and rushed off into Soviet slave labor camps or murdered. The convention calls upon the ICFTU to make a special investigation of this anti-human practice and to place the entire question of Soviet kidnapping before the ECOSOC with a view of exposing this dreadful terror weapon and abhorrent assault on human decency and devising practical measures to halt this cold-blooded violation of the essential human rights of personal freedom and the generally accepted principles of civilized relations among nations.

4. We commend our government for the various measures it has taken in behalf of the liberation of the American newspaperman, William Oatis, from the clutches of the Czechoslovak tools of Soviet despotism. We strongly urge our government to take all effective measures to speed his release and to call upon the UN to take similar action.

5. The experience in the Korean crisis and the continued refusal of the Moscow government to participate in

the various agencies and subdivisions of the UN demonstrate the crying need for improving and strengthening this body as an agency for world peace and human betterment. We propose that our government take increasing initiative in this direction.

Labor Representation — (1952, p. 145) As soon as the Charter of the United Nations was made public, representatives of the American Federation of Labor studied it carefully and urged several amendments. The most fundamental amendment we proposed was for representation of economic functional groups on those agencies dealing with economic matters. We also proposed that pending the adoption of this amendment, the Administration include as consultants our representative on the Economic and Social Commission and its subdivisions, a representative of management and a representative of Labor. The decisions of this agency should be guided by persons with practical experience.

The inclusion of representatives of Labor in national delegations requires no amendment.

The President of the United States appoints the delegation and can accord Labor this recognition by our Government, as has been done in other industrial countries.

We recommend that efforts be renewed to get action on these proposals from the administration to be elected in the November election.

(P. 548) The convention endorsed the report of the E.C. on this subject and approved the following committee recommendations:

Realizing the vital need of building the U.N. into a powerful force for preserving peace and promoting human well-being, we urge that, toward the furtherance of these objectives our government delegation in the U.N. should give favorable consideration to the following proposals:

1. In association with our democratic allies and through our own initiative, our government should strengthen and improve the efficacy of the U.N. not only as an instrument for preserving peace but also as an organ for systematically advancing and applying policies calculated to eliminate every vestige of colonialism and every imperialist course—whether it be the old type of nineteenth century imperialism or the new type of totalitarian Communist imperialism.

2. The U.N. countries administering trust territories should include representatives of the native populations from the territories on their delegations to the Trusteeship Council. Wherever possible, these representatives should be democratically elected by the native populations themselves, as a step on the road toward their attainment of national freedom and democracy.

3. To demand a thorough-going investigation of the role of Russia in instigating and arming North Korea and the so-called Chinese volunteers for waging war against the United Nations and the Republic of Korea.

4. To oppose all measures aimed at curtailing effectiveness of the consultative system and the rights of the Non-Governmental organizations (Category A) therein.

Byrnes, James F., Appointment Protested—(1953, pp. 409, 650) Res. 44 called attention to the discriminatory attitude and official actions of James F. Byrnes, and condemned his appointment as follows:

Resolved—That this Seventy-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in St. Louis, Missouri, September, 1953, go on record as condemning the appointment of Governor Byrnes as a delegate of the United States to the United Nations because his record as champion of the doctrine of white supremacy and the

inferiority of peoples of color, is certain to earn and win the opposition and sharp condemnation of the darker races, representing two-thirds of the population of the world, since he cannot, in conscience, wholeheartedly oppose imperialistic colonialism or Apartheid of Malanism of South Africa or support the great issues of human rights, which is the proper and logical and moral responsibility of the representatives of a democratic society, authorize and instruct the president of this Federation to make known the position of this convention to the President of the United States.

Approval (UN) Reaffirmed—(1953, pp. 410, 650) Res. 45 reaffirmed established endorsement and support of U.N. and its various special agencies.

(1954, p. 465) Res. 20. The convention unanimously adopted this resolution.

Whereas—Strong tides of opposition are running high in the United States and throughout the world against the United Nations despite the achievements of this young institution in the field of international affairs in connection with serving as the agency for collective action against Communist aggression in Korea; keeping the flames of nationalistic conflict between Pakistan and India from bursting into a war; as well as maintaining the mechanism for continued negotiation in the interest of peace between Israeli and the Arab states; together with its many social, economic, agricultural, labor and educational agencies to achieve good will and the advancement of world literacy, health, science and peace and plenty, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, go on record as reaffirming its support of the United Nations and call on the United States Government to utilize the United Nations in the future to a

greater degree than it has in the past, in order that it may develop the prestige, position, power and place to fulfill its mission as expressed in its charter which will also serve to concentrate the free world in one common agency, in order that it may fight for world peace, the alternative of which can only be atomic and hydrogen warfare which is certain to encompass destruction of modern civilization.

Opposition to Admission of Red China—(1953, pp. 396, 668)

Whereas—The mere halting of open aggression by Communist military forces in Korea under the terms of a truce, leaving a million Chinese Communist troops in undisputed possession of North Korea, hundreds of miles closer to the Japanese industrial bastion of free world than in 1950, has resulted in renewal of both the Soviet Communist drive and the suicidal echo in the free world of the demand for admission of the so-called "Chinese People's Republic" to the United Nations as the purported only true representative of the Chinese People, and

Whereas—The charter of the United Nations dedicates that Organization to insuring peace and ending the curse of aggressive war on mankind by promoting human freedom and respect of human rights, and subordinates the admission of States to membership in the organization to their willingness and ability, in the judgment of the already member nations, to carry out these aims and obligations of the U.N. Charter, and

Whereas—The fraudulently entitled "Chinese People's Republic" has, for over two years, openly waged aggressive war on the forces of and against the very decisions of the United Nations, and

Whereas—Since its advent to power, after more than twenty years of foreign supported civil warfare, this Communist fraudulent "Chinese Peo-

ple's Republic" has systematically disregarded every human right and violated every human freedom in murdering literally millions of helpless Chinese people, especially non-Communist trade unionists, and subjugated the Chinese labor organizations to its totalitarian control, and

Whereas—The organic law of the so-called "Chinese People's Republic" states in Article I that its government is a dictatorship and in Article II that its government is based on "democratic centralism," which is the double talk principle of Communist totalitarianism, thus making this Communist government unable, as it has proven in practice, and unwilling to accept the aims and perform the obligations of a member state under the U.N. Charter, and

Whereas—The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in 1951 at the Milan Congress utterly condemned the subjugation of the labor organizations by the totalitarian political power in the Communist Satellite countries of Eastern Europe, as in Red China, which suppression of the freedom and rights of labor itself makes the Chinese Communist government ineligible to membership in the United Nations, and

Whereas—The Chinese and North Korean Communist High Command violated the minimum humanity of the laws of war by mistreating, torturing, and even murdering prisoners of war, and

Whereas—The United Nations refused, after World War II, to have relations with the War Criminals of the Nazi-Fascist Axis except in trying them as such, and

Whereas—The Congress of the United States, by unanimous vote of both houses, has expressed its opposition to the admission of this Communist totalitarian alleged "Chinese People's Republic" to the United Nations, and

Whereas—The admission of another and additional aggressive slave state to the United Nations, to join those inevitably affiliated at its foundation before the revelation of the aggressive intent of the Communist powers, would disastrously undermine the support of the United Nations by American public opinion, required for continued usefulness of United States affiliation and United Nations organizational survival, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor assembled in its Seventy-Second Annual Convention unqualifiedly opposes the admission of the Communist totalitarian government of the so-called "Chinese People's Republic" into the United Nations, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor counts upon the government of the United States to continue to uphold the principles and maintain the Law of the United Nations by continuing to oppose such admission, and, be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor calls upon all the free labor organizations of the world of every nationality to aid American Labor in barring the entry of an avowedly totalitarian and proven aggressor state into the United Nations, in order to preserve the United Nations which was devised for and can survive only by serving its declared purpose of eradicating totalitarianism and its accursed product of aggressive war from the world.

(P. 668) We have given most careful consideration to this resolution expressing firm opposition to the admission of Communist China into the U.N. We heartily concur with it as fully in accord with A. F. of L. policy on this vital issue and recommend its adoption by the convention.

(1954, p. 601) The convention approved the recommendations of its Committee on International Labor

Relations containing the proposals concerning the United Nations as follows:

REVISION OF UNITED NATION'S CHARTER

We deplore the tendency in some diplomatic quarters to relegate the U.N. to the background as an institution for preserving peace and to bypass it as a channel through which important issues like Korea and Indo-China can be settled. It is most regrettable that some statesmen see in the U.N. only an instrument of the cold war. Moreover, international peace and human decency are undermined by the disdain for the Principles and Purposes of the United Nation's Charter manifested by the Moscow-Peiping aggressors in Korea and in the extent to which this calculated contempt has been taken right-heartedly in certain democratic countries.

As trade unionists who cherish freedom and democracy, we are especially disturbed by the decline of efforts to insure the protection of fundamental human rights so vigorously proclaimed as a goal of the U.N. when it was founded in 1945. International relationships and events have not developed as hoped for by the founders of the United Nations.

On the basis of nearly ten years of U.N. experience and, in line with Article 109 of the Charter which provides for its review in 1955, it should be amended with a view of enhancing the role of the United Nations as a force for enduring peace. In this spirit, we recommend that the convention endorse the following amendments to the U.N. Charter. We urge that these proposals be sent to the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee now studying the problems of U.N. Charter review and revision.

No. 1—Clarification of Qualification for U.N. Membership

Since the foundation of the U.N.

there have arisen a number of disputes as to the admission of new states into its membership and in regard to the eligibility of certain governments to be represented in the United Nations. Some countries entitled to membership in the U.N. have been unjustly denied membership. In other instances, frantic efforts have been made to smuggle into the U.N., governments which have no place in the world body dedicated to the preservation of peace and the promotion of human rights. These disputes have served to aggravate international tension. Toward removing this source of world friction through securing clarification to facilitate the admission of countries qualified and toward safeguarding the U.N. against the entrance of governments not entitled to admission, we propose that the U.N. Charter be so revised as to prohibit the admission into the United Nations of any regime which (a) has been imposed on a nation by a foreign power; (b) which exercises effective control of the country by denying its people the fundamental human rights specified in the U.N. Charter and (c) which is engaged in war or has been found guilty of aggression against the United Nations.

No. 2—For World Peace and Human Rights

The paramount purpose of the U.N., the maintenance of world peace, is today gravely threatened by the totalitarian powers. In order to be able to continue, without domestic popular restraint, their policies of aggression and offensive war preparations, these Communist dictatorships have been systematically robbing their own people of their democratic and human rights. Communist police terror and aggression against their own people **at home** are unmistakably bound up with Communist subversion and aggression, with the Soviet drive of conquest and enslavement against other people **abroad**.

In view of this organic connection between the threat to human rights and the threat to world peace, we propose that our government should seek to have the U.N. Charter revised so as to provide for the establishment of A Permanent Commission On the Preservation and Promotion of Human Rights. This commission shall be empowered to designate United Nations Human Rights Observation Committees charged with the same rights, powers and duties (investigations, surveillance, reports, etc.) in respect to the threat against and the need for the preservation of fundamental human rights which the present U.N. Peace Observation Commissions now have in regard to meeting and developing measures to thwart the threat against world peace.

No. 3—Promoting Security Through the Pacific Settlement of Disputes

The U.N. Charter should be so amended that the veto shall be abolished in respect to measures adopted for fostering a specific settlement of any particular issue in instances where these disputes between nations have not taken on the character of a military conflict.

In this connection, the Charter should be so amended that no veto could be cast against the carrying out of investigations by U.N. Commissions and their making recommendations for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

In line with the above proposal the U.N. Charter should be so amended as to incorporate the provisions of the Resolution on "Unity For Peace", adopted by the General Assembly in October 1950.

No. 4—U.N.-Supervised Plebiscites for Promoting and Protecting Peace

In view of the acute danger to world peace in various parts of the world as a result of steps taken after the

last war (arbitrary partition and multiple occupation of countries, etc.) and in view of the intense international civil war (cold war) now being waged on a global scale, it is most urgent that the U.N. improve its machinery and set up permanent means for relieving world tension emanating from areas under dispute and to settle such disputes through peaceful democratic processes. Toward this end, the Charter should be revised so that it should provide for the holding of U.N. supervised democratic plebiscites in such strife-torn areas in order to insure the constructive and just settlement of such vital issues with serious international implications — through the use of the ballots rather than through the bullets, through peaceful means and not through war.

No. 5—Abolish Discrimination Against Former Enemy Nations

Nearly ten years after the foundation of the U.N. it is no longer just or sound to continue the discriminatory clauses (against former enemy nations) inserted provisionally in Chapter XVII of the U.N. Charter. The Charter should be so amended as to strike out these provisions. We particularly urge that the U.N. Charter be so amended as to abolish the provision permitting the taking of measures against these countries without the authorization of the Security Council. In effect, this provision hurts the authority of the U.N. for it puts these countries at the mercy of the big powers, despite the existence of the United Nations.

No. 6—Permanent Commission on National Freedom

The present Charter of the U.N. declares that "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" and to prevent and remove "threats to peace" are basic aims of the United Nations Organization.

The U.N. experience to date with various efforts to aid the people of the economically underdeveloped countries to improve their living standards and with the efforts of the colonial peoples to achieve national freedom calls for Revision of the Charter: to provide for the establishment of a Permanent Commission on National Freedom which shall be charged with the task of mobilizing the moral and material resources of the U.N. for the purpose of aiding these peoples, their conditions of life and labor, achieve increasing self-government, and fix a definite time within which their aspirations to national freedom are to be fulfilled in a peaceful manner, in a way which shall not lead to developments that might be exploited by aggressors in the furtherance of their plans for world war and imperialist conquest.

This Commission shall be further charged with the task of reporting to the Security Council annually, or more frequently as the situation may require, about any threats to the maintenance of national freedom—especially threats to countries which have gained their national independence only recently—since such threats are a menace to the maintenance of world peace.

United Nations Economic and Social Council (also see: International)

(1948, pp. 83, 487) The Executive Council submitted a comprehensive report on the participation of A. F. of L. Consultants and their success in getting the A. F. of L. item on forced labor before the Agenda Committee of the Council despite the blocking tactics of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The following excerpt is taken from the E.C. Report, and is followed by official convention action on the report on UNESCO.

The most fruitful results of the work of the American Federation of

Labor consultants has come from the working out of an International Bill on Human Rights. We were the only non-governmental labor organization that took part in all stages of this work, from the drafting sub-commission through the working groups to the full Human Rights Commission.

The World Federation of Trade Unions took no part whatsoever in this struggle for human rights (which includes trade union rights), obviously avoiding any commitment in the East-West clash that was a constant occurrence in these commissions. The American Federation of Labor alone urged the inclusion in the draft of the demands of organized labor. Results of this contribution are many, especially in the Draft Declaration on Human Rights which came out from the last Commission meeting as a good document. The preamble, upon our instigation, reaffirms faith in the need for the "promotion of social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

We also fought successfully for the insertion of the prohibition of slavery and forced labor. Against the opposition of the U.S.S.R. and satellites, the Right of Asylum for Political Refugees, as well as Freedom of Movement (including the right to leave one's own country) were inserted. We also insisted on the inclusion of a special chapter on Economic and Social Rights in the Bill; among them are the right to social security, the right to form and join trade unions, the right to work for just and favorable conditions of work and pay.

It will require continued efforts before this Declaration, and still more, before the planned Convention on Human Rights, will become effective. Great emphasis will then have to be given to the implementation of the Bill.

The U.S.S.R. also opposed the endorsement by the Human Rights Com-

mission of the Draft Convention on Genocide, which makes the mass execution of racial or religious groups a crime, and includes the execution of men for reasons of their political beliefs.

The Conference on Freedom of Information and of the Press was prepared by Commission meetings in which the American Federation of Labor had a very active part. Much of this preparatory work was embodied in the three conventions adopted by the majority of Western Countries in that Conference.

Due to the American Federation of Labor initiative, the protection of migrant and immigrant labor was brought before the Council and referred to the International Labor Organization. An international convention may be prepared in the course of the year.

Pending this comprehensive convention, the Social Commission, upon the instigation of the American Federation of Labor, recommended that member governments be guided by the principle of equality of treatment as between native and foreign workers.

Another step taken by the Council was the setting up of the Economic Commission for Latin America. The American Federation of Labor's Latin American Representative participated in the preliminary work on this matter, and it may be expected that the American Federation of Labor, together with its Latin American friends, will enjoy a position of considerable prestige in the work of this body.

With the present tense world situation, and with foreign affairs determining many of our domestic issues, the American Federation of Labor's consultants have responsibility for representing free trade unions in world conferences. They will have

to raise the voice of democratic labor in the concert of nations.

(1948, p. 486) We note the recognition and approval of these endeavors in behalf of world labor and mankind. We draw to the attention of the convention the Council Report's emphasis on the fact that:

"... The most fruitful results of the work of the American Federation of Labor consultants has come from the working out of an International Bill of Human Rights. We were the only non-governmental labor organization that took part in all stages of this work, from the drafting sub-commission through the working group to the full Human Rights Commission."

"... With the present tense world situation and with foreign affairs determining many of our domestic issues, the American Federation of Labor's consultants have responsibility for representing free trade unions in world conferences. They will have to raise the voice of democratic labor in the concert of nations."

As a result of its varied and persistent activities, the A. F. of L. has won wide recognition inside and outside the U.N. for the merit of its measures as well as for the quality and continuity of its interest.

It is indispensable that the A. F. of L. consultants continue to make the voice of democratic labor heard in this world parliament of nations and to safeguard with undiminished energy the ideals and needs of unfettered trade unionism throughout the world.

The initiative and constructive contributions developed to date will have to be continued and expanded so that the promises of the Charter of the United Nations will be realized. By helping in the solution of the economic problems, our consultants have been really helping in the establishment

of a firm foundation for peace. Toward the ever more effective application of this course, we, therefore, propose the following:

(1) To strive for the extension of the Rights of Category A (non-government) organizations, in which the American Federation of Labor finds itself, so as to enable the A. F. of L. and similar organizations to participate in the work of the sub-committees of the Economic and Social Council.

(2) To urge the United States Government to do what other democratic governments have already done: to include labor advisers (representing the trade union movement in our country) in its official delegations to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

(3) To call upon our government for much more active support of the A. F. of L. demand for a thorough-going investigation of the growing danger of forced labor so as to put an end finally to the whole series of postponements of the consideration of this question in the Economic and Social Council.

(4) To foster the closest collaboration with the I.L.O. particularly in surveying and working out practical programs and meeting such issues as the protection of Health and Life of the Worker in Modern Industry.

Worker Representation Urged— (1949, p. 146) The American Federation of Labor has urged that United Nations agencies that have policy-making functions, should provide for representation for those groups directly concerned, and that national delegations in the General Assembly should represent functional citizen groups including Labor as well as the Government. Our representation in the Economic and Social Council should come from Industry, Agriculture, Finance (Labor as well as

Management) preferably direct, but at least as technical advisers. Only when these groups participate will international relations rest on practical standards which make acceptance of human rights, human freedom, and human welfare in the production of goods conditions for admission to world markets.

(P. 448) The convention committee report, unanimously adopted, contained the following:

We have thoroughly considered the Executive Council Report section dealing with the active participation and contributions of the A. F. of L. consultants to this highly important committee of the United Nations. We find that your consultants have been energetic and effective in carrying out the policies of the A. F. of L. for human rights, decent labor standards and world peace.

We note particularly the headway the A. F. of L. consultants have made in getting increasing attention to the pernicious menace of slave labor which is spreading eastward and westward from Communist Russia. It was the A. F. of L. that first placed the issue before the U.N. and which finally succeeded in putting a scorching spotlight on this cancerous core of International Communism and its imperialist Russian fatherland.

We recommend that our consultants continue their vigorous efforts to secure the unstinted assistance of all democratic nations in the U.N. for a vigorous struggle against forced labor as an expression of 20th century slavery. In this connection, we draw your attention to and urge the widest circulation of the book published by the Executive Council: "Slavery in Russia—The case presented by the American Federation of Labor before the UN." as a powerful indictment and an arsenal of weapons against the Communist plague.

Your committee recommends that

the convention strongly urge our government to drop its hesitation and finally, to come around as it did in the case of our resolution on slave labor, to support the A. F. of L. proposal before the U.N. to ban all fifth column activities by any member nation against another member nation. The tragedy now gripping China as a direct result of the Fifth column activities financed and organized on its territory by another member nation "Russia" should certainly convince even the most hesitant of democratic delegates to the U.N. of the urgency and soundness of our proposal.

In this regard we emphasize that our anti-Fifth column resolution, first presented to the U.N. about a year ago, is fully in accord with Article 22 of the Rights and Duties of the state which declares:

"Every state has the duty to refrain from fomenting civil strife in the territory of another state and the duty to prevent the organization within its territory of activities calculated to foment such strife."

Your committee also takes note of the fact that the scope of U.N. activities in the economic and social field is increasing. New assignments, like the problem of economic assistance to under-developed countries and economic survey mission to the Middle East have been given to the ASOSOC. We, therefore, recommend that our consultants be empowered to take the necessary steps through the appropriate U.N. channels to change the status of the ECOSOC from a commission meeting only twice a year to permanent body like the Trusteeship Council.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (also see: Teachers)—(1946, p. 183) The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in 1943 recommended support for an international organization to effect co-

operative work in education and other cultural pursuits in order to promote international understanding and good will. The peace of the world rests upon fulfillment of moral obligations among men and among nations. These obligations must be inherent in the cultural pattern of each nation and all nations together must seek to attain this high moral goal. For this purpose U.N.E.S.C.O. was conceived.

The A. F. of L. was the first large national organization to urge such an agency. The charter was drafted in London, November, 1945. Congress this year considered legislation to authorize participation in the U.N.E.S.C.O.

While strongly endorsing the principle of the charter of organization, the American Federation of Labor did not favor the proposals contained in the Enabling Act through which United States participation in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization was to be authorized.

The Enabling Act proposed provided that the Department of State should select the persons to serve on the National Commission which was authorized in the Charter to represent the educational, scientific and cultural organizations of this country. The Federation demanded that the voluntary organizations of this country should have the right to select their own spokesmen rather than delegate that right to the State Department. In spite of active opposition from the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State, the American Federation of Labor won its point. The Bill as it passed Congress provides that national voluntary organizations have the right to select their own spokesmen to represent them on the National Commission.

The enactment of the Charter itself and the modification in the Enabling Act are a victory for democratic principles.

(P. 616) While the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is in accord with the 1943 declarations of the American Federation of Labor, the enabling legislation proposed an unsound practice in connection with representation—namely, that the State Department and not the agency represented should select the representative. We succeeded in securing an amendment allowing voluntary organizations to choose their spokesmen.

(P. 622)—In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, your Committee calls specific attention to the recent action, September 25th, 1946, of the National Commission on International Education, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation in directly recommending to the American Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference the scrapping of those provisions in our copyright law which protect the job opportunities of some 75,000 American Federation of Labor printing trades workers, without any consultation with or notice to the representatives of those trade unions, is to be deplored.

We recommend that this convention formally advise the U.N.E.S.C.O. that we bitterly protest such recommendation, and renew our demand that these provisions of the Copyright Act, so essential to safeguarding the work opportunities of the Printing Trades Workers, remain intact.

Further, the action of the U.N.E.S.C.O. in by-passing the President of the United States, the officials of the Department of State, and the Congress of the United States, and its ignoring of those trade unions vitally affected by its activities, warrants this convention on insisting that henceforth, if U.N.E.S.C.O. values the support of the A. F. of L., on any contemplated action affecting the interests of the workers, that the representatives of such workers be consulted before definite action is taken.

(1947, p. 563)—The following committee report was unanimously approved by the convention:

Your committee notes the continuing interest in U.N.E.S.C.O. We recognize the tremendous importance of having a full appreciation of the work of U.N.E.S.C.O. developed throughout the country. We urge that the Workers Education Bureau in cooperation with the International Relations Committee of the A. F. of L. engage in a program through which to give to every trade unionist a thorough knowledge of the organization and its program.

Your committee would, however, submit that even though we must continue to support the project and the ideal back of it that we should carefully evaluate the method by which the program is to be administered and that we should call upon the Department of State to scrutinize with the greatest possible care the personnel employed to carry out the program. Your committee would call attention to the fact that the ranking officials in the Division of Information and Culture of the Department of State were severely criticized publicly on the floor of Congress and specific charges were made which, if true, would disqualify these persons from functioning in this work. Such charges undermine public confidence in this work unless refuted.

(1948, p. 97)—In reporting on U.N.E.S.C.O. the Executive Council expressed disappointment in the Organization work up to that time. The report stated in part:

When the first General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization was held in Paris in December 1946, great hope was held out to the peoples of the world that there would be provided through this international agency a means whereby, through their common interests in the non-

political areas of education, science, and culture, they could be brought together in mutual understanding to help build the defenses of world peace. This hope is still alive among the people, but it must be frankly stated that it has been somewhat dimmed not only by the unhappy events that have taken place since that time, but by the administrative failures of the U.N.E.S.C.O. itself, and by the infiltration of political purposes in the conduct of its program. . . .

The possibilities of future usefulness of U.N.E.S.C.O. will largely be determined at the third General Conference scheduled for Beirut this fall. There must be a change in the leadership of the organization if it is to avoid becoming a tool of the foes of democracy in the world-wide struggle in which we are engaged. We are informed that steps have been taken to avoid the United States delegation being left in the hapless plight in which its members found themselves when the present Director-General was chosen. We deplore the fact, however, that at this important conference the American Federation of Labor will not be represented on the delegation of the United States and we support President Green wholeheartedly in the protestations he has made to the Department of State with respect to this failure. We feel that it is more than a failure to recognize the interests that our unions have in this field: it represents a failure on the part of the State Department to recognize the nature of the issues that will confront the United States delegation in Beirut.

(P. 448) The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has now completed two years of existence as a full-fledged member of the family of specialized agencies within the United Nations. The worthy purposes of this organization which are to build in the minds of men the defenses of

lasting peace through cooperation and mutual endeavor of men through their common interests in the non-political areas of education, science and culture continue to receive the wholehearted endorsement and support of the American Federation of Labor. In the light of the two fateful years in which the program and organization of this agency have developed there now emerge more clearly than ever certain requirements that must be met if these lofty aims are to be fulfilled.

Foremost among these is the undeniable fact that there can be no free intercourse between those nations devoted to preserving the freedom of education, the free development of science and the unhampered expression of their peoples' creative instincts in cultural pursuits and those nations whose educational systems, scientific endeavors and cultural expressions are looked upon as instrumentalities of an all-powerful State to enslave and regiment the minds of men and to mold to their purposes the character of their youth. We call upon those in the Department of State responsible for the formulation of our government's policy in the councils of this international agency to develop a realistic and firm policy in this regard. Such a policy must be explicit in its requirements in connection with the development of program and selection of personnel for this organization.

The program of UNESCO must be devised with a view to more direct participation by the common people. For example, we support the program of international exchange of university professors and students but we urge that the program be enlarged to provide also for exchange of workers union representatives and students and teachers in workers education and vocational training.

The belated decision of the State Department to provide for representation from the A. F. of L. in the

U.S. Delegation to the Third General Conference of UNESCO will help in meeting these objectives. . . .

Your Committee notes the continuing public interest in the program of UNESCO here and abroad. The organization and work of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO is particularly to be commended as it provides for direct representation of voluntary organizations of people devoted to the aims of peace. We call upon the officials of State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies and of our affiliated national and international unions to cooperate fully with the National Commission in its efforts to bring to the people of our country a positive program and the means of expressing to peoples of other nations our desire to maintain world peace.

We urge the Workers Education Bureau to continue its program in cooperation with the International Relations Committee of the American Federation of Labor to acquaint the members of our affiliated unions with the purposes and program of UNESCO.

(1949, p 152)—The conclusion of the report of the E.C. to the convention on this subject contained the following: "While there remains much to be done to make the UNESCO program meaningful to the working people of this and other nations we are pleased to report that the last year has indicated progress in this direction. We urge the active support for the program and participation in it on the part of all our affiliated unions having an interest in educational, scientific and cultural matters."

(P. 449) The convention unanimously approved the report of its committee which contained the following proposals and recommendations:

... Your Committee recommends approval of this policy. We are glad to report that this policy has, in the past

year, been translated into deeds—through active practical participation by our representatives.

The new leadership provided UNESCO in the election of the Director-General, gives it the vision and courage required for its positive role in advancing social reconstruction. This is especially encouraging because of the multiplying attempts of totalitarian Communism and other brands of reaction to enslave the minds as well as the bodies of man. On the basis of the life-long philosophy and practice of the Director-General, we are confident that UNESCO will henceforth be increasingly effective in the fulfillment of its great mission.

Your Committee notes that a Labor Secretariat has been created in UNESCO. We propose that the American Federation of Labor representative to this body secure full clarification of the relations between this Secretariat and other UN agencies—particularly the ILO.

The Executive Council reports that the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO has conducted special labor conferences but no special sessions for agriculture, the consumers, industry, or other social groups. We are not clear as to the why and wherefore of this course, especially since there are only three trade union representatives on a commission of 100. Your Committee calls for greater labor representation on this commission in order to insure an adequate voice for the working people in the formulation of UNESCO policies.

Your Committee notes with interest that the State Department has agreed to have the A. F. of L. designate its own representatives to the Paris Conference of UNESCO. This is in line with our insistence from the very foundation of the UNESCO Commission. We strongly urge that our affiliate, the American Federation of Teachers, as the biggest voluntary,

national organization of teachers in the United States, be given much more adequate recognition. Your Committee cannot emphasize too strongly that the effective implementation of the ideals of UNESCO demands a far greater realization of the vital importance of our public schools.

Your Committee also requests that the A. F. of L. seek a clearly defined statement of the specific items of the program of UNESCO and the U.S. National Commission on UNESCO.

In reaffirming our deep interest in promoting the purpose of UNESCO, your Committee recommends that the Executive Council be empowered to take the necessary steps to secure the support of the State Department for the proposals herein indicated.

(1950, p. 120)—There is now evidence that this agency of the United Nations is coming to accept the hard facts of a divided world. UNESCO was organized to implement the ideal utilization of the forces of education, science and culture to bring together the peoples of the world in common understanding and thus make world peace secure. Its leaders and those who represent the member nations in its policy-making General Conference are reluctantly coming to accept the fact that in the present world these very forces which could provide the foundations of a lasting peace are being harnessed to instruments of ideological warfare. Totalitarian forces are using the agencies and facilities of education, science and culture not to build the peace but to carry on their aims of world-wide aggression.

Any unwillingness on the part of the representatives of the member nations to accept these stern realities was in large degree overcome by the actions of the member nations from the other side of the Iron Curtain at the Fifth General Conference of UNESCO held in Florence, Italy, during May and June, 1950. Poland failed

to send a delegation. The delegations of Czechoslovakia and Hungary left the Conference when Nationalist China representatives were seated in an early session over their protest. Yugoslavia alone abstained on the resolution approved by the 59 members, expressing their conviction that the 1951 program constitutes a "more direct and important contribution to the cause of peace than the programs of previous years."

The program adopted at the General Conference in Florence reflects the growing conviction that the approaches to the minds of men made through education, science, and culture must not be surrendered to the totalitarian forces. These approaches must be used not only to bind together those nations which still believe in freedom of the mind and freedom of the arts but also to equip the peoples of those nations better to meet the obligations required of citizens in democratic governments.

The following 10-point program as finally approved by the Conference at Florence was proposed by the U. S. Delegation.

1. To eliminate illiteracy and encourage fundamental education.
2. To obtain for each person an education conforming to his aptitudes and to the needs of society, including technological training and higher education.
3. To advance human rights throughout all nations.
4. To remove the obstacles to the free flow of persons, ideas and knowledge among the countries of the world.
5. To promote the progress and applications of science for all mankind.
6. To remove the causes of tensions that may lead to wars.
7. To demonstrate world cultural interdependence.
8. To advance through the press,

radio and motion pictures the causes of truth, freedom and peace.

9. To bring about better understanding among the peoples of the world and to convince them of the necessity of cooperating loyally with one another in the framework of the United Nations.

10. To render clearing house and exchange services, in all its fields of action, together with services in reconstruction and relief assistance.

The American Federation of Labor finds this program consistent with its objectives in the field of international cooperation. The implementation of each one of the points adopted needs to be worked out carefully in order to maintain consistency between the declared aims and the actual program.

The 10-point program is a most ambitious one to be undertaken within the limited means of UNESCO. The most this organization can hope to do is to stimulate activity within the member nations to carry it out.

There was one action taken by the 1950 General Conference which should not have been taken at least until such time as its possible effects upon labor standards relating to production of the items in question had been given more careful study. This was the approval of an international agreement which would remove customs duties on books, scientific research instruments, music, works of art and similar materials. The decision to put this item on the agenda of the General Conference was made at such late date that proper consultation with representatives of the industries and the trade unions which might be affected was not possible.

When first notified of the decision, the A. F. of L. stated its objection to the action being taken at this session of the General Conference. It may well be that no adverse effect on labor standards in these fields will result but it is our opinion that the action

should not have been taken until this was determined to be the case.

We note with approval that provision has been made within the Secretariat for a more active representation of the interests of trade unions. A program for the exchange of persons also makes provision for participation on the part of wage earners in the member nations.

(P. 505)—In reiterating our keen interest in the work of UNESCO we stress the urgency for the improvement of its functioning.

We cannot emphasize too strongly that in order to secure the full and effective participation and cooperation of vital forces like organized labor, it is imperative that we be adequately apprised in advance of all conference agenda. Moreover to lend life to the primary aim of the commission, it is most urgent that it serve as a powerful means of enlightening the people of the world about the basic aims, aspirations, and actions of the UN. A splendid opportunity is at hand for UNESCO in the present world crisis aggravated by Soviet imperialist aggression against the Republic of Korea and the UN to counteract the misrepresentation of the position and policies of the UN in this conflict.

In the Far East it is especially urgent for the UNESCO to bring to the peoples of Asia a true and full understanding on the historic role of the UN in rallying freedom-loving mankind against aggression and war.

In the competent and timely discharge of such vital functions the UNESCO can render invaluable service to the enhancement of world understanding, cultural cooperation, unity and peace.

(1951, p. 85)—As indicated in our report of a year past, UNESCO was organized to implement the forces of education, science and culture, and bring into common understanding the peoples of the world in the hope of

making for world peace. It was designed primarily to further the conviction that in the present world the forces that can provide the foundations of a lasting peace are being harnessed to instruments of ideological warfare. It is most unfortunate that totalitarian forces are using the agencies and facilities of education, science and culture to further their aim of world-wide aggression and domination and not to advance the principles and benefits of peace.

We find ourselves in complete accord with these objectives of UNESCO and the measures of implementation adopted and designed to carry out these declared aims and objectives.

We, however, direct attention to the fact that in the 1950 General Conference an action was taken contrary to the principles and ideals of the structure and founding of UNESCO and which, if carried to success, would have infringed upon the right of our government to deal with problems of custom duties on books, scientific research instruments, music, works of art and similar objects as they affect our economic, industrial and social well-being. Protest was made on behalf of the printing trades to the Department of State to this proposal on the grounds that this method of dealing with matters of tariff and copyright legislation by removing printed matter from the limitations imposed by our laws was a circumvention of our constitutional processes and that the agreement involving these questions had been drawn up without proper hearings and consultations and quite out of the purview assigned to UNESCO.

As a consequence, the State Department until now has withheld submission of the agreement to the Senate, but the subject is still under consideration. It is to be hoped that the State Department, as well as UN-

ESCO will fully observe the original intent and purpose of the founding of UNESCO and thus preserve an organization of the U.N. well designed to render an invaluable service in the cold war now in progress throughout the world for the control of the minds of peoples everywhere.

In these undertakings we will want to render every possible service, but will be equally watchful that no measures are adopted that may infringe upon our constitutional safeguards and economic well-being.

(P. 470)—Never before in world history was there greater need for better understanding and closer cooperation among free nations and the peoples of the world. UNESCO has already rendered great service, even with its limited facilities, in furthering better international understanding.

The programs of UNESCO, intended to lessen tension, are of primary importance at this time when Communist propaganda is used to increase such tensions and destroy the faith that free nations have in one another.

In the field of Fundamental Education also, UNESCO is pioneering with significantly splendid results. This work merits the encouragement of our people and our nation.

Your committee would, however, again recommend that the programs of each of the Special Agencies of UN be more exactly defined in principle and scope and in practice; especially so when, for example, both UNESCO and the I.L.O. are working in the same field.

Your committee would also further point to the questions raised in the Executive Council's Report in regard to the Florence Agreement of 1950. The Department of State has now formally notified us that this agreement dealing with the importation of audio-visual education, scientific and cultural materials "has no implica-

tions with reference to the manufacturing clause of the Copyright Act or any other copyright provisions or copyright relations between the governments which become parties to the agreement. It covers only a small highly restricted list of audio-visual materials, principally educational films." The Department, however, then frankly and honestly states: "The Florence Agreement, on the other hand, must remove customs duties from broad categories of educational materials, including books."

Referring to our position, the Department forthrightly states, "There has been some apprehension in the A. F. of L., particularly among the allied printing trades, that if this agreement were to come into force, and if the Manufacturing Clause of the Copyright Act were removed, there would be no protection against importation of foreign made books."

Presenting the many aspects of this highly complex problem, the Department frankly states its official position in support of repeal of the "Manufacturing Clause" in regard to the importation of printed matter, and frankly explains the reason for its position.

However, we are very happy to report that in a splendid spirit of co-operation the Department has officially informed our recognized spokesmen that "Pending full study of the implications of the Agreement, the Department has neither signed nor submitted this Agreement for ratification."

Your committee recommends that this convention commend the proper leaders in the Department for their desire to give full study to this complicated question; and further recommends that a special qualified committee be appointed which would confer with the proper leaders in the Department of State, on this subject, and seek to evolve a program which

would best protect the interests of our members in the printing trades, and at the same time help further the high ideals and purposes of UNESCO to which we pledge our hearty support; and that pending the outcome of such conference we call upon the Department of State to take no further action on the pending proposals of interest to the workers in the printing trades.

(1952, p. 148) The Executive Council in its annual report included a section on the activities during the preceding year of UNESCO. The following excerpts were included:

Since UNESCO was established, we have actively supported its ideals and objectives. We have cooperated heartily to help implement the programs through which the achievements of all peoples in education, science and culture might be utilized to further peace and good will among all men and all nations.

However, we have not always found it possible to accept the methods which have been used for implementing the objectives of UNESCO to which we subscribe. . . .

We have watched with great interest the development of the Fundamental Education Program. Through this program we hope there will come to countries, not yet enjoying modern development, an appreciation of the use to which knowledge may be put to enrich the lives of all the people. However, this knowledge, which would probably affect greatly the lives of these people, must in itself be an expression of each people's traditional cultural pattern.

We believe that fundamental education must be education and training for a way of life—a way which recognizes spiritual, moral and aesthetic values as well as the more material gains which such training may produce. . . .

We are in hearty accord with the efforts of UNESCO to assist every nation desiring assistance in establishing and extending free public education. However, we insist that at no time should any pattern of formal education be implanted on a nation or imposed on its people—each nation must itself be free to determine its own methods of furthering the education of its people in keeping with its own social objectives. . . .

We recommend continued and active support of UNESCO and full participation in the UNESCO activities which would further its objectives.

(P. 548) We further propose that American participation in UNESCO be directed toward having it function much more dynamically and consistently in propagating and promoting the ideas of the U.N. charter. Such UNESCO educational work should be stepped up regardless of any opposition it may incur on the part of U.N. member governments that are totalitarian in character.

In further comment on the proposed treaty affecting copyright provisions, we would emphasize a fundamental principle of the A. F. of L. that no group of workers should profit at the expense of any other group. Hence while we shall continue to protect the copyright of all creative workers in the liberal and the fine arts we shall also protect the production rights of the workers in the graphic arts.

Further, while we shall insist on protection of the basic right of the free flow of ideas from land to land, we shall not accept the destruction of labor production standards in our country by allowing goods produced by cheap labor to be imported into our country and thereby destroy the worker standards of our printing trades. The free flow of ideas is not synonymous with the free competition of goods produced by cheap labor and

by labor living under American standards.

We shall support a copyright treaty only if and when such treaty does not include a provision for destroying American wage standards.

(1953, p. 319) The programs of UNESCO which interest us are the Workers Education Programs, noted elsewhere in this report; the significant work of the educational missions to countries having less developed educational systems; and the establishing of the first public library in India. These programs are educationally and socially sound and should help in the development of appreciation for democratic ideals and practices.

Apart from any just criticism, there have been ill-informed, as well as malicious, attacks on personnel and on materials involved in these programs. We believe that while a careful and critical evaluation of both personnel and material is essential to the purpose and life of the program, the method used in making such an evaluation should in itself be sound.

Education is the key to the human mind. It must not fall into the hands of those who would use the much needed educational aids to subvert loyalties and distort facts. Personnel connected with UNESCO projects must be selected with utmost care. We urge most careful clearance for all persons in any way connected with UNESCO work in our government and also for all those serving on the the UNESCO Commission and on any panel or committee established by UNESCO.

(P. 542) . . . the Executive Council discusses the work of UNESCO and states that many of the attacks on UNESCO have been malicious and based on false information. The Council recommends, however, that UNESCO personnel should be care-

fully screened and selected with utmost care.

The attention of the Committee was called to the fact that the American Federation of Labor was one of the first groups in the United States to advocate some kind of international educational organization. The A. F. of L. was the first organization to recommend that such a program of international education include a program of adult education and workers education. UNESCO, although not a perfect organization, is the only existing international educational program which carries out, at least in part, the recommendations of the A. F. of L. in this field of education.

(1954, p. 327) We reaffirm our support of the ideals of UNESCO. We must, however, also again call attention to the need for changing the machinery of the United States National Commission on UNESCO and certain administrative practices of the commission. At present, the Executive Committee appoints the Nominating Committee which in turn nominates the Executive Committee. Labor must fight this undemocratic procedure and if necessary have the statute creating the UNESCO National Commission amended to modify such practices as the one referred to above. Other similar deviations from democratic procedure and even departures from the law itself which have seriously injured the operation of the program should, in the interest of the program, be discontinued.

(P. 562) The convention committee submitted recommendations on this subject which were unanimously approved as follows:

Your committee would emphasize the importance of these sections of the Executive Council's Report, recommending continued support and urging improved administration of programs, relating to international ed-

ucational activities, through UNESCO and other governmental agencies. It calls particular attention to the Executive Council's recommendation that labor representatives on boards directing the policy of international exchange programs should be increased. It would urge that all affiliates actively concern themselves with programs involving the interchange of students and workers for travel, study, and work experience in this country and abroad on both a short and long term basis.

We would also urge that all affiliates place particular stress on an increased understanding of the history, purposes and programs of the ILO and ICFTU and our relations as trade unionists to them.

U.S. Steel Corporation and National Erectors' Association—(1928, p. 293)

The anti-union attitude of the U.S. Steel Corporation and the National Erectors' Association is well known. The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, whose members are engaged in the work of handling and erecting structural iron and steel, are constantly subjected to the unfair tactics of these two powerful antagonists. Not only are efforts constantly being made to destroy the union by seeking to prevent the members from obtaining employment unless they surrender their memberships, but contractors employing union men are frequently hampered in securing the necessary materials and supplies. In other words, the union and contractors which employ the members of the union, are frequently subjected to a boycott by firms which loudly proclaim that they are against all boycotts. Every effort should be made to make this fact known to the public.

The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers is entitled to and should receive the

earnest and wholehearted support of the entire trade union movement in its efforts to expose the nefarious practices which are now prevalent in the industry. The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers is also entitled to and should receive the hearty support of all trade unionists in the effort which that organization is making to extend union conditions throughout the industry. The great and powerful steel corporation gives its support to the National Erectors' Association in the fight against the International Assn. of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and that organization therefore must be aided and encouraged by the affiliated national and international unions of every craft in order that it may survive and make progress against the onslaught of its enemies, who are also the enemies of all other trade unionists.

Included among the unfair tactics used against the union are not only the practices of attempting to prevent its members from obtaining employment, and preventing union employers from obtaining contracts and materials, but injunctions and other means of litigation are resorted to in order to harass the union and its members. It is a matter in which all unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., and, indeed, all liberty loving citizens must be vitally interested. The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers will continue to remain firm in its stand for justice and a square deal to all concerned.

Unity (Labor) (C.I.O.) (also see: United Mine Workers)—(1939, p. 75) A detailed report of all efforts which had been made to bring about a settlement of the conflict in the ranks of organized labor in the United States through the formation and functioning of the C.I.O., was submitted to the convention. The E.C. report included all official correspond-

ence which had passed between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.; official statements issued by the C.I.O.; correspondence which passed between the President of the United States and the chairman of the C.I.O. In an attempt to set up an effective peace committee to iron out differences between the two labor federations; the proposal which was submitted by the head of the C.I.O. as a condition under which his group would agree to a peaceful adjustment of the differences; the statement issued by the Peace Committee of the A. F. of L., and other important policy-making statements, etc. Attempts at unity with the C.I.O. were preemptorily ended by the chairman of the C.I.O., excerpts from which follow:

The Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations held its regular bi-annual Board Meeting in Washington, D. C., June 13, 1939. At this meeting reports were had from the various affiliated national and international unions of the C.I.O. and its executive officers on the state of our union.

Among the many problems discussed at length was the question of unity and it has been clearly demonstrated that peace with the A. F. of L. is impossible, except upon their terms and conditions. This would mean the stripping of many of our new unions and the abandonment of organizing the unorganized in industrial unions. This, the C.I.O. will not do. We must go forward! We must expand our movement! By doing so, we will build an instrumentality that will be most effective in guaranteeing peace in the labor movement.

The following statement was prepared in answer to the challenge of the chairman of the C.I.O.:

"The statement issued by Mr. Lewis, ostensibly in the name of the executive board of the C.I.O., blasting

all hope of peace and unity in the labor movement, came as a shock to all who had hoped that the negotiations initiated by President Roosevelt would lead to a positive conclusion.

"Mr. Lewis's statement, marking an abrupt termination of the negotiations, was discourteous to the President in that the Chief Executive had requested the representatives of both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. under no circumstances to terminate negotiations without first consulting with him. Mr. Lewis's action is, however, in keeping with his conduct in this situation on previous occasions.

"Negotiations between our committees had not collapsed. At the request of President Lewis, addressed to me during his recent bituminous negotiations, when he was pressed for time in the emergency then confronting the United Mine Workers, it was unanimously agreed to recess our negotiations until such time as Mr. Lewis was ready to resume the discussion. We had every reason to believe that the negotiations would be resumed. Mr. Lewis has now seen fit to terminate them without cause.

"This is the second time he has deliberately wrecked efforts to restore peace in the family of Labor. The first occasion was in December, 1937, when committees representing the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. had reached a unanimous agreement, which was vetoed at the last moment by Mr. Lewis. At that time, too, efforts were made to becloud the issue and misrepresent the agreement that had been reached. Nevertheless, subsequent events had demonstrated that an agreement had actually been reached.

"Mr. Lewis now repeats his performance of December, 1937. In blasting the present negotiations he has swept aside the issues upon which the C.I.O. has supposedly been waging its battle with the A. F. of L. and

reveals that these issues were widely fictitious.

"Concealing the very substantial concessions made by our committees on questions of jurisdiction and so-called craft versus industrial unionism, and other problems raised during the discussions of the past three years and more, Mr. Lewis now falls back upon statements that have no basis in fact and upon irrelevancies.

"He seeks again to sow confusion by attacking the leaders of the A. F. of L. who enjoy the confidence of the millions of its members.

"As to who is pursuing a rule-or-ruin policy, is only too clear from Mr. Lewis' conduct. Mr. Lewis now says that it is to be a 'fight to a finish.' This certainly will be a grievous disappointment to the millions of workers in both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. who have been hoping and praying for peace. It will certainly be a disappointment to the general public of progressive and socially minded citizens.

"Mr. Lewis now says that peace is 'secondary' to him, that the primary purpose of the C.I.O. is the organization of the unorganized and the building of what he terms a progressive labor movement. Without arguing about the definition of 'progressive,' it may be asked how the interests of the labor movement can possibly be conserved and promoted without peace and unity.

"Peace and unity in the labor movement remains the issue. The workers in the American Federation of Labor will now see more clearly than ever who has made attainment of this objective impossible. The workers in the C.I.O. will now, likewise, perceive the truth, and unable to obtain peace and unity through the C.I.O., will turn to the American Federation of Labor, under whose roof they will find what they want."

The Executive Council report on this subject concluded with the following:

Thus, the Executive Council submits in chronological order the developments which took place in the relationship of the American Federation of Labor to the dual, rebel C.I.O. movement, and in all the efforts which have been put forth to conclude a peace with the C.I.O. which would provide for a return of the C.I.O. organizations to the American Federation of Labor. The facts set forth in this report are supported by the records which have been made. We must leave to the honest, sincere and calm determination of the membership of the American Federation of Labor and of working men and women of the nation, the question as to who is responsible for the origination of the division within the ranks of Labor and for its continuation in a most aggravated and destructive form.

Our committee still stands, clothed with authority to function, ready to resume negotiations when it is accorded an opportunity to do so. We have opened the door of the American Federation of Labor wide and completely. We have invited those who left the American Federation of Labor to return; we have urged them to come back home and settle differences within the family of Labor in a sensible, honest and fair way. In doing this we have been inspired by a genuine desire to establish here in America a solid, united, labor movement through which the economic, social and industrial interests of the workers of the nation can be fully and completely served.

(P. 401) The Committee on Resolutions, which considered the subject of unity proposals between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. as related in the E.C. Report, made the following report to the convention, and received unanimous approval thereof:

Your committee has had before it for consideration the letter addressed to this convention by the President of the United States, in which he urged the American Federation of Labor to again meet with representatives of the C.I.O. for the purpose of endeavoring to bring unity in the American trade union movement.

We also have the reply made to that communication by the President of the American Federation of Labor.

It was impossible for your committee to consider these two important communications without keeping in mind the detailed and historic record covering the efforts of the American Federation of Labor from the beginning to bring unity into effect.

The record presented to this convention by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is exhaustive. It is a record of the facts, a record which indicates that from the time the C.I.O. was organized, continuous efforts were made by the American Federation of Labor to heal the breach.

The record indicates that before the President of the United States took official notice of the breach, a conference was held between duly appointed representatives of both organizations, and that the conference referred to was able to reach an agreement as to the principles involved in establishing unity, and the methods by which those principles would be applied.

The record further indicates that after the representatives of the C.I.O. had agreed on these principles and methods, that they were vetoed by the chairman of the C.I.O., his action, in substance, being a repudiation of what his own representatives had agreed to.

The President of the United States appealed to the Houston Convention last year to take immediate steps to heal the breach which existed, a similar communication being sent to the representatives of the C.I.O.

The convention by a unanimous vote complied with the President's request.

Although the American Federation of Labor placed itself publicly on record as favoring a conference with the representatives of the C.I.O., the response from that organization was the immediate calling of a conference in Pittsburgh, Pa., for the purpose of setting up a permanent established C.I.O. movement.

On February 23, 1939, the President of the United States addressed a letter to the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Chairman of the C.I.O., calling attention to the necessity for unity in the American trade union movement, and urging that peace conferences between the two organizations be resumed.

As a result duly appointed representatives of both organizations did meet, their conferences adjourning so that the Chairman of the C.I.O. could give his attention to negotiations between the United Mine Workers of America and the coal operators.

Conferences were postponed upon the request of the Chairman of the C.I.O., and with the definite understanding that they would be resumed, and that he would notify the representatives of the A. F. of L. immediately it would become possible for him to take part.

Although the committee of the A. F. of L. has held itself in readiness, it has failed to receive any further information as to when the conferences would take place.

On the other hand, public announcement was made in the interim by the Chairman of the C.I.O. that peace as such was secondary to the objectives of that organization.

Shortly after, in a communication addressed to officials of the C.I.O., reporting on the meeting of its Executive Board, he wrote:

Among many problems discussed at length was the question of unity, and it has been clearly demonstrated that peace within the A. F. of L. is impossible except upon their terms and conditions. This would mean the stripping of many of our new unions and the abandonment of organizing the unorganized in industrial unions. This the C.I.O. will not do.

This communication was shortly followed by another public statement announcing the determination of the C.I.O. to invade the jurisdiction of the building trades, thus clearly indicating that instead of considering peace negotiations, the C.I.O. was arbitrarily preparing for an intensified campaign of antagonism.

In full appreciation of the President's efforts to be helpful in bringing unity within the American trade union movement, and appreciative of the efforts which he has made, we submit that the record from the time the C.I.O. was organized contains continuous efforts on the part of the American Federation of Labor to make unity a fact, that all of these efforts have been thwarted by the Chairman of the C.I.O.

We recognize that under the unhappy condition created by the division in the ranks of Labor, it was appropriate that the President of the United States should address a similar appeal to both organizations.

Your committee calls attention to the fact that further appeals would be more fittingly directed to the C.I.O., for from the inception of the C.I.O. the American Federation of Labor has been ready and most willing to confer with representatives of the C.I.O. so that unity could be established, and your committee is of the conviction that this will continue to be the policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee read with approval President Green's reply to the Presi-

dent of the United States, and recommends that this communication receive the approval of the convention.

(P. 409) Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, C.I.O. and Peace Negotiations, your committee approves of the thoroughgoing, carefully prepared statement of our relations with the C.I.O. and of the continuous efforts of the Executive Council to reestablish unity.

Your committee, realizing the widespread misinformation which exists relative to the actions of the American Federation of Labor, and the necessity that our own membership, that of other labor organizations, and the public as well, should be given a complete record, recommend that the Executive Council have prepared in pamphlet form a history of the position taken by the American Federation of Labor from the time when the C.I.O. was first conceived and organized.

Your committee expresses its confidence in the membership of the committee appointed by President Green to continue negotiations with representatives of the C.I.O.

Your committee furthermore recommends that the present committee of the American Federation of Labor be continued, and that it hold itself in readiness to meet with representatives of the C.I.O. whenever that organization will indicate a willingness to resume conferences.

Your committee, feeling that the Executive Council has prepared a most important document in its report, recommends the adoption of the report by this convention.

(1940, pp. 312, 314) In a letter addressed to the 1940 Convention, President Roosevelt requested full support of Labor in government's defense program, and very frankly called for a united labor movement. In a telegram sent in reply, the full support of the A. F. of L. was pledged in the de-

fense effort. Responding to the part of the President's message dealing with a united labor movement, the following statement was made:

"We deeply appreciate the suggestion you make that 'an unselfish, a far-sighted and a patriotic effort be made to bring about a just and honorable peace with the now divided labor movement.' Fortunately we can officially make answer to your suggestion in a most definite and sincere way. The Executive Council included in its report to the 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor the following recommendation: 'The Executive Council fully understands the need of unity and solidarity within the ranks of Labor. It entertains a full and deep appreciation, as well as a complete understanding of the value of united action and of the mobilization of the full strength, power and influence of the workers of the nation into one united American labor movement. The Executive Council is firmly of the opinion that Labor in America can be solidified and united through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. In order to accomplish this purpose and realize this objective, the Executive Council reports to the 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it has endeavored to reestablish unity within the labor movement through conferences with representatives of the C.I.O. and has endeavored to bring about a settlement of existing differences during the past year. The committee representing the American Federation of Labor stands ready and willing to meet with a committee representing the C.I.O. for the purpose of negotiating a settlement, anywhere, any time, any place.'

"Your suggestion, therefore, that when men of honor and good intentions sit down together they can work out a solution which will restore the

much needed harmony either by unity or by a sensible working arrangement is coincidental with this recommendation of the Executive Council to the convention now in session.

"I am confident the convention will concur in the recommendations of the Executive Council by officially authorizing the committee representing the American Federation of Labor to meet with a committee representing the C.I.O. around the conference table for the purpose of negotiating an honorable peace and the reestablishment of unity and solidarity within the ranks of Labor.

"I repeat, Mr. President, that these assurances will be carried out in good faith and with all sincerity whenever opportunity for the American Federation of Labor to do so presents itself."

(Pp. 11, 59-63, 554) Need for united labor movement reflected in keynote address of President of A. F. of L., which said in part:

"Now I want to discuss another question in which we are deeply interested. I refer to the necessity for unity and solidarity within the ranks of Labor. All of us deeply appreciate its value and its importance. We know that if we have one asset that is more valuable than another it is unity and solidarity within the ranks of Labor. We are not responsible for the division that was created. We disavow responsibility for it, because we maintain that any differences over policy or administration arising within the ranks of Labor can be settled at a convention of the American Federation of Labor by a majority vote, and we maintain that when the majority registers its will after mature deliberations upon any question presented, it becomes the duty and the obligation of every member who participates in the convention to abide by the will of the majority. That is the

democratic principle upon which we stand."

A. F. of L. accepted invitation of President of U.S. to confer with C.I.O. committee in effort to iron out differences. Invitation was not accepted by C.I.O. and President of A. F. of L. reported to 1940 Convention of failure of Presidential efforts as follows:

"We have tried, my friends, to heal the breach within the ranks of Labor ever since the rebel, rival movement was formulated in 1935. We responded to every request made by the President of the United States to meet with the representatives of the rebel group for the purpose of trying to work out an agreement. Our committee, made up of distinguished members of the American Federation of Labor, has waited patiently for an opportunity to sit around the conference table with the representatives of the C.I.O. for the purpose of working out an agreement. For more than one solid year they have been waiting, waiting patiently, and the reason they have not met with the committee representing the other side is because the leader of the rebel movement refused to allow a committee representing the rebel movement to sit down with the American Federation of Labor committee. There is the story.

"The President of the United States has served in every possible way. He has endeavored to bring the groups together, and he believes that the only way to settle our differences is by representatives of the two groups sitting around the conference table, dealing with the differences in a definite, concrete way, men of good faith willing to sit around the conference table and in the American way, and in accordance with American fashion, find a solution of our differences."

(P. 12) Plan for unity between A. F. of L. and C.I.O. outlined by President of A. F. of L. in keynote address in which he said:

"We will meet and we will endeavor to settle our differences in an honorable way. And may I outline to you a constructive plan which I believe can be applied. First of all, let the committees meet, honorable men meeting in good faith and in all sincerity. Let them agree that the original unions that left us shall be admitted and occupy the positions they held with us when they left, adjusting such difficulties as may have arisen since they left us in 1935. Then let them stand by while the committees representing conflicting groups, those representing clashing unions in the American Federation of Labor covering jurisdiction in a field that is now claimed by unions chartered by the C.I.O., agree upon a plan of amalgamation, a plan of merger, the blending of these groups into one union, so that we will have in the House of Labor a fair degree of peace and tranquility. Let these committees work diligently until they have accomplished their purpose, and then if there is some collateral question that cannot be settled, let some tribunal be set up by mutual agreement to which these collateral questions might be submitted for final decision, the basis of it all to be a complete understanding that the jurisdictional rights of the American Federation of Labor unions shall be protected and preserved.

"The President of the United States is willing to help us and assist us, and he has asked, if these committees can be assembled and put to work, that they meet with him first of all and explore the situation with him at the White House in Washington, there to receive his assurances and good will and cooperation. And it appears to me the moral strength of such a beginning would naturally reflect itself all through the honest and sincere negotiations.

"There, in a simple way, I have outlined the plan that the committee rep-

resenting the American Federation of Labor presented before. It is not new. An agreement was worked out on the basis of that plan by committees representing both sides, and the Chairman of the C.I.O. repudiated the agreement after it had been reached. I cannot say more, because the convention itself will have the report of the Executive Council on this dispute that arose within the ranks of organized labor. There is one great reason why we should have unity in the ranks of organized labor, particularly because through unity and solidarity we can advance a constructive legislative program best of all. Do you recall how the American Federation of Labor secured the enactment of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Walsh-Healey Act and the Davis-Bacon Act? Labor was united then and it was the unity of Labor brought to bear upon the members of Congress that enabled us to secure the enactment of these progressive measures. It was the American Federation of Labor that sponsored these measures and included in it the National Labor Relations Act as well. There was no C.I.O. in existence when these measures were introduced and enacted by the Congress of the United States. We proudly claim full credit for the enactment of these measures to which I have referred, and every man connected with the American Federation of Labor knows the importance and value of this legislation. Now when we go before Congress we find the efforts of the American Federation of Labor counteracted by the dual groups. If we are for it, they are against it, and a Congressman seeking a way out of the difficulty follows the way of least resistance and declines to do anything. As a result, our legislative program is hampered very badly because of this disunity within the ranks of Labor."

(Pp. 59-63, 554) Detailed report submitted on efforts made during preceding year toward negotiations with C.I.O. providing for united labor movement. Negative attitude of C.I.O. officers deplored in detailed report on attempts made to adjust controversy. Committee of A. F. of L. continued to meet on call with C.I.O. if opportunity is provided for such meeting:

The Executive Council fully understands the need of unity and solidarity within the ranks of Labor. It entertains a full and deep appreciation, as well as a complete understanding of the value of united action and of the mobilization of the full strength, power and influence of the workers of the nation into one united American labor movement. The Executive Council is firmly of the opinion that Labor in America can be solidified and united through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. In order to accomplish this purpose and realize this objective, the Executive Council reports to the 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it has endeavored to reestablish unity within the labor movement through conferences with representatives of the C.I.O. and has endeavored to bring about a settlement of existing differences during the past year.

The committee representing the American Federation of Labor stands ready and willing to meet with a committee representing the C.I.O. for the purpose of negotiating a settlement, anywhere, any time, any place.

In connection with the subject of peace negotiations, attention must be called to the large number of wage earners who are still unorganized and unable to advance their wages and improve their conditions of employment. Regardless of the trend taken by peace negotiations, it is mandatory that the American Federation of Labor make use of all

of its agencies so that trade unionism may be brought to the assistance of those who are at present unorganized. This is a duty and a responsibility which we cannot and must not evade.

(1941, pp. 59, 60, 627) The report of the E.C. contained the following:

The record made by the American Federation of Labor ever since the C.I.O. was formed clearly shows that all efforts possible have been put forth on the part of the American Federation of Labor to create unity, establish solidarity, and promote harmony within the ranks of Labor. We have responded to every appeal made by the President of the United States to meet in conference with representatives of the C.I.O. for the purpose of negotiating a settlement. Our peace committee representing the American Federation of Labor is a standing committee, awaiting an opportunity to meet and negotiate a settlement.

We have repeatedly warned the workers of the destructive results which will inevitably follow from a continuation of the division that exists within the ranks of Labor. The Executive Council reaffirms its position in favor of peace negotiations designed to bring about a settlement of the differences which exist within the ranks of Labor. The responsibility for failure to meet and renew negotiations for the purpose of reaching a settlement rests squarely and definitely with the leaders of the rebel, rival, dual, C.I.O. movement.

Resolutions presented to the convention calling for labor unity were approved.

(1942, p. 10) In his keynote address to the convention, the President of the A. F. of L. made the following report on the rival C.I.O. organization:

"I want to refer just a moment to the situation that has arisen on our continent within the ranks of Labor. It is unnecessary for me to dwell upon

it in detail, because you know about it, but the American Federation of Labor is the parent body. It was formed more than three quarters of a century ago. It rests upon a sound and secure foundation. The economic philosophy which it expounded and initiated has proved to be sound and adaptable to the needs of the free people of the United States and Canada. We have maintained a fraternal relationship with our friends across the sea, an unbroken and fraternal relationship during this entire three quarters of a century. Each year we exchange delegates, splendid fraternal delegates, coming from Great Britain to the United States, who bring us a message from the workers of that great democracy, Great Britain. We in turn have sent representatives from the American Federation of Labor to carry greetings and fraternal assurances to the workers of Great Britain. In the same manner we have maintained a friendly, sound, solid, fraternal and economic relationship between the workers of Canada and the United States. We do not know or recognize any dividing line between the Dominion of Canada and the United States of America. We are truly members of a great fraternal brotherhood, and we have endeavored to cultivate that friendship. I think it is fortunate indeed in that we have been permitted to function in that way for so many years upon the American Continent.

"But for some reason or other a group within our movement decided to leave us, walk out of the House of Labor and establish their own independent dual movement. We have regarded them as a part of us ever since they left. We do not entertain enmity, ill will or hatred toward them. Instead, the hand of welcome has been presented to them continuously ever since they left the House of Labor in 1935. Some of them have come back.

We welcomed them home. They were accorded a place within the House of Labor and there they have lived and dwelt with us in harmony and in a beautiful relationship. Perhaps others will come. It is reported that there are some, one or perhaps two distinct units of the dual movement that have about reached the point where they will come back again to the front door of the House of Labor and ask us for the privilege of coming back home. The chances are that some interesting developments may take place in that direction.

"It is my opinion that the definite policy pursued by the American Federation of Labor toward those who erred and who left us will be followed, but in addition to that we have sought through peace negotiations to settle the division which exists within the family of Labor and within the ranks of Labor. We maintain the chief asset of Labor is its economic strength. Rob Labor of that and it is poor indeed, completely stripped. Magnify, strengthen and develop it to its maximum strength and it is powerful beyond comprehension. It has never been the purpose of Labor to use that economic strength unwisely. It has been the fixed policy of the American Federation of Labor to use it for the purpose of lifting the standard of life and living among working men to high and still higher levels, to make citizens of a democracy the kind of men and women who are not slaves, but who will develop democracy by creating decent conditions under which to live and work. If we mobilize the strength of millions and millions we are more powerful. If we are split into fighting camps we are weakened. The interests of the worker who serves in the mill and the factory call for unity within the ranks of Labor both in the United States and Canada.

"You delegates sitting in this convention as representatives of a great

constituency cannot disregard or ignore the rights and needs of the one who digs in the trenches, or who serves in the mill, the factory and the mines of our nation. Their interests must be upheld up here, high, and we must respect them and endeavor to protect them. So we have appealed to those who have left us to come back home, to sit around the conference table and work out a settlement of our differences.

"The report of our Executive Council makes clear how we have appealed and how we have taken the initiative—the American Federation of Labor with 6,000,000 members—and have asked them to come back home. Fortunately, after a long interval and after much time has elapsed, steps have been taken for the purpose of resuming peace negotiations. I can report to those in attendance at this convention that it is expected that a committee, a distinguished committee representing the American Federation of Labor and a committee representing those who left us, will sit around the conference table in a friendly atmosphere, within the near future, for the purpose of trying to find a basis of accommodation and settlement of our differences. I know that I speak your sentiments when I say we wish them Godspeed in their efforts, and we will do everything that lies within our power to make it a full and complete success.

"My heart is in this movement. Every fiber and sentiment of my being is deeply touched. The need for unity within the ranks of Labor is profoundly impressive. I will give all I can in order to promote the realization of that purpose and of that objective, and if I could reach that objective, and realize it within the life of my official service to you I would feel then that I had practically completed my work as your representative. I pray and hope and trust that

we can all sit down, ultimately feeling that we have achieved the greatest outstanding objective that Labor has set for unity, solidarity, harmony and fraternity within the ranks of Labor."

(P. 52) A comprehensive report on peace negotiations with the C.I.O. was presented to the convention in which a series of communications between the President of the C.I.O. and the President of the A. F. of L. was put into the record.

(P. 499) The convention considered Resolutions 7, 9, 15 and 18 (all calling for renewed efforts to secure unity in the labor movement) in connection with the report of the Executive Council on steps being taken toward that objective. The convention adopted the following report of the committee:

In connection with the Executive Council's report on "Resumption of Peace Negotiations with the C.I.O.," your committee has considered Resolutions Nos. 7, 9, 15 and 18.

The report of the Executive Council reproduces correspondence between President William Green, A. F. of L.; Mr. John L. Lewis and President Philip Murray, C.I.O., relating to resumption of peace negotiations.

There has been a growing desire that unity in the American trade union movement should become an established condition. That such unity should be brought about is the sincere desire of many of the leaders in both organizations and the membership which they represent.

Your committee must call attention to the fact that negotiations for a peaceful adjustment of the differences between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, were initiated by the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L. in 1937, a committee representing the A. F. of L. being appointed as a result of the convention's

instructions. These negotiations, unfortunately, failed.

Following this failure the President of the American Federation of Labor, on numerous occasions, requested a resumption of the conferences and also extended an appropriate invitation to those who had left the American Federation of Labor to return to the fold.

Your committee most heartily approves of the resumption of negotiations with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, so that organic unity can be reestablished under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. We are convinced that there are those in the Congress of Industrial Organizations who have a sincere desire to reestablish unity, and your committee sincerely hopes that this desire will be translated into a practical accord.

Your committee recognizes that the problems which the unity committee must consider are various and some of them difficult. It seems evident that the most important groundwork to successful negotiations is the reestablishment of a better relationship between the membership of both organizations. We are convinced if these negotiations are to be successful, bitterness of feeling must be eliminated and hostilities come to an end.

Your committee believes that it would be difficult indeed for the unity committee to make satisfactory progress if in the meantime hostile raiding tactics continue. We therefore, urgently recommend that this convention approve of an immediate armistice as an essential evidence of good faith and sincerity.

(1943, pp. 39, 210, 232, 509) The convention committee considered the report of the E.C. on peace negotiations with the C.I.O., together with 2 resolutions on the subject, and submitted the following recommendations which were unanimously adopted:

The Executive Council in this portion of its report, relates the activities of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. Peace Committee in connection with the joint effort made to establish unity between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.

The convention last year reaffirmed its earnest desire that every effort be made to establish unity between the two organizations. The joint conference held December 2nd, 1942, did not reach any understanding on the cessation of "raiding" during the period of negotiations. An agreement was reached for the establishment of a joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Committee to hear and decide any disputed jurisdictional differences which might arise between the two organizations, and to submit to arbitration such disputes as they were unable to adjust.

This agreement was approved by the Executive Council at its meeting January 18-27, 1943. At that time the Executive Council directed that it be the policy of the American Federation of Labor not to undertake to raid C.I.O. unions where they held collective bargaining rights, and that the C.I.O. similarly agree.

Later on at the meeting held March 31-April 1, 1943, at the meeting of the joint unity committee the representatives of the American Federation of Labor proposed that preliminary to a discussion of organic unity, a no-raiding agreement be entered into between the two organizations. The representatives of the C.I.O. were unable to agree to a no-raiding plan. This meeting of the joint unity committee resulted in a disagreement, and adjourned without making provisions for holding future meetings. None have since been held.

It is the conviction of your committee that the A. F. of L. Unity Committee be continued so that no opportunity which presents itself to establish unity may be overlooked.

The convention last year while dis-

cussing the necessity for unity, expressed the conviction that a thorough-going and open-minded discussion of unity would be difficult if not impossible if raiding tactics were to continue. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to sit around a conference table to seriously discuss peace while the armies of the respective parties were engaged in active warfare.

Your committee submits the thought that in peace time, raiding the membership of another organization is at best questionable, and in many cases a dishonorable activity. During war-time such raiding is as reprehensible as it is truly unpatriotic.

Your committee is advised that the membership of the Typographical Union are to shortly take a referendum vote on the question of re-affiliating with the American Federation of Labor. We sincerely hope that this vote will result in bringing this great union back into the fold! That the Typographical Union is assured that in returning, their autonomous rights will be fully observed, and protected; that they are further informed by this convention that the conditions previously agreed to by a committee of the Executive Council, A. F. of L. and the officers of the International Typographical Union will be fully observed, and carried into effect.

(1944, p. 119) The E.C. reported on the disunity existing between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. as follows:

Since the Executive Council last reported to the Sixty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, no meetings have been held between the committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. for the purpose of discussing the question of labor unity and the establishment of labor solidarity on a nation-wide basis.

The committee representing the American Federation of Labor has

been ready to meet with the committee representing the C.I.O., but no indication of a willingness to meet and confer was shown by the committee representing the C.I.O. during the past year.

In the meantime, division, discord, and disunity prevail within the ranks of Labor. The situation has grown worse; confusion, distrust and bitterness have increased. We fear that if this situation continues, the working people will pay heavily and suffer greatly, because unity, solidarity, and cooperation have always been the chief assets of Labor.

The C.I.O. continues its pursuit of a raiding policy and seeks to destroy American Federation of Labor unions and establish instead C.I.O. organizations. Tactics resorted to in many instances by representatives of the C.I.O. in their efforts to raid well established American Federation of Labor unions are reprehensible. Deception and fraud are practiced by representatives of the C.I.O. in their attempts to raid well established A. F. of L. unions.

The cause of Labor will not be well served if we face the post-war period divided, disunited and fighting each other. It is reasonable to conclude that we will be forced to meet a severe test when the war is over. No doubt the enemies of Labor will unite against us. That means we will be compelled to face united opposition on the part of our enemies and changed economic conditions which will seriously affect our efforts to maintain American wage standards and conditions of employment.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the leaders of the C.I.O. who are responsible for the division within the ranks of Labor should face the facts, abandon the destructive policy which they have followed for years, and unite with the representatives of the American Federation of

Labor in a sincere and constructive effort to establish unity, cooperation and solidarity within the ranks of Labor.

The convention committee considered the E.C. Report on this subject and related resolutions, Nos. 44, and 48. The following report, incorporating the resolutions, was approved:

Under the caption "Peace Negotiations With The C.I.O." the Executive Council reports that during the year there was no conference between the committee representing the American Federation of Labor and the committee representing the C.I.O. for the purpose of finding a basis for unity. In the meantime division, discord and disunity has existed in the ranks of labor; the situation has grown worse, confusion, distrust and bitterness have increased; that the C.I.O., in addition to organizing the unorganized has devoted much of its effort toward raiding organizations of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council voices the opinion that the leaders of the C.I.O. are responsible for the confusion and bitterness which has developed.

Regardless of the attitude of the leaders of the C.I.O., your committee is convinced that our responsibility to the labor movement of the United States and Canada is such that we should unceasingly explore every avenue which would lead toward unity within the American labor movement. We are aware that a large portion of the rank and file of the C.I.O. deplore disunity as much as we do, and we owe it to these men and women to continue, despite rebuffs that may be encountered, to work steadily for conferences leading to the consummation of unity. . . .

Your committee, in view of all the facts concerning these negotiations, recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to renew the invitation to the

United Mine Workers to reaffiliate, for the practical reason that the reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers should strengthen the American Federation of Labor while proving helpful to the United Mine Workers. We believe that in connection with such invitation to the United Mine Workers, full consideration should be given to the directions and authorizations given to the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council by the Boston Convention, 1943.

With these comments your committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's report.

Res. 44

Whereas—The 87th Convention of the International Typographical Union held at Grand Rapids, Michigan, August 19 through August 25, 1944, passed the following resolution:

Resolved—That the 87th International Typographical Union Convention meeting in Grand Rapids, August 19 to 25, 1944, request that the two "peace" committees of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. begin immediate conferences to unite these two great labor organizations.

Whereas—The differences between the A. F. of L. and other organized labor groups have continued for a period of time making it unlikely that unity in the ranks of labor will be achieved without some concrete indication of a practical basis on which the A. F. of L. is willing to approach the problem, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the A. F. of L. Peace Committee and Executive Council prepare a statement for the benefit of all A. F. of L. affiliates and members, containing the following information:

1. Those points on which there is a fundamental disagreement with the C.I.O. and/or other labor groups outside the A. F. of L.

2. The basis on which the A. F. of L. would be willing to settle such controversial points, and

3. Present plans for bringing about a meeting which has for its purpose the exploration of possible avenues of reaching an understanding with these outside labor organizations.

Res. 48

Whereas—Unity of the trade union movement, for many years a matter of paramount concern to all keenly interested in the welfare of organized labor, is today more than ever desirable and urgent, and

Whereas—This division in organized labor is bound to offer its enemies even greater advantage for attack in the post-war period, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the sub-committee of the Executive Council, charged with the duty of negotiating with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, immediately upon the adjournment of this convention, to invite the representatives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations to meet and explore again every practical possibility for bringing about unity within the labor movement, and be it further

Resolved—That the sub-committee of the Executive Council appointed to negotiate with the United Mine Workers of America for the reaffiliation of that organization with the American Federation of Labor, be similarly instructed to take the initiative in renewing conferences with the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America in an effort to find a basis of adjustment and reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

Resolved—That the President of the American Federation of Labor be given broad powers to summon the

aforesaid sub-committees and to take part with these sub-committees in further conferences with the representatives of the C.I.O. or the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America whenever, in his judgment, resumption of such conferences is advisable or opportune.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolutions Nos. 44 and 48.

(1947, p. 163) The E.C. reported on efforts to bring about unity between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. during the preceding year. The statement closed with the following declaration of intentions to continue efforts toward unity:

The committee representing the Executive Council, as well as the Executive Council itself, conscious of the solemn obligation and the pledge it made to establish organic unity within the ranks of Labor in the United States, stands ready to meet with representatives of the C.I.O. for the realization of this objective and the achievement of this purpose. We believe that this is the first and primary requirement which should be met. All other things are incidental. We can not have peace and war at the same time. We can not pretend to work together in the legislative field while engaged in fighting and raiding each other in another field. We believe the rank and file in both the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. favor the establishment of organizational unity immediately, and the termination of strife, division, hatred and bitterness.

The Executive Council stands ready to carry out the commitments it has made in favor of organizational unity within the ranks of Labor, and to join in laying the foundation for the establishment of such a united movement and to honestly and sincerely work out the details incidental

to the creation and establishment of such a united labor movement.

(P. 595) Resolutions 13, 60, and 131 were introduced into the convention, all calling for a united labor movement. The convention unanimously adopted the committee report as follows:

We recommend whole-hearted approval of the principles followed by the Committee of the Executive Council in their conferences with the C.I.O. The two organizations cannot work together in the political field while they are fighting over control of unions. When basic unity has been achieved through a united labor movement, unity and cooperation in all other fields and interests follow automatically.

Now in the world crisis involving the future of Western Democracy, free trade unions should put their full strength in support of our Government as well as in support of free trade unions of other countries. The American Federation of Labor has made its decision and taken its stand. We cannot endanger that purpose by alliance on any front with groups which are not with us on fundamental issues.

We recommend approval of the position of the Executive Council that it stands ready to carry out commitments made to lay a sound foundation upon which a structure of organic unity within the labor movement can be erected. (No separate action on the resolutions was required.)

(1948, p. 234) Res. 4 instructed the A. F. of L. Executive Council "to extend every endeavor to establish a national labor board consisting of representatives of all labor groups to plan and work toward the objective of a united labor movement."

Creation of Labor Board Proposed—
(P. 242) Res. 4, 31, and 79 proposed that the American Federation of La-

bor support the principles embodied in the resolution adopted by the conventions of the American Federation of Musicians and the International Typographical Union, to-wit: that a National Labor Board be created of representatives of all American labor groups to plan and work toward the objective of a united American labor movement.

(P. 455) The convention acted jointly on Res. 4, 31, and 79 and unanimously adopted the committee report as follows:

The necessity for greater unity between the groups of organized labor has never been more necessary than today. Unity of purpose and of action has always been one of the ideals of the American Federation of Labor. The fact that unity does not exist, is not evidence that it cannot be brought into existence.

Since this convention has already expressed itself definitely and clearly, adequately and forcibly on this subject, further comment and direction is quite unnecessary. However, your Committee strongly approves and heartily endorses the proposal for unity between the organized trade union groups in our country. Issues having formerly divided the organized labor movement have largely, if not completely, disappeared. Whatever differences may remain are overshadowed by the far more fundamental and serious problem and tasks confronting all of Labor; indeed the problems of today are world-wide and in which the workers of our land must play an important part if we are to safeguard and operate throughout the world the spirit and doctrine of freedom, justice and democracy.

Your Committee, supplemental to declarations and directions already approved, recommends that the Executive Council constantly apply its efforts, through conferences with representatives of other organized groups

of labor, to the end that unity be achieved in the American trade union movement, in spirit and in substance and at the earliest possible opportunity.

(1949, p. 340) Res. 112 called upon the A. F. of L. to "go on record as urging the C.I.O. to return to the A. F. of L., and that the A. F. of L. further go on record as appealing to the responsible leadership of the C.I.O. to answer this call for labor unity in America and that the necessary procedure to bring about a genuine united labor movement which will contain all organized labor in one strong organization be set in motion.

(P. 480) The convention acted jointly on Res. 13 and 112 and approved the following committee recommendations:

In considering Resolution No. 13, your Committee was advised that conferences have been held during the year between officers of the Federation and the International Association of Machinists looking to the reaffiliation of that organization to the American Federation of Labor. While no final decisions have been reached, neither have these conferences ended. Indeed negotiations are pending looking to further conferences. It is the sincere hope of the Committee, and we are confident of the affiliates, that these conferences may result in the early reaffiliation of this organization.

Your Committee has considered Resolution No. 112 in connection with the foregoing and records itself in favor of the proposal submitted. This resolution deals with the subject of reaffiliation. Your Committee is more than ever impressed for the urgency for a greater united labor movement of trade unions pledged to the principles upon which our nation is founded and dedicated to the safeguarding and advancing of ideals of liberty, of freedom, of democracy; a labor movement not dominated, guided or con-

trolled by foreign governmental influences or ideologies in conflict with those that have made for the greatness of our people, enrichment of our free trade union movement and the attainment of the conditions of life and work we are at present enjoying.

As indicated in our report of a year ago, "the necessity for greater unity between all groups of organized labor has never been more necessary than today. Unity of purpose and of action has always been one of the ideals of the American Federation of Labor. The fact that unity does not exist, is not evidence that it cannot be brought into existence."

Then, too, we repeat, as then, that issues having formerly divided the labor movement have largely disappeared and that whatever of conflict may remain is overshadowed by far by the fundamental and serious problem confronting labor, not only here at home but in other lands as well. Now that we are about to unite on the labor front of free trade unions and enter the theatre of world labor affairs, the road to cooperation and unity is considerably smoother and should lead to the ultimate union and the merging of all our separate divisions of labor here in our land under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

To this end we recommend and approve, as we did a year ago, that the Executive Council constantly apply its efforts, through conferences with representatives of other organized groups of labor, to the end that unity be achieved in the American trade union movement, in spirit and in substance at the earliest possible opportunity.

(1950, p. 82) The E.C. reported little progress toward effecting unity with the C.I.O. One conference was arranged but due to illness of President Murray of the C.I.O. the meeting was recessed until such time as he could attend.

(P. 433) The following committee report unanimously approved:

It is with mingled feelings of satisfaction and frustration that your Committee has reviewed this section of the Executive Council's Report.

We are encouraged in the fact that conferences and negotiations have been entered into with the representatives of the C.I.O. for the purpose of effectuating organic unity between our respective organizations. We are likewise pleased with tentative agreements reached thus far. But we do entertain some apprehension regarding the undue delay experienced in carrying forward these negotiations.

It is our sincere hope the delay thus far encountered will in no way retard, defer, or derail the ultimate objective of organic unity between our respective organizations.

We are mindful of two previous experiences had of this nature and of harmful consequences that followed their failures. It is our earnest hope and desire that success will crown this third attempt.

We commend the Executive Council for the excellence of their response and limitations imposed as to organizations to be embraced in those negotiations. We are likewise pleased to note the early, willing and unqualified acceptance by the C.I.O. of the nature and character of our response.

We fully concur in the limitations imposed and procedure agreed to as best designed to realize an early consummation of organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. and with hope of ultimately bringing into accord and affiliation the several unaffiliated and independent groups and trade union organizations.

We are fully aware of the difficulties that have and may present themselves in these negotiations. We are

confident, however, that our officers and representatives will approach these problems in the spirit of fairness, of fraternal regard and with an eye single toward the greater accomplishments of a united labor federation. Where there is a will, there is a way.

But a short time past it was inconceivable, considered much less impossible that our respective federations of labor could and would unite in the field of international labor relations. Yet our diverted views and, in instances, conflicting activities soon gave under impact of world requirements for security of freedom and democracy to a spirit of unity and of cooperation. This was impressively manifested in the conference of the free trade unions held in London, England, December last and at which the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was founded. Unity of purpose and harmony of activity prevailed amongst the representatives of our respective organizations, throughout all meetings and conferences, and at no time then or since has there been the slightest division of opinion much less in action. To the contrary, as a result of the unity between our respective organizations a world united labor movement has been founded, and it would not have come into being without unity of purpose and action between the C.I.O. and the American Federation of Labor.

Need we point out the spirit of cooperation and of unity which, at present, prevails in our legislative and political activities here at home and made possible by the deliberate, cunning and dangerous attack made upon the foundations of the very structure of our trade unions by those whose authority to direct the destiny of the well-being of our people is now being challenged in the political area. Surely if we can find accommodations to live in peace and harmony and unite

in the legislative and political field, like accommodations and understandings may be perfected to unite our forces into an organic body in the field of economic activities here at home.

We are confident our officers, members of our conference committee and of the Executive Council are fully alert to the importance of the rewards at stake. We are equally confident they will so conduct themselves that, should perchance failure again attend their efforts, that blame or fault may not be attributed in any way to our organization, its officers or representatives.

Never before in labor history and in the national and world crisis has there been greater necessity for unity in the forces of organized labor in America. Never before have our military needs been so desperately dependent upon unity of labor service to our nation and its people. Never before, since the leadership of our nation in world development and relations, has it been so urgent for us to forego strife and friction, bitterness and division.

Defense of our freedoms, our democratic ideals, defense of free peoples everywhere and the emancipation of the millions upon millions living in a state of slavery, of serfdom, of enforced labor in altogether too many parts of the world—all these requirements demand we give way to the spirit of unity and of cooperation.

By our example here in America, let us encourage divided movements in other free lands to unite. By our unity let us bring hope and encouragement to those workers of nations subjected constantly to the tyrannic and despotic rule of those who would profess communal interest, but manifest that interest by enslavement of the masses, body, soul and mind.

The goals to be achieved by organ-

ized labor in America today are greater than mere control of separate labor forces here at home. These greater goals are to maintain and perpetuate our rights and liberties and blessings of democracy and to extend these rights, privileges and blessings to the millions upon millions who have been denied these fundamental rights of man and who are living in the shadows of the valleys of the oppressed and the depressed.

For these and other considerations, your Committee commends the officers and members of the Executive Council for the wisdom and good judgment manifested and recommends approval as well as continuance of their efforts and as reported on in this section of the Executive Council's Report.

We hope, too, that the consummation of this reunion in the family of organized labor may presage an early and favorable consummation of a still greater concentration of organized labor within the folds of our Federation and that this event is but a prelude to the greater hope and dream we sincerely trust will be realized within the very near future.

(Pp. 324, 485) Res. 97:

Whereas—Reactionary forces in the United States are united with the National Association of Manufacturers to weaken the labor movement, and

Whereas—These forces are responsible for the crippling of price control, the legislative battles to install anti-labor laws, the blocking of progressive legislation such as the Fair Employment Practices Committee, the Anti-Poll Tax bills and the Full Employment Bill, and the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Bill, and

Whereas—All centers of the labor movement, A. F. of L., C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods, have by parallel action organized their forces to fight against the attack of our living

standards and our labor organizations, and

Whereas—This struggle to protect our democratic gains is weakened by lack of coordinated action by the entire labor movement, there, be it

Resolved—That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring labor unity and to cooperate with all organizations and in all communities for: (1) Improvement of working and living conditions for all workers; (2) Safeguarding and extending our democratic rights to promote progressive legislation; (3) For unified political action by labor.

(1951, p. 529) . . .

The A. F. of L. has repeatedly urged all *bona fide* trade union organizations outside its fold to join with it and unite the ranks of Labor. To the A. F. of L., the organic unification of Labor has never been a pious wish or a maneuver through which to seek advantage over trade unions outside its membership. To the A. F. of L., the full unity of Labor is a goal which can and must be realized as speedily as possible in the interest of every working man and working woman in the land.

It is in this spirit that we have, on a number of occasions, pleaded with the C.I.O. to unite its ranks with ours. It has always been our firm conviction that such real unity would greatly strengthen the ranks of Organized Labor, insure the defeat of the Taft-Hartley reactionaries, and enhance the constructive influence of our great trade union movement in Congress, at administrative levels in Washington and in the nation as a whole.

In the negotiations which ensued after the letter addressed by President Philip Murray on April 4, 1950, real progress toward organic unity was being made when suddenly the conferences between our respective

representatives were halted. It is not the purpose of your committee to explore the reasons for the obvious reluctance of the C.I.O. to act on this vital problem.

It is now more than a year since these organic unity negotiations were discontinued upon the initiative of the C.I.O. president. This cessation of negotiations was not of our choosing. The A. F. of L. has always been prepared to resume them. We believe it is both essential and timely that this convention go on record as to the basic principles and policies involved.

The need for a united labor movement in America is evident to all trade unionists and progressive-minded citizens in our country. The need is urgent. There can be no substitute for organic Labor unity. Functional unity, as frequently proposed by C.I.O. representatives, is no substitute and cannot be accepted by the A. F. of L.

With our country's assumption of leadership of the democratic world, new and heavy responsibilities fall upon American Labor. These responsibilities and tasks must be fulfilled by Labor with the utmost energy and effectiveness. Otherwise, our nation will be unable to fulfill its great mission of leading in the preservation and protection of peace, freedom, and in the promotion of social justice and human well-being. But experience has shown beyond a shadow of doubt that American Labor cannot fully meet these new and urgent obligations as long as its ranks are divided.

Today, there is no reason whatsoever for any *bona fide* free trade union organization remaining outside the ranks of the A. F. of L. Today, there is no difference at all over organization structure or form dividing the labor movement into two national federations. With the exit of the C.I.O. from the WFTU and its joining with us in forming and building the

ICFTU, with the C.I.O. having purged its ranks of Communists, even this obstacle to organic unification has been removed.

Fully mindful of our special responsibility, as the parent and the predominant organization of American Labor, especially in this hour of crisis, the A. F. of L. will welcome the C.I.O. to unite organically with the A. F. of L. Such complete American Labor unity will prove a great boon to the American people and vastly strengthen the ICFTU as the dynamic leader and galvanize the forces of free Labor in the vanguard of the fight for freedom, peace, and social justice. We, therefore, urge a revival of negotiations with the C.I.O. looking to an early consummation of organic unity between these two organizations.

We cannot urge too strongly the present urgency for organic unity of all Labor organizations today not in our ranks.

In this sense we propose to empower the incoming Executive Council to implement this declaration of policy to the end that organic unification of American Labor may soon be realized as an achievement of and for our labor movement, our nation, and the entire international free trade union movement.

(P. 308) Res. 84 called attention to the apparent pending dissolution of the Labor Unity Committee and requested that officials of the A. F. of L. use every possible means of preventing such dissolution, by extending to all other labor groups an invitation to join with the A. F. of L. in the establishment of a permanent Committee from these groups to further the cause of labor unity and united labor action on all fronts.

(P. 531) Your committee commends the course followed by your Executive Council in participating in the formation and work of the United Labor

Policy Committee designed to seek greater participation for Labor in the government's defense program. A. F. of L. representatives rendered invaluable service in the work of this committee which consisted of representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the C.I.O., the International Association of Machinists, the Railway Labor Executives Association.

Inasmuch as the objectives of the United Labor Policy Committee had been realized the representatives of the A. F. of L. withdrew on August 28th and the United Labor Policy Committee ceased to exist.

In this connection your committee also considered Resolution No. 84, designed to prevent the dissolution of this committee. Since the United Labor Policy Committee is no longer in existence, your committee in lieu of this resolution recommends approval of the Executive Council's action and of this section of the report of the Executive Council.

(1952, p. 521) The convention approved the report of the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

The American Federation of Labor has been steadfast in its efforts to heal the breach in the ranks of organized labor and to reestablish a united trade union movement in our country.

Mindful of the urgency of achieving complete labor unity, the American Federation of Labor has on a number of occasions initiated negotiations and conferences toward this end. But we must regretfully report to the convention that these negotiations have been interrupted and discontinued by the C.I.O.

The American Federation of Labor is prepared to resume these negotiations designed to achieve organic labor unity. We have a committee charged with conducting such negotiations to a successful conclusion. This commit-

tee will welcome the reopening of the negotiations for full organic unity of American labor when the C.I.O. is ready to resume the deliberations.

Developments at home and abroad have made it increasingly urgent that such organic unification be attained at the earliest date. Once again, we appeal to the C.I.O. to respond to the need of the hour and join with us in building a united labor movement in the United States.

No Raiding Agreement—(1953, p. 82) In conformity with the decision of the Executive Council, a committee which had been appointed to negotiate with the C.I.O. was reactivated, with representatives of the A. F. of L. named to enter into conferences with a parallel committee from the C.I.O. and to report the outcome of the discussions to the E.C. at its next following meeting. Following the first meeting of this committee on April 7, 1953, a statement was issued:

We met today in good faith to try to achieve labor unity. Both sides came into the meeting with no prior conditions. Both sides agreed to explore all the matters involved on their merits.

There was a general discussion of all phases of the problem. In particular, the conferees gave consideration to the problem of "raiding," which, it was agreed, is not conducive to unity.

The conferees decided to appoint a subcommittee of six—three from the A. F. of L. and three from the C.I.O.—to study the possibility of eliminating raiding between affiliates of the two organizations, as a prerequisite to achieving labor unity.

The six-man subcommittee will also study the problems inherent in the structure and jurisdictional lines of the affiliated unions of the two organizations.

The subcommittee was empowered to prepare a factual report and rec-

ommendations, as well as an agenda, for the next joint meeting of the full committees. This meeting will be held in Washington, D. C., during the first week of June.

The Executive Council made report on subsequent meetings, and the results therefrom, as follows:

On May 4, 1953 the subcommittee met to study the statistical data of all representation cases that were filed with the National Labor Relations Board for a two-year period, covering 1951-52. The subcommittee found, upon examining the statistical data, that an overwhelming majority of the raids initiated by A. F. of L. or C.I.O. unions failed and the net result of the total number of raids brought about a change of affiliation of less than two per cent of the total number of workers involved. It was decided that the subcommittee prepare the text of a no-raiding agreement to be presented to the next meeting of the full committee.

The A. F. of L. and C.I.O. committees again met on June 2, and after examining the statistical data submitted to it by the subcommittee, it determined that the principle of no raiding should be submitted to the executive councils of both organizations for their consideration and then submitted to the conventions of both organizations.

The committees then approved the principles outlined for a no-raiding agreement and instructed the subcommittee to prepare the text of a no-raiding agreement.

The subcommittee met again on June 17 and developed a no-raiding agreement in which it fully incorporated the provisions and principles as laid down by the full committee.

The text of this agreement, which has been approved by the Executive Council, follows:

Whereas—The American Federa-

tion of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations appointed representatives to a joint committee to explore the possibilities of organic unity between the two organizations; and

Whereas—This committee unanimously agreed upon the following Interim Report and Recommendations:

"INTERIM REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON LABOR UNITY

"The joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee is composed of nine representatives representing the A. F. of L. and 11 representatives representing the C.I.O. The members of the Committee were authorized by the respective federations to meet for the purpose of exploring the possibility of achieving organic unity between the two federations.

"The Committee met on April 7, 1953, in Washington, D. C. There was a general discussion of all phases of the problem. The Committee gave particular consideration to the problem of 'raiding' between the federations—attempts by unions affiliated with one of the federations to organize and represent employees as to whom a union affiliated with the other federation was already recognized or certified as the collective bargaining representative. It was unanimously agreed that the elimination of raiding constitutes a necessary first condition to the achievement of unity.

"At the meeting of April 7, the Committee appointed a subcommittee of six—three from each federation—to study the elimination of raiding between affiliates of the two federations as a prerequisite to the achievement of organic unity, and also to study the problems created by the structure and jurisdictional lines of the unions affiliated with the two organizations. The members of this subcommittee were

President George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler and Vice President Matthew Woll, for the American Federation of Labor, and President Walter P. Reuther, Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey and President David J. McDonald of the United Steelworkers of America for the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

"The subcommittee undertook a statistical study of all representation cases filed with the National Labor Relations Board within the last two years in which a collective bargaining relationship already existed with an A. F. of L. or C.I.O. union at the time a petition for certification as a representative was filed by a union from the other federation. Detailed data was collected as to each such case and a statistical summary prepared.

"On June 2, 1953, the statistical study prepared by the subcommittee was submitted to a meeting of the full committee. The study covered a total of 1,245 cases over a two-year period—1951-1952—involving 366,470 employees. In the labor board representation cases involving these 366,470 employees, the petitioning union was successful in gaining certification as the collective bargaining representative for approximately 62,000 employees, or only 17 per cent of the total number of employees involved. Of these 62,000 employees, approximately 35,000 were won from a C.I.O. union by a union affiliated with the A. F. of L. Approximately 27,000 were won by a C.I.O. union from a union affiliated with the A. F. of L. The net change, therefore, of these raids involving 366,470 employees was 8,000 or only approximately 2 per cent of the total number of employees involved.

"The results of the study made by the subcommittee, as well as the experience and knowledge of the members of the full Committee, compel

the conclusion that 'raids' between A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions are destructive of the best interests of the unions immediately involved and also of the entire trade union movement. In addition to the antagonisms between unions created by such raids, the welfare of the workers and the public is damaged. The overwhelming majority of such attempted raids fail, creating unrest, dissatisfaction and disunity among the workers involved. Even in the small proportion of cases where such attempts are successful they involve a drain of time and money far disproportionate to the number of employees involved. They create industrial strain and conflict and they do nothing to add to the strength and capabilities of the trade union movement as a whole.

"There are still millions of working men and women who do not have the benefit of organization or collective bargaining. The members of all unions affiliated with both federations would be benefited if the energies devoted to raiding were devoted to the organization of those yet unorganized.

"For these reasons the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations who constitute the Unity Committee have agreed that the elimination of raiding between unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations would contribute to the strength of the unions affiliated with both federations, would materially benefit the entire nation by eliminating a source of industrial unrest and conflict and would remove a serious barrier to ultimate organic unity between the two federations. They have therefore further agreed to recommend to the governing bodies of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations that the following specific steps be taken to eliminate 'raiding'

between themselves and between their affiliates:

"(1) Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations should adopt as a fundamental policy of both federations this principle: No union affiliated with either federation shall attempt to organize or to represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists between their employer and a union in the other federation.

"(2) This fundamental policy should be incorporated into the 'no-raiding' Agreement, attached hereto, entered into between the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and its affiliates.

"(3) Each federation should urge that its affiliated unions subscribe and become parties to this 'no-raiding' Agreement."

(Proposed No Raiding Agreement)

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have each accepted the report and recommendations of the Joint Committee and have each recommended to the unions affiliated with it that they subscribe to this no-raiding Agreement, which shall be enforceable by and against any union signatory thereto; and

Whereas—The parties hereto accept these recommendations, recognizing that definite, tangible and valuable advantages will accrue to each of them through the elimination of raids on their established jurisdictions;

Now, therefore, the parties signatory hereto, in consideration of the matters set forth above and the mutual promises set forth below, do hereby agree as follows:

1. As used herein the term "federation" means the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; the term "union"

means any national or international union affiliated with either the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations which is signatory hereto and each of the federations; the term "local" means any local union, council, joint board, or other organization engaged in the representation of employees, which is a part of, subsidiary to or chartered by a union as herein defined, and also includes any Federal labor union, department, local industrial union, organizing committee or council engaged in the representation of employees which is chartered directly by either of the federations; the phrase "established bargaining relationship" means any situation in which a union or a local, as herein defined, either (a) has been recognized by the employer (which for this purpose shall include any governmental agency) as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for a period of one year or more, or (b) is certified by the National Labor Relations Board or other Federal or State Agency having jurisdiction, as the collective bargaining representative for the employees.

2. The American Federation of Labor and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly, or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the Congress of Industrial Organizations or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (including any of the locals of such union); (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; or (c) engage in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with mate-

rials or any other form of concerted activity in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship.

3. The Congress of Industrial Organizations and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the American Federation of Labor or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (including any of the locals of such union); (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; or (c) engage in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials or any other form of concerted activity in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship.

4. Each of the parties signatory hereto agrees to file with the Secretary-Treasurer of the federation with which it is affiliated the name and address of a representative who is authorized to receive all complaints of violation of this Agreement. The Secretary-Treasurer of each federation shall transmit such names and addresses to the Secretary-Treasurer of the other contracting federation, who shall make distribution of such information to each of the unions signatory hereto affiliated with his federation. If any party shall fail to comply with this provision, the president of that organization shall be deemed to be such representative.

5. Each of the parties hereto agrees

to settle all disputes which may arise in connection with this Agreement in accordance with the following procedure:

(a) Any union a party hereto which claims that any other union a party hereto (including any local of such a union) which is affiliated with the other federation has violated the provisions of this Agreement shall immediately notify in writing the representative of the union complained against, designated in accordance with paragraph 4 of this Agreement, and shall also notify the Secretary-Treasurer of the federation with which that union is affiliated.

(b) The authorized representatives of the unions involved shall make every effort to settle the dispute.

(c) In the event the dispute is not settled within 15 days after the mailing of the notification provided for in paragraph (a), the Secretary-Treasurers of the federations, or their designated representatives, shall meet to attempt to achieve compliance with this Agreement.

(d) In the event that the authorized representatives of the unions involved are unable to settle the dispute within 15 days after the mailing of the notification provided for in paragraph (a), either union or the Secretary-Treasurer of either federation may, not earlier than five days thereafter, submit the dispute to the Impartial Umpire herein provided for.

(e) In any dispute submitted to him in accordance with the provisions of this paragraph, the Impartial Umpire shall have jurisdiction only to determine whether the acts complained of constitute a violation of this Agreement.

(f) A complaining union may withdraw its complaint of violation of this Agreement at any time prior to decision by the Impartial Umpire, in which event the pending proceeding shall terminate.

6. The parties hereto agree that that the Impartial Umpire under this agreement shall be jointly appointed by the President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the President of the American Federation of Labor. The Impartial Umpire shall decide any case referred to him within 30 days unless an extension of time is agreed to by the parties to the dispute or is requested by the Umpire and agreed to by the parties. The decision of the Impartial Umpire in any case referred or submitted to him under the terms of this Agreement shall be final and binding.

7. Each of the parties signatory hereto agrees that, in any case in which it is found that it, or any of its locals, has violated the provisions of this Agreement, it will cease such violation and will not, directly or indirectly, during the term of this Agreement, represent or seek to represent the employees involved, and that it will, in addition, take the following remedial action upon request of the complaining union:

(a) Any petition for representation rights filed with the National Labor Relations Board, or any other appropriate federal or state agency, shall be immediately withdrawn.

(b) Any claims for recognition which may have been submitted to the employer will be withdrawn immediately.

8. Each union signatory hereto agrees to be bound by the provisions of this Agreement with respect only to such unions affiliated with the other federation as are then signatory hereto or which may thereafter become signatory hereto. The parties further agree that any party to this Agreement to whom they are so bound shall have the right to institute such actions or proceedings as may be necessary to compel compliance with the terms of this Agreement only after

exhausting all of the steps provided herein.

9. (a) The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations agree that this Agreement will be submitted for approval to their respective conventions next forthcoming.

(b) All of the parties signatory hereto agree that this Agreement shall not become effective unless both of such conventions approve the Agreement and that, if so approved, the Agreement shall then become effective on January 1, 1954, as to all parties then signatory to it; the Agreement shall become effective with respect to parties who become signatories to it subsequent to January 1, 1954, on the date of their signature.

(c) This Agreement shall not apply to disputes in which representation proceedings are pending before the National Labor Relations Board, or other appropriate federal or state agency, on January 1, 1954, and so long as such proceedings are pending. Both organizations will exercise their best efforts, in the interim, to minimize such disputes.

10. This Agreement shall expire on December 31, 1955.

11. This Agreement, and its faithful observance is the first and essential step toward the achievement of organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, a goal to which both organizations wholeheartedly subscribe. It is the intention of both parties to continue their joint meetings in the endeavor to achieve this objective.

In witness whereof, the parties hereto by the authorized representatives, have hereunder set their hands and seals.

After fully considering the benefits and advantages to be gained through a no-raiding agreement, the Execu-

tive Council recommends the approval of this agreement to the convention.

(P. 635) Convention unanimously approved recommendations of its committee as follows:

Your committee has given a careful review of the foregoing recommendations of the Executive Council. We firmly believe that the proposed agreement is the first and indispensable step toward the achievement of organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; that its terms and purposes are in the best interests of the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and the labor movement as a whole; and that its adoption would be in the public interest and to the benefit of our entire country.

Accordingly, your committee strongly recommends to this convention the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report and the adoption of the proposed no-raiding agreement in the form approved and set forth by the Executive Council.

(P. 605) Your Committee on Industrial Relations has given full study and consideration to the problem of industrial relations as it will affect the laboring men and women of our country, not only for the coming year, but for many years to come.

Mindful of the industrial setup of our country, with particular emphasis on the fact that 225 corporations employ more than one-fifth of all of the wage earners of America; taking into consideration the special interests now in control of our government and favoring those 225 corporations which dictate industrial relations through the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chambers of Commerce; taking also into consideration that for the year of 1952 we had 41,800 cases of infringement and violations of the poor wage and hour

law as presently constituted and providing for only 75c per hour. Yes, we are mindful because of the foregoing and of other economic factors which govern industrial relations between labor and industry in the United States, that Labor is in for a tough deal, dictated by the mercenary group in control of industry and in control of the government.

The National Association of Manufacturers and the proponents of industrial cycles of boom and bust are talking more and more about a "creeping depression" which will make itself felt more and more because of a slow-down of defense orders. The money changers and industrialists of the country would love to see an economic depression because economic depression plus the Taft-Hartley Enslavement Act will make for that kind of union-busting and will change the entire picture of industrial relations in the United States.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations is cognizant of the fact that the American way of life and present day labor standards and conditions enjoyed by the wage earners of the country are the result of collective bargaining relations at the conference table and mutually agreed upon in co-operative action between Labor and management. We know that the policy of the American Federation of Labor is just that; mainly harmonious Labor-Management relations.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations therefore hails with joy the move for unity within the House of Labor, for only a united house of Labor may at this time, in face of creeping depression, in face of special favoritism given to the special interests or our millionaire and billionaire corporations, in face of growing indication on the part of the judiciary to shackle Labor by the weapon of injunction, yes, in face of all the fore-

going, a united labor movement will create the kind of atmosphere, will create the fundamentals so essential to give Labor a chance and an opportunity to bargain collectively and effectively under the most trying conditions.

We call attention to and commend President Meany's clear cut enunciation of basic principles necessary for the full realization of such unity:—"That there is a tradition in this organization, that in union there is strength, and that it is the duty of the strong union, if it can possibly do so, to help the weak union in another trade—not to destroy the weak union."

We cannot emphasize too strongly that collective bargaining and industrial relations by your united Labor movement is one thing and collective bargaining and industrial relations with the House of Labor divided is another.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations recommends unanimous approval on the part of the 72nd Convention assembled in the City of St. Louis, of the action of President Meany and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to pursue to a successful conclusion the merger of all of our unions within the United States so that Labor may truly enjoy the kind of industrial relations which will make for a better America and a successful trade union movement.

A unified labor movement would make possible the wide use of the union label, the union button and the union card, which if used by the wage earners of the country would revolutionize industrial relations between management and Labor, reduce strikes to a minimum and raise labor standards and conditions.

(Pp. 82, 634) Division in the ranks of organized labor in America is detrimental not only to the strength and

effectiveness of the trade union movement, but also to the economic well being of men and women who work for wages throughout the land. For the past 18 years the American Federation of Labor has sought, sincerely and diligently, to resolve differences and establish a basis of agreement on which organic unity within the American trade union movement could be reestablished.

Such organic unity has been and continues to be the objective of the American Federation of Labor. So long as the ranks of Labor are divided, Labor will continue to be weakened. Only the enemies of Labor benefit from the lack of Labor solidarity inevitably resulting from the split. There is no trade union reason for the division in Labor ranks. Nor is there an obstacle to unity that could not be overcome by earnest and dedicated men intent on repairing the long and costly rifts and bringing about organic unity of American labor.

During the past year, fresh, firm and rewarding steps have been taken by the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of bringing about an agreement with the Congress of Industrial Organizations which would pave the way toward eventual unification.

The Executive Council, acting at the special meeting held on November 25, 1952, appointed a committee headed by President Meany to renew discussions with an official committee of the C.I.O. The two committees met on April 7, 1953, both sides entering the meeting with no prior conditions and exploring all phases of the problem. They gave joint consideration to the problem of "raiding" as one of the first obstacles to be overcome.

A subcommittee of six, with three members from each organization, was authorized to study the problems involved in the structure and jurisdic-

tional lines of the two federations. A joint study was undertaken by the subcommittee of all representation cases filed with the National Labor Relations Board over a two-year period covering 1951-52, in order to ascertain the extent of raiding and evaluate its results. It was found in 1,245 cases, involving 366,470 employees, the net change as the result of the raids was confined to only 8,000 employees, or only about two per cent of the total number involved in these cases. The facts revealed in this study point up the disproportionate drain on the time and money of the unions concerned in relation to the negligible results. They highlighted the need to extend union organization to millions of workers yet unorganized as the area to which all energies of the labor movement should be directed instead of the costly fraternal strife involved in raiding.

At a joint meeting of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations committees on June 2, it was agreed to submit a draft of a no-raiding agreement to the executive councils of both organizations for their consideration, followed by its submission to the respective conventions of the two federations.

At a meeting on June 17, 1953, the subcommittee drew up the draft of the text of a no-raiding agreement incorporating the provisions and principles agreed upon and laid down by the full A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Committee.

The proposed no-raiding agreement would be binding upon national and international unions only upon signing this agreement, and will then become applicable to all local affiliates of such national and international unions. The agreement will also apply to all local unions, councils and departments directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The agreement, upon approval, would go

into effect, on January 1, 1954, and extend over a two-year term, expiring on December 31, 1955.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its meeting held in Chicago last August, gave thorough study to the terms of the proposed A. F. of L.-C.I.O. no-raiding agreement. After fully considering the benefits and advantages to be gained through such an agreement, the Executive Council recommends that this convention give this agreement its approval.

In devising the terms of the proposed agreement, we were conscious of the need to establish a workable procedure whereby jurisdictional differences could be resolved within the trade union movement itself, and without opening a way to the infringement by the governmental bodies of the principles and prerogatives of self-government within the structure of organized labor.

Your committee has given a careful review of the foregoing recommendations of the Executive Council. We firmly believe that the proposed agreement is the first and indispensable step toward the achievement of organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; that its terms and purposes are in the best interests of the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and the labor movement as a whole; and that its adoption would be in the public interest and to the benefit of our entire country.

Accordingly, your committee strongly recommends to this convention the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report and the adoption of the proposed no-raiding agreement in the form approved and set forth by the Executive Council.

(P. 54) In its annual report on this subject, the Executive Coun-

cil referred to the report on labor unity to the 72nd Convention submitted by the convention Committee on Executive Council's Report. Because of its vital importance in the history of the American labor movement, the 1954 Report of the Executive Council on this subject is included in its entirety:

Division in the ranks of organized labor in America is detrimental not only to the strength and effectiveness of the trade union movement, but also to the economic well being of men and women who work for wages throughout the land. For the past 18 years the American Federation of Labor has sought, sincerely and diligently, to resolve differences and establish a basis of agreement on which organic unity within the American trade union movement could be reestablished.

Such organic unity has been and continues to be the objective of the American Federation of Labor. So long as the ranks of Labor are divided, Labor will continue to be weakened. Only the enemies of Labor benefit from the lack of Labor solidarity inevitably resulting from the split. There is no trade union reason for the division in Labor ranks. Nor is there an obstacle to unity that could not be overcome by earnest and dedicated men intent on repairing the long and costly rifts and bringing about organic unity of American Labor.

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on April 7, 1953, both sides entering the meeting with no prior conditions and exploring all phases of the problem. They gave joint consideration to the problem of "raiding" as one of the first obstacles to be overcome.

A subcommittee of six, with three members from each organization, was authorized to study the problems involved in the structure and jurisdictional lines of the two federations. A joint study was undertaken by the subcommittee of all representation cases filed with the National Labor Relations Board over a two-year period covering 1951-52, in order to ascertain the extent of raiding and evaluate its results. It was found in 1,245 cases, involving 366,470 employees, the net change as the result of the raids was confined to only 8,000 employees, or only about two per cent of the total number involved in these cases. The facts revealed in this study point up the disproportionate drain on the time and money of the unions concerned in relation to the negligible results. They highlighted the need to extend union organization to millions of workers yet unorganized as the area to which all energies of the labor movement should be directed instead of the costly fraternal strife involved in raiding.

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The proposed no-raiding agreement

would be binding upon national and international unions only upon signing this agreement, and will then become applicable to all local affiliates of such national and international unions. The agreement will also apply to all local unions, councils and departments directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The agreement, upon approval, would go into effect on January 1, 1954, and extend over a two-year term, expiring on December 31, 1955.

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In devising the terms of the proposed agreement, we were conscious of the need to establish a workable procedure whereby jurisdictional differences could be resolved within the trade union movement itself, and without opening a way to the infringement by the governmental bodies of the principles and prerogatives of self-government within the structure of organized labor.

Your committee has given a careful review of the foregoing recommendations of the Executive Council. We firmly believe that the proposed agreement is the first and indispensable step toward the achievement of organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; that its terms and purposes are in the best interests of the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and the labor movement as a whole; and that its adoption would be in the public interest and to the benefit of our entire country.

Accordingly, your committee strongly recommends to this convention the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report and the adoption of the proposed no-raiding agreement in the form approved and set forth by the Executive Council.

Early in December, our President was advised by the President of the C.I.O. that the C.I.O. Convention had endorsed the proposed No Raiding Agreement, and arrangements were made for an A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee meeting on December 16, 1953, in Washington, D. C.

The A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee met on December 16, 1953, and decided that the officers of both organizations would secure as many authorizations as possible from their affiliated international unions to become signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement.

On June 9, a further meeting of the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee was held in the City of Washington, at which time the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations officially signed the No-Raiding Pact in behalf of 65 international unions of the American Federation of Labor and 29 international unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, after which the following statement was issued:

This is an historic day for American labor.

The first constructive step toward labor peace and a united labor movement since 1936 has been taken here this afternoon.

Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (65) and with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (29) have signed a two-year no-raiding agreement.

This agreement represents a cease-fire. During the two-year truce, the Joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O.

Unity Committee will go to work on the manifold problems involved in bringing about a merger of the two major labor federations into a single, united labor movement.

Some of these problems are relatively simple. Others are extremely intricate and difficult, because of jurisdictional over-lapping, long-standing animosities and structural differences in the various industries and unions affected. All such obstacles, however, can and should be overcome, by negotiation in good faith and a common determination to achieve labor unity.

We are confident that this goal, so beneficial to the workers we represent and to the nation as a whole, can be accomplished before the truce expires.

Our confidence is based upon the expectation that the successful operation of the no-raiding agreement will usher in an era of good feeling and cooperation in the labor movement; that the signatory unions will gain substantial benefits from the cessation of hostilities, and that they never again will want to go back to fighting and raiding each other.

We are mindful of the fact that during the past 18 years repeated efforts to heal the breach in the labor movement have ended up in failure.

In each instance, continuing hostilities made the task of the peace-makers impossible.

This is a new and more practical approach. For the first time it permits the negotiation of labor unity in an atmosphere of peace.

The no-raiding agreement signed today remains open for further signatures by unions from both parent organizations. This committee is not disappointed because we do not have 100 per cent subscription to

the plan at the outset. We anticipate that virtually every union involved in jurisdictional strife will come in within a reasonable time. A special subcommittee will proceed at once to attempt to iron out minor differences which at present stand in the way of securing a substantial number of additional signatures to the agreement.

Labor in modern America can no longer afford to be divided. We cannot waste our strength and substance in civil war while the enemies of human progress step up their attack on us on the economic, political and legislative fronts.

Ours is a growing country and Labor must grow with it. We have a solemn duty to organize the unorganized, instead of raiding each other's members. The signing of the no-raiding agreement today will permit us to concentrate our energy and our effort on the basic trade union goal.

Pursuant to Section 6 of the No-Raiding Agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the President of the A. F. of L. and the President of the C.I.O. jointly appointed Mr. David L. Cole as official umpire under the No-Raiding Agreement, effective the 9th day of June, 1954, with all of the rights, powers and duties prescribed therein and subject to the terms of the agreement to be entered into between the presidents of the respective federations and their affiliates signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement and Mr. David L. Cole.

It was further decided that a joint dinner would be held on June 29, 1954, in the City of Washington, at which time the signatories to the No-Raiding Agreement would have an opportunity to meet each other, and invitations were extended as well to organizations that had not signed the No-Raiding Agreement.

At the time this report was written, four additional A. F. of L. international unions had signed the No-Raiding Agreement, and are listed with the following:

Affiliates of the American Federation of Labor Appendix "A"

1. National Agricultural Workers Union
2. Airline Dispatchers Association
3. Aluminum Workers International Union
4. International Association of Heat & Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers
5. Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers, Cosmetologists & Proprietors' International Union of America
6. Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' International Union of America
7. International Broom & Whisk Makers' Union
8. Building Service Employees' International Union
9. Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers International Union
10. International Chemical Workers Union
11. Cigar Makers' International Union of America
12. International Association of Cleaning & Dye House Workers
13. Coopers' International Union of North America
14. Commercial Telegraphers' Union
15. Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America
16. International Union of Doll & Toy Workers of the United States and Canada
17. Distillery, Rectifying & Wine Workers' International Union of America
18. International Union of Elevator Constructors

19. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
20. International Association of Fire Fighters
21. Flight Engineers' International Association
22. American Flint Glass Workers' Union
23. Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada
24. The Granite Cutters' International Association of America
25. International Union of Journey-men Horseshoers of the United States and Canada
26. United Hatters' Cap & Millinery Workers International Union
27. Insurance Agents International Union
28. International Association of Machinists
29. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
30. International Jewelry Workers' Union
31. International Union of Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers
32. National Association of Letter Carriers
33. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes
34. Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America
35. International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of N. A.
36. American Federation of Musicians
37. Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers & Helpers International Union
38. International Association of Marble, Slate & Stone Polishers, Rubbers & Sawyers, Tile & Marble Helpers & Terazzo Helpers
39. International Metal Engravers & Marking Device Workers Union
40. Operative Plasterers' & Cement
41. United Association of Journey-men & Apprentices of the Plumbing & Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada
42. National Postal Transport Association
43. International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America
Mason's International Association of United States and Canada
44. International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America
45. International Brotherhood of Paper Makers
46. Railway Patrolmen's International Union
47. Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express & Station Employes
48. Retail Clerks International Association
49. National Association of Post Office & Railway Mail Handlers
50. Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America
51. International Stereotypers' & Electrotypers' Union of North America
52. Stove Mounters International Union of North America
53. Switchmen's Union of North America
54. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
55. Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway & Motor Coach Employes of America
56. American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employes
57. American Federation of Teachers
58. United Textile Workers of America
59. Tobacco Workers International Union
60. American Wire Weavers Protective Association

61. International Alliance of Bill Posters & Billers of America
62. Boot & Shoe Workers Union
63. International Brotherhood of Longshoremen-A. F. of L.
64. The National Association of Postal Supervisors
65. United Slate, Tile & Composition Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Workers Association
66. United Garment Workers of America
67. International Glove Workers' Union of America
68. International Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers
69. American Federation of Technical Engineers

**Affiliates of Congress of Industrial Organizations
Appendix "B"**

1. United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America
2. Barbers and Beauty Culturists Union of America
3. International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers
4. National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians
5. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
6. Communications Workers of America
7. United Department Store Workers of America
8. International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
9. United Furniture Workers of America
10. United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers of America
11. Federation of Glass, Ceramic and Silica Sand Workers of America
12. Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee

13. Insurance Workers of America
14. National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association
15. National Maritime Union of America
16. Oil Workers International Union
17. United Packinghouse Workers of America
18. United Paperworkers of America
19. American Radio Association
20. United Railroad Workers of America
21. Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union
22. United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America
23. United Shoe Workers of America
24. United Stone and Allied Products Workers of America
25. Textile Workers Union of America
26. United Transport Service Employees of America
27. Transport Workers Union of America
28. Utility Workers Union of America
29. International Woodworkers of America

Memorandum of Understanding

Supplementary to the No-Raiding Agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations

"Whereas, on December 16, 1953, the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the Congress of Industrial Organizations formally executed the No-Raiding Agreement on behalf of the respective federations; and

"Whereas, thereafter the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have secured instruments of adherence and ratification executed

by unions affiliated with the respective federations; and

"Whereas, the representatives of both federations have met this 9th day of June, 1954, to deliver and make effective the instruments of adherence and ratification heretofore executed by the unions affiliated with the two federations; and

"Whereas, it is essential that there be agreement as to the mechanics for the subsequent adherence to the No-Raiding Agreement by unions affiliated with the two federations:

"*Now Therefore*, it is mutually agreed, this 9th day of June, 1954.

1. The American Federation of Labor hereby delivers and declares effective the instruments of adherence and ratification of the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. No-Raiding Agreement which have been executed by the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor.

2. The Congress of Industrial Organizations hereby delivers and declares effective the instruments of adherence and ratification of the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. No-Raiding Agreement which have been executed by the affiliates of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

3. The effective date of the No-Raiding Agreement with respect to the unions listed in Appendix A and Appendix B attached hereto shall be this 9th day of June, 1954, irrespective of the date which may appear on said instruments of adherence and ratification.

4. The date January 1, 1954, in paragraph (c) of Section 9 of the No-Raiding Agreement shall be understood, interpreted and applied, with respect to any of the unions listed in Appendix A and Appendix B attached hereto, as meaning June 9, 1954, the date on which the instruments of adherence and ratification of the unions attached hereto have been delivered and declared effective.

5. The date January 1, 1954, in paragraph (c) of Section 9 of the No-Raiding Agreement shall be understood, interpreted and applied, with respect to any union hereafter adhering to the Agreement, as meaning the date on which such adherence shall become effective as provided for below.

6. Any union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or Congress of Industrial Organizations may hereafter adhere and become signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement by executing an appropriate instrument of ratification and adherence and by delivering said instrument to the Secretary-Treasurer of the federation with which it is affiliated, who shall thereupon notify the Secretary-Treasurer of the other federation and deliver to the Impartial Umpire, provided for under the Agreement, the executed instrument of adherence and a copy of its letter of notification.

7. The instrument of adherence shall only become effective 10 days following the receipt by the Impartial Umpire of the Instrument of adherence and copy of the letter of notification, provided for above.

8. The Impartial Umpire shall maintain at all times a current list of the unions signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement.

In witness whereof the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations by their authorized representatives have hereto set their hands and seals this 9th day of June, 1954.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF
LABOR

GEORGE MEANY, *President*

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL
ORGANIZATIONS

WALTER P. REUTHER, *President*

(1954, pp. 405, 488) Res. 89 directed attention to the attacks being

made on the labor movement through Taft-Hartley, Right-to-Work laws and other means, and

Resolved—That the 73rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, California, endorse the objective of continued discussion and consultation of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the independent unions to facilitate the progress of united labor action in behalf of this program of Labor.

(P. 525) In the year that has passed since our 1953 Convention, the two major federations have taken great strides forward toward the goal of a united labor movement.

The major achievement has been the ratification and signing by a substantial majority of the affiliates of both federations of a two-year non-raiding agreement. This pact became effective on June 9, 1954.

The detailed provisions of this historic agreement were fully reported at last year's convention. Basically each A. F. of L. union signing this agreement agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will

- “(a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the Congress of Industrial Organizations or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (including any of the locals of such union);
- “(b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; or
- “(c) engage in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials or any other form of concerted activity in support of an

attempt to organize or represent such employees by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship.”

The agreement provides for the following four-step procedure in the event of any alleged violations: (1) notification of the alleged violation to the other union concerned, as well as to the secretary-treasurer of the federation with which the first union is affiliated; (2) direct consultation between the unions directly involved; (3) consultation if necessary between the respective secretary-treasurers of the two federations; and (4) if necessary, submission of the dispute to an Impartial Umpire whose decision shall be final and binding. In accordance with the provisions of the agreement, Mr. David L. Cole has been selected as Impartial Umpire.

A total of 70 unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and 29 unions affiliated with the C.I.O. have already become signatories to this historic pact. Many of the remaining unions are in industries and trades which do not bring them into any direct conflict with unions of the other federation. We have every confidence that as experience demonstrates its value, the remaining unions will affix their signatures to this pact.

This committee wishes to point out that the signing of the agreement represents only the start of a union's responsibility on this issue. Each union must now make certain that the new agreement is clearly understood by its entire membership. Each union must be willing to utilize and abide by the pact's enforcement machinery.

The test of this agreement will come in the event that alleged violations occur. Up to this moment, our attention has not been called to a single alleged violation of this agreement.

The agreement itself is of tremendous value, even though it is only a first step. Our goal is a united labor movement. This has always been the goal in the hearts and minds of all trade unionists. The cost of division in the ranks of Labor is immeasurably high. It is evident every day in the wasted time, efforts, and activities of one union which rival or duplicate those of other unions.

It has long been evident that the present division in Labor's ranks serves the interests of only one group, the enemies of Labor. A united labor movement would mean more effective action, both at the bargaining table, and in the federal and state legislatures.

Your committee reaffirms the American Federation of Labor's deep-seated desire to cement a united labor movement. Now, for the first time in many years, the road has been opened toward this goal. The more peaceful atmosphere resulting from the no-raiding agreement should permit negotiations for unity to move forward with dispatch.

The no-raiding agreement was negotiated by the respective unity committees of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. These committees remained constituted to work out the necessary steps for organic unity. As an indication of the growing feeling for unity, your committee heartily welcomes the precedent-making letter of fraternal greetings which the President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations has sent to this Convention.

By its terms, the no-raiding agreement is to be in operation for two years. This period expiring June 9, 1956, represents a truce during which negotiations for organic unity will be conducted.

When the new agreement became effective, the joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. statement included the following: "We

are confident that this goal, so beneficial to the workers we represent and to the nation as a whole, can be accomplished before the truce expires."

Your committee expresses the earnest hope that future events will confirm this confidence in Labor unity.

(1955, p. 56) Since the 1954 Convention, the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. No-Raiding Agreement has fulfilled the primary purposes for which it was designed. The threefold purpose of the pact was:

1. Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations should adopt as a fundamental policy of both federations this principle: No union affiliated with either federation shall attempt to organize or to represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists between their employer and a union in the other federation.
2. This fundamental policy should be incorporated into the "no-raiding" agreement, entered into between the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and its affiliates.
3. Each federation should urge that its affiliated unions subscribe and become parties to this "no-raiding" agreement.

On June 9, 1954, 65 national or international unions of the A. F. of L. and 29 national or international unions of the C.I.O. were signatories to the No-Raiding Agreement.

From June 9, 1954, to October 14, 1955, 15 additional A. F. of L. national or international unions and three additional C.I.O. national or international unions have ratified the No-Raiding Agreement. One A. F. of L. national union, the National Association of Postal Supervisors,

which was an original signatory to the pact, has since withdrawn from the American Federation of Labor. Three C.I.O. unions who were original signatories have since merged with other C.I.O. organizations. There are now 79 A. F. of L. unions and 29 C.I.O. unions signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement.

The A. F. of L. Executive Council in its report to the 1954 Convention summarized the necessity for the No-Raiding Agreement in these words:

"A subcommittee of six, with three members from each organization, was authorized to study the problems involved in the structure and jurisdictional lines of the two federations. A joint study was undertaken by the subcommittee of all representation cases filed with the National Labor Relations Board over a two-year period covering 1951-1952, in order to ascertain the extent of raiding and evaluate its results. It was found in 1,245 cases, involving 366,470 employees, the net change as the result of the raids was confined to only 8,000 employees, or only about two per cent of the total number involved in these cases. The facts revealed in this study point up the disproportionate drain on the time and money of the unions concerned in relation to the negligible results. They highlighted the need to extend union organization to millions of workers yet unorganized as the area to which all energies of the labor movement should be directed instead of the costly fraternal strife involved in raiding."

From June 9, 1954, until October 14, 1955, 63 cases involving A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions have been handled under the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. No-Raiding Agreement. Of these 63 cases handled under the Agreement, 46 cases have been settled by mutual agreement between the parties involved.

Ten cases have been submitted to the Impartial Umpire.

Two of these cases were settled by mutual agreement between the parties before hearings were actually heard.

The parties in one of these cases are presently meeting in an endeavor to reach a mutual agreement. Six cases were determined by the Impartial Umpire and one decision is pending.

There are seven active cases presently pending.

A comparison of the remarkable achievements of the No-Raiding Agreement as weighed against the joint study of the subcommittee of six, clearly shows that the hopes and aspirations of all signatories have been fulfilled to a great degree.

The lessening of strife between the two federations and their respective affiliates, as evidenced by the small number of cases referred to the No-Raiding Pact gave further impetus to the achievement of an agreement that provides the basis for organic unity between the two federations.

(P. 50) After the official signing of the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. No-Raiding Agreement, the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee arranged for a dinner at the Mayflower Hotel, June 29, 1954, to which all signatories to the No-Raiding Agreement, all departments, and all affiliates were invited to be present.

On October 15, 1954, the full A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee met for several hours, during which organic unity was stressed by all present. As our next objective, it was decided that a subcommittee be established comprising George Meany, William F. Schnitzler and Harry C. Bates for the American Federation of Labor, and Walter P. Reuther, James B. Carey and David J. McDonald for the Congress of Industrial Organizations, to fully explore all of the problems that would be involved in an organic merger, and to make a full report of

their findings to the committee as soon as possible.

The full A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee met again on January 4, 1955, at the Mayflower Hotel and further explored some of the problems of organic unity that had confronted the subcommittee, and after fully discussing some of the methods in which organic unity can be accomplished, the subcommittee was directed to proceed with its work.

The A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Subcommittee met on February 8-9, 1955, at the Roney Plaza Hotel, Miami Beach, Florida. . . .

. . . The subcommittee arrived at an agreement in principle on organic unity and made preparations to present their findings to a meeting of the full A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee the following day.

The full A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee met on Wednesday, February 9, 1955, at 12 m. for lunch at the Roney Plaza Hotel, Miami Beach, Florida, with the following representation present: from the A. F. of L.—George Meany, William F. Schnitzler, Harry C. Bates, Charles J. MacGowan, William C. Doherty, Matthew Woll, David Dubinsky, William J. McFetridge, A. J. Hayes, Daniel W. Tracy, General Counsel J. Albert Woll; from the C.I.O.—Walter P. Reuther, James B. Carey, Jacob Potofsky, Frank Rosenblum, Emil Rieve, Joseph Curran, L. S. Buckmaster, David J. McDonald, John Riffe, R. J. Thomas, General Counsel Arthur Goldberg.

The subcommittee presented the following report and recommendations of the subcommittee before the full Unity Committee, which was unanimously adopted.

After reading the report and recommendations of the subcommittee, the full A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee unanimously approved the re-

port and recommendations and further decided that each group would recommend its adoption to their respective federations.

The A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee then adopted the following joint statement for release by A. F. of L. President George Meany and C.I.O. President Walter P. Reuther:

The agreement reached today by the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. Unity Committee sets the course for the attainment of a merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations into a united trade union movement.

This agreement—if accepted by the executive bodies of our two organizations, as we hope and expect—will mark the end of the division in the free trade union movement of our country that has existed for almost 20 years.

It is our belief that a united labor movement will be able to devote the talent and strength of our trade unions to greater service to the people of the United States.

At this time in our history, when this country and all the free world are beset by the challenge of Soviet Communist totalitarianism, a united labor movement will best be able to mobilize the working men and women of this country toward the defense of our free institutions, and toward the development of full employment and greater security for all the people.

We pledge that, as unity develops, labor in America will place itself at the service of the American public; and will, by its responsibility and sense of dedication to our democratic ideals, help build a better nation and a stronger free world.

This agreement will preserve the identity and integrity of the more than 140 trade unions now affiliated

with the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. They will continue, under this plan, to conduct their own individual collective bargaining with employers, as in the past. The agreement provides a mechanism for voluntary—not compulsory—merger of individual trade unions in the same field. Through arrangements to be worked out, the members of all affiliated trade unions and the general public can be assured that the swift progress made during the past two years toward the elimination of “raids” and “jurisdictional disputes” will be continued.

This agreement will be submitted to the A. F. of L. Executive Council for ratification on Thursday, February 10, at Miami Beach, Florida, and to an early meeting of the C.I.O. Executive Board, a date for which will be announced soon.

If both these bodies ratify the agreement reached today, committees from the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. will begin the task of writing a constitution for the merged organizations. That draft constitution will be referred for ratification to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the Executive Board of the C.I.O. later this year.

When and if they ratify the new constitution, it will then be submitted to the conventions of the two bodies for their approval. Then, a joint convention of the new organization will be called.

We are setting no time schedule for this process. We are hopeful that if the agreement and the draft constitution are ratified, the merged new organization can be established before the end of the year.

The members of the joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee express their pleasure that an honorable agreement, in a complex and difficult field, was so speedily obtained.

We pledge our support to its ratification by our respective trade union organizations.

We feel confident that merger of the two union groups, which we represent, will be a boon to our nation and its people in this tense period. We are happy that, in our way, we have been able to help bring about unity of the American labor movement at a time when the unity of all the American people is most urgently needed in the face of the Communist threat to world peace and civilization.

The A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Subcommittee met again early on May 2, 1955, at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., with all members of the subcommittee present together with A. F. of L. General Counsel and C.I.O. General Counsel. Considerable discussion took place concerning the proposed constitution for the newly merged federation, after which it was decided to recommend the constitution as presently prepared to the full unity committee.

The full A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee met later on May 2, 1955, at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., and heard the proposed constitution read, and then an opportunity was given to all to carefully examine it in its entirety.

After carefully considering the entire proposed constitution in its present form, it was decided that it would be presented to the A. F. of L. Executive Council and the C.I.O. Executive Board, and if any suggestions or changes were to be offered, they would be referred to the full A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee. The motion carried unanimously with the exception of a contrary vote by a C.I.O. vice president.

It was further recommended by the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee that the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. hold parallel conventions starting De-

ember 1, 1955, in the City of New York, with the merged convention convening on December 5, 1955. Each federation was requested to take such formal action as would be required by its present constitution to bring this about.

The full A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee met again on July 20, 1955, at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C. . . .

The full committee carefully examined the numerous policy matters that must be dealt with as we approach the first merged convention and considerable time was also spent discussing the name for the newly merged federation. It was then decided that the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee would recommend to their respective federations that the full name for the newly merged federation shall be the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and the abbreviated name to be AFL-CIO.

A lengthy discussion took place concerning the method in which a convention call for the merged convention would be issued. It was also recommended that the present A. F. of L.-C.I.O. No-Raiding Agreement be extended for two years.

A special conference was held at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, on August 12, 1955, to which all executive officers of all affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor were invited to attend for the purpose of discussing the proposed merger with the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the draft constitution for the newly merged federation.

A full outline was given of the merger agreement and several suggested changes were announced for the new draft constitution, after which everyone desiring to discuss or ask questions was given an opportunity to do so.

The conference lasted two and one-half hours, after which President Meany announced that the several suggestions that were made would be presented to the Executive Council for their consideration.

(P. 349) The conclusion of the final A. F. of L. Executive Council Report contained the following:

In concluding this report to the 74th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council wishes to emphasize one vital point. Unity in the labor movement cannot be fully achieved merely by merger at the top level. It must also encompass amalgamation of state and local bodies and, wherever possible, the voluntary integration of national and international unions operating within the same jurisdiction.

If we can accurately appraise the spirit prevailing in the labor movement today, there will be a sincere effort to bring this about. There is a strong disposition on all sides to get together and end needless strife. When this process is completed, our trade union movement will be immeasurably strengthened and we will be able to make our most effective contribution to the security and progress of the free way of life.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following report and resolution which was adopted by the convention:

The Resolutions Committee has met and has considered that portion of the Report of the Executive Council to this convention dealing with labor unity. It has also considered the Supplemental Report of the Executive Council to this convention, dated November 30, 1955, also dealing with this subject matter.

The Resolutions Committee notes with approval the various steps taken by the American Federation of Labor Unity Committee and by the Execu-

tive Council of the American Federation of Labor to bring about honorable organic unity between the two federations. It commends the members of this committee and the officers and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for their industrious, able and conscientious endeavors which have made possible the submission to this convention for its ratification, approval and adoption, the Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, a Constitution for the combined Federation, the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations," and the Implementation Agreement dated November 30, 1955.

In considering the Report and Supplemental Report of the Executive Council on the subject of Labor Unity, the Resolutions Committee also gave consideration to Resolution No. 28 which seeks to amend the constitution for the combined federation, "The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations."

Also considered was Resolution No. 47 which also seeks to amend the Constitution of "The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations." . . .

The Resolutions Committee believes that the Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Constitution of the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" and the Implementation Agreement of November 30, 1955, which have been formally approved and submitted by the Executive Council to this convention for its ratification, approval and adoption, will bring about honorable organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

This committee realizes, of course, that this Constitution of "The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" is not a perfect document in all respects and that time, and experience under its governing provisions, may demonstrate the need for subsequent amendment.

It, and the Agreement for Merger are the result of frank, honest and sincere negotiations between free and, in some respects, competing groups motivated by an honest desire for unity. Consequently, some allowances have to be made for some give-and-take on each side. These documents represent a negotiated understanding. Neither the Merger Agreement nor the Constitution of "The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" can be altered or changed by this convention without the approval and agreement of the other party.

With this in mind the Resolutions Committee recommends and moves that Resolutions numbered 28 and 47 submitted by the Sleeping Car Porters and by the International Typographical Union, respectively, be referred by this convention to the Executive Council of the combined Federation, "The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations." This referral to be with the recommendation of this convention that such Executive Council, in the ensuing two years, consider these resolutions in the light of experience gained by the combined Federation and make such recommendations to the Second Constitutional Convention of the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" with respect to these two resolutions as it shall deem to be necessary and proper.

In conclusion, the Resolutions Committee further recommends to this convention and moves that this con-

vention accept the recommendations of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, as contained in its Supplemental Report on Labor Unity, and that it adopt the resolution on the Achievement of Labor Unity, which has been distributed to the delegates in attendance at this convention and reads as follows:

Resolution on the Achievement of Labor Unity

Whereas—The combination of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations into a single labor federation is a long-cherished goal of the trade union movement of this country, and

Whereas—On February 9, 1955, the Joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee agreed upon and recommended to the two federations the adoption of the "Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations" attached hereto as Annex A, and

Whereas—The Agreement of February 9 was ratified by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on February 10, 1955, and by the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations on February 24, 1955, and

Whereas—Pursuant to the provisions of the Agreement of February 9, 1955, a proposed constitution for the combined federation was drafted by the Joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee for submission to the two federations, and

Whereas—The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations reviewed this draft constitution on several occasions, and made various changes therein, and

Whereas—The "Constitution of the

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" attached hereto as Annex B was approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on November 30, 1955, and by the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations on November 30, 1955, and

Whereas—The Agreement of February 9 provides that upon approval by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations of that Agreement and of a Constitution for the combined federation, that the Agreement and the Constitution, and any other agreements necessary to accomplish the combination of the two federations, shall be submitted to the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; and that upon approval by the separate conventions of the Agreement and of the Constitution of the combined federations, a joint convention shall be held, and

Whereas—The Implementation Agreement dated November 30, 1955, attached hereto as Annex C, was approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on November 30, 1955, and by the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations on November 30, 1955, and is necessary and appropriate to dispose of various matters arising out of the combination of the two federations, and

Whereas—The "Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations," attached hereto as Annex B, provides in Articles XIX and XX that it shall become effective upon approval by the separate conventions of the two federations and shall govern the joint convention of the combined federations,

Now, therefore, be it resolved:

1. The "Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations," attached hereto as Annex A, is ratified, approved and adopted.

2. The Constitution of the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" attached hereto as Annex B is ratified, approved and adopted as the Constitution of the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations," and as an amendment to and substitute for the Constitution of this federation heretofore in effect.

3. The Implementation Agreement dated November 30, 1955, and attached hereto as Annex C, is ratified, approved and adopted.

4. The adoption of this resolution by this convention is conditional upon the adoption of an identical resolution by the present separate convention of the other federation; provided, however, that this resolution, the Agreement for Merger, the Constitution of the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" and the Implementation Agreement shall become effective upon the opening of the initial convention of the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" on December 5, 1955.

Note: The resolutions referred to and not acted upon by the A. F. of L. Convention are not included in this history. They will be found in the complete official proceedings of the final convention of the A. F. of L.

Utility Operators Association—(1935, p. 593) Public utility corporations, including the Illinois Power and Light Company, engaged in interstate commerce, have entered contracts with an association identified as the Utility Operators' Association.

The served purpose of the Utility

Operators' Association, in combination with the enforced intent of the public utility corporations, constitutes conspiracy to defeat the objects included in the Wagner Disputes Act, and the right of employees to bargain collectively for wages through a voluntary organization of their own choice.

The E.C. is hereby instructed to formulate and pursue such further methods of protecting the rights of such employees to bargain collectively as free citizens as are determined upon by the council.

Vacations—(1937, pp. 91, 338) As modern industrial techniques shorten work time, vacations with pay should become part of the program for shortening work hours. Also, they may lessen seasonal unemployment by substituting paid holidays for a layoff in dull seasons.

In this day of automobiles, well-paved roads, trailers, inexpensive bus tours to national parks and places of interest, a vacation of one or two weeks has more to offer than ever before. A working man and his family may step out of their daily routine into a life full of new interest, mentally stimulating, with a chance to learn something of the world outside the shop and home. Such an opportunity is of immense value to wage earners; it gives perspective and sends a man back to his work with a new outlook. Now that workers are organizing and, as union members, are taking a more responsible part in the affairs of their industry, such a broadening of outlook is particularly important. A weekend is not long enough to give it.

The year 1937 appears to mark the beginning of a movement for vacations with pay for wage earners. Until recently, such holidays were confined with few exceptions to salaried workers. Several of our international

unions note this new trend. Many unions are including vacations in their agreements this year for the first time, and it is reported that employers in increasing numbers are granting this benefit voluntarily. In foreign countries also a move is on foot to extend the vacation privilege to wage earners. The British Trades Union Congress is trying to establish vacations with pay by Act of Parliament.

We heartily endorse the efforts of our member unions to win vacations with pay, and urge them to include a vacation clause in their agreements wherever possible.

A questionnaire sent to our international unions shows that 746,893 union members already have vacations with pay (1937). Of these, 383,000 are employed by federal or state governments, and 363,900 are in private industry.

(P. 338) In view of the clear need for fewer hours of employment, vacations with pay contribute in a practical way. The past year has seen much progress in this direction. Many union agreements contain a clause calling for one and two weeks vacation with pay each year.

We are informed that this innovation in industry is not confined to the U.S. and Canada. The British Trade Union Congress is trying to establish vacations with pay by Act of Parliament.

The 52 weeks work year has become as outmoded as the 60-hour work week. Under our present surplus economy there is no justification for denying vacations with pay to all workers.

The extension of this principle will tend to avoid the vacations without pay known as unemployment.

Your committee recommends that the publicity department of the A. F. of L. and all affiliated unions promote

an extensive educational campaign in the interest of establishing vacations with pay as an accepted principle of employment in industry.

(1938, p. 93) A questionnaire sent to our international unions shows that 589,818 union members already have vacations with pay. We heartily endorse the efforts of our member unions to win vacations with pay, and urge them to include a vacation clause in their agreements wherever possible.

(1946, p. 529) Res. 77. Convention adopted the following resolution after amendment:

Whereas—Technological progress was undoubtedly responsible for a large portion of pre-war unemployment, and

Whereas—It is reasonable to believe that this trend will be accelerated in the post-war period, and

Whereas—A 26-day vacation period would increase employment, both directly and indirectly, and

Whereas—Time and means for extended travel would create a more homogeneous nation, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare in favor of the progressive lengthening of the vacation period.

(1947, p. 530) Res. 94, unanimously approved by the convention, together with the recommendations of the convention committee thereon, follow:

Whereas—Many industries throughout the nation, in order to spread the work, give employment to more individuals, and more leisure time for employees, are now establishing the principle of 26 days' annual leave with pay, and

Whereas—Such leaves are not only conducive to better physical condition for employees but tend toward an improved mental and morale condition, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembly, hereby endorses the principle of 26 days' annual leave for employees in all branches of industry regardless of who the employers are and that local unions, central bodies and representatives be instructed to endeavor to have same included in contracts, and be it further

Resolved—That in pursuit of successful conclusion of the purpose of this resolution, immediate efforts be directed by the international officers toward placing all governmental employees on 26 days leave with full pay.

Resolution No. 94 endorses the principle of 26 days annual leave for employees in all branches of industry, directs that local unions, central bodies and representatives be instructed to endeavor to have same included in contracts, and that immediate efforts be directed by the international officers toward placing all governmental employees on 26 days leave per year with full pay.

Veterans Bonus (also see: Post-War Financial Aid for Veterans; Apprentice Training; Reinstatement After War; Post-War Planning; War and Reconversion Controls; Housing)

Pensions—(1927, p. 137) Bills for the pensioning of veterans of the Civil War and widows of deceased veterans were supported by the A. F. of L. Both Houses passed a bill for this purpose but, for some unexplained reason, it failed to reach the President for his signature before 12 o'clock, March 4, 1927.

(P. 247) The E.C. was directed to continue to support the bills.

Discharge Compensation—(1942, p. 559) The following resolution was considered by the convention and referred to the Committee on Post-War Planning:

Whereas—As a result of the dastardly and despicable attack of the

Japanese upon Pearl Harbor and the alignment of the anti-religious forces of the world against our great democracy, our young men have responded to the urgent call of their nation to give their all, if necessary, in defense of all that we hold dear, and

Whereas—Without thought of self, these young men left their civil employment with no assurance of their rehabilitation at the close of the war, this causing them much uncertainty and insecurity, regarding their future, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention call upon the Congress of the United States to provide that, immediately upon the discharge from active service, each member of the armed forces of the United States, from the position of army captain (or its equivalent) and all those of lesser salary schedule, shall receive the equal of six months' pay, in six equal monthly instalments, as an expression of appreciation of the services rendered and to fortify them against the hazards of unemployment and insecurity.

Post-War Financial Aid—(1942, p. 593) The following resolution was considered by the convention and referred to the Committee on Post-War Problems (Res. 98):

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor has gone all out for the war effort, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor has been conducting a fight for the working peoples of the United States, and

Whereas—The greater percentage of all men bearing arms for the United States are from the working class, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this convention go on record as furthering legislation to provide all service men up to the grade of major with a minimum sum

of money equal to not less than the average rate of pay of such men for a period of six months in order for them to be financially able to readjust themselves, and be it further

Resolved—That this shall apply to all men within these classes who receive honorable discharges from the United States forces, who have served not less than 90 days during the period of the war, and who do not have a disability that entitles them to greater pay than the sum otherwise provided.

Rehabilitation of Disabled—(1942, p. 681) Res. 130 requested approval of general rehabilitation plans for disabled service men and women. The convention unanimously adopted the recommendations of the committee as follows:

Whereas—It became necessary for the United States of America to declare war against the Axis Dictator Powers on December 8, 1941, immediately following the treacherous attack that was made upon the United States of America at Pearl Harbor by the Japanese Government, and

Whereas—Men and women from all walks of life have been inducted into the armed military forces of our government to wage active combat against Axis aggression, and

Whereas—It is inevitable that many of our young men and women who now serve our country to preserve for us the principles of democracy upon which our country was founded will be wounded and disabled by reason of the heroic sacrifice that they are making, and

Whereas—It is just as inevitable that these men and women, after they have been returned to our communities, must immediately be rehabilitated in order that they may maintain their self-respect by sustaining themselves and carrying on a useful life, and

Whereas—Existing facilities in the public schools make such immediate rehabilitation possible, irrespective of what the endeavors of these disabled ex-service people may be, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor recommend that boards of education throughout the states at once set up machinery and inform every person who has been disabled in the service of our country of the existing facilities now available for rehabilitation training to all who have suffered disabilities in this war, and be it further

Resolved—That this convention likewise recommend that all local state and government educational agencies be required to immediately organize and operate training centers throughout the states to teach these disabled veterans the trade or occupation to which they are best adapted, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor request our Congressmen and Senators to petition the Congress of the United States of America to appropriate the necessary monies to put such training programs into operation on a nation-wide scale, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor petition the Congress of the United States of America to pay a reasonable amount of money to all people who have been disabled in the service of their country to the extent that they will be allowed to completely rehabilitate themselves.

The committee agrees with the general objectives of this resolution—to make available to ex-service men and women extensive rehabilitation services and whatever financial support is necessary to make possible such rehabilitation. The committee therefore recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Post-

War Problems and that this committee take such action as may be necessary to assist in carrying out the objectives of the resolution.

Training and Rehabilitation (Post-War)—(1943, p. 108) Training and rehabilitation of workers and soldiers for the post-war period is one of our most important problems. It involves a critical evaluation of existing training programs, of proposed programs, and a knowledge of the general economic and social structure of the community in which and through which the training program must operate.

Existing training programs include the long established federal vocational program (Smith - Hughes - George - Dean), the additional defense training programs (including training within industry, and up-grading), the federal apprenticeship training program, state supported vocational programs, continuation schools at all levels, both publicly and privately supported. In addition, there are the various programs of the armed forces, some academic, some military, some vocational. We realize that the job of the armed forces must be the training of men for war, hence the type of mechanical and other vocational training given in the armed forces is to supply or train a soldier for war. That is not the civilian's job, but the form of training given to fit the soldier for return to civilian life is definitely the concern of the civilian agencies. This is not a responsibility which military authorities are competent to perform.

When the Congress of the United States enacted legislation which put youths from 18 years on into the army, the President of the United States by Executive Order created a commission to plan the training and rehabilitation of these young men to return them to civilian life. That commission, of which General Osborne is chairman, has developed a program. We do not know, however, what the

training program has planned for readjustment of young workers to civilian life. The American Federation of Labor was not one of the agencies at any time consulted by the President's commission and was denied advance information of the commission's findings. Labor must, therefore, proceed to develop its own program for retraining and rehabilitation and present it to the Congress and to our fellow citizens.

The retraining program must be considered as an integral part of the military demobilization plans and of industrial demobilization and remobilization plans. The type of training must be determined by a consideration of: which industries will continue in the peace economy; which wartime industries can readily and speedily be converted into peacetime industries (new and old), and which will require a long time for conversion; how many workers will be needed for each kind of industry; what kind and amount of training will be needed to qualify workers for their old or new jobs; what peace industries will expand; what new industries will get into production.

Guiding the use of such industrial engineering must be the knowledge of the rate and form of military demobilization. A definite plan for training and rehabilitation should embody the following principles:

1. Every possible aid must be given the returned soldier (of whom over a million include our own members), to rehabilitate him physically and economically to assure his development and personal adjustment.

2. A national employment service should be provided to assist the war workers in finding employment with the necessary occupational training and unemployment compensation when needed.

3. Curricula should supplement training. There must be cooperation

between publicly supported training programs, the training programs of organized labor and industrial organizations and establishments, the U.S. Employment Service and federal and state public works programs. The rate and method of military demobilization should be considered in relation to the interrelated programs of these agencies, and their programs in turn must be conditioned by military demobilization. Education must be recognized as experience far beyond formal class work for "credit."

4. All plans for rehabilitation, retraining and reemployment for civilian life should be predicated on specific legislative authority and not be simply "allowed" or authorized by informal agreements or administrative directives. These plans are too important to the very life of our nation to be left to the whim or caprice of administrators. They must have their foundation in law.

The only bases at law at present for a program of rehabilitation and retraining is to be found in the Selective Service Act in which: "The Director of Selective Service herein provided for shall establish a personnel division with adequate facilities to render aid in the replacement in their former positions of, or in securing positions for, members of the reserve components of the land and naval forces of the United States who have satisfactorily completed any period of active duty, and persons who have satisfactorily completed any period of their training and service under this Act."

The functions of employment placement and training for placement are distinctly a civilian and not a military function and should be placed by law under civilian administration. We repeat, proper legislative authority for the entire program of retraining and placement should be provided through law, at the earliest possible time.

(Industrial Rehabilitation)

The enactment of the LaFollette Vocational Rehabilitation Act renews and extends the provisions of the original Industrial Rehabilitation Act. State and local labor bodies should look into the administrative features of this law.

(P. 580) The Executive Council discusses problems of training and rehabilitation which are vital to organized labor. Your Committee on Education agrees with the position taken by the council that education for reconstruction should be a civilian rather than a military task. The armed forces, although highly competent in training for the skills of war are not experienced in educational problems of reconstruction. It has been the contention of the A. F. of L. over the years that all educational matters should be controlled by the agencies of government established for that purpose. With these regularly established agencies the A. F. of L. has cooperated for many years. The council's report relates that the President of the United States, by Executive Order, has created a commission on training and rehabilitation headed by General Osborne. The American Federation of Labor is not represented on this important committee despite the fact that the A. F. of L. has had a wider experience in vocational education than any other large group in the nation. In fact, information is not available as to the work of the committee and its findings. The American Federation of Labor has, therefore, been compelled to conduct its own research and develop its own program for training and rehabilitation of workers and soldiers. Your committee recommends that the position of the American Federation of Labor in this matter be called to the attention of the President of the United States together with a request that the A. F. of L. be

represented on all committees dealing with the government's plan for training and rehabilitation. The rich experience of the A. F. of L. in the vital field of specialized vocational training should not be neglected or disregarded.

(P. 366) Res. 106, referred to the Post-War Planning Committee, called for amendment of existing compensation laws to aid ex-servicemen. The resolution follows:

Whereas—After the cessation of hostilities the members of the armed forces will be looking for re-employment, and

Whereas—Due to curtailment of war production, the manpower problem will no longer exist, and

Whereas—Management will again resort to pre-war conditions of not hiring men over the age of 40 and increase the physical requirements prerequisite to employment, and

Whereas—Many members of the armed forces will not be able to meet the requirements brought about by the state insurance fund and other private insurance funds in relation to workmen's compensation benefit, now, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor at Convention convening at Boston, Massachusetts, go on record during the enactment of federal legislation supplementing existing laws relating to compensation insurance fund, etc., thereby, making it possible for the members of the armed forces to meet their post-war requirements.

(P. 464) Res. 2:

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor, through its affiliated organizations, has voluntarily, willingly and unstintingly aided the war effort by the purchase of war bonds and stamps; by all-out production of essential war materials, by contributing

its man power to both the fighting and home fronts, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor realizes its obligation to these brave young men who are fighting the battle for democracy, and

Whereas—Many of these young men are suffering wounds in battle which render them unable to continue in actual combat and which necessitate hospitalization and rehabilitation, and

Whereas—These honorably discharged young men deserve the opportunity to find a place in industry which will enable them to earn a livelihood, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor as further testimony of its desire to give 100% all-out cooperation, believes that many of these young veterans possess the ability to become skilled craftsmen after a period of apprenticeship, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor supports the national program of apprenticeship which has for its aim and purpose the proper training of apprentices; therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor initiate and develop a method and program among the skilled trades affiliated with the American Federation of Labor whereby these young veterans will be afforded a deserving opportunity to become skilled craftsmen and to thus be able to find employment in industry so that a decent livelihood could be earned for them and their families, and be it further

Resolved—That the method and program be promptly initiated by this body and that this body work jointly with the skilled trades, with the representatives of the veterans' organizations, the Veterans Bureau, representative employers and representatives of the apprentice-training service, in order to achieve through their mutual efforts the aims and purposes

of this resolution, which aims and purposes are in line with the patriotic desire of the American Federation of Labor in support of the war effort.

Your committee submits the following as a substitute for this resolution:

Your committee is in complete accord with the necessity for providing adequate provisions for industrial training. Those who had already had partial training in their respective skills and occupations must be accorded every opportunity of completing their training and preparing themselves to earn their living at some gainful occupation. Those who had previously had no opportunity of acquiring skill, must be afforded that opportunity.

Your committee, however, is definitely of the opinion that all of this training should be under the direction of the two federal agencies, the establishment of which was one of the accomplishments of the American Federation of Labor in the field of training—the Federal Bureau for Vocational Education, and the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training.

Your committee would be negligent of its responsibility if it did not call attention to the conflicting and overlapping agencies for training which have been established in recent years, and we therefore recommend that the American Federation of Labor use its influence to have all federal activities in connection with training, centered exclusively in the Bureau for Vocational Education and the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training, and that these agencies shall be charged with the responsibility of training those from the armed service.

Workmen's Compensation Amendment—(P. 366) Res. 106, referred to the A. F. of L. Committee on Post-War Planning:

Whereas—After the cessation of hostilities the members of the armed

forces will be looking for re-employment, and

Whereas—Due to curtailment of War Production the manpower problem will no longer exist, and

Whereas—Management will again resort to pre-war conditions of not hiring men over the age of forty and increase the physical requirements prerequisite to employment, and

Whereas—Many members of the armed forces will not be able to meet the requirements brought about by the State Insurance Fund and other private Insurance Funds in relation to Workmen's Compensation Benefit, now, therefore be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor at Convention convening at Boston, Massachusetts, go on record during the enactment of Federal Legislation supplementing existing laws relating to Compensation Insurance Fund, etc., thereby, making it possible for the members of the armed forces to meet their Post-War Requirements.

This resolution deals with the question of re-employment and rehabilitation after the war of the men returned from the armed forces.

Your Committee recommends that it be referred to the Post-War Planning Committee of the American Federation of Labor for appropriate action.

Training and Retraining (and War Workers)—(1944, p. 223) The GI Bill interests all of us for it affects the men in uniform in whom all of us have a deep personal interest. We are mindful of the fact that several million of these men are trade unionists, and are continuing their active interest in their trade unions. We know, too, that practically every one of our members has someone in his own family in uniform. So, for personal as well as national reasons, the well being of the serviceman is an intimate concern.

It is good to know that the Veterans' Bill is called a Bill of Rights, for the American serviceman has rights regardless of the amount of formal education he had before entering the service; regardless of what any so-called psychosocial test may show; regardless of his social status, his race, his creed. We fought for the recognition of this principle in regard to training rights.

The bill as originally drafted provided that only those servicemen selected, shall be given such education as the economic situation may demand. The government's own apprenticeship program in which Labor participates, was not recognized, but business firms were to be paid for training the man on the job. The serviceman himself was, under this bill, merely a robot, with no say as to his own interests or desires.

Due to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor these provisions were changed.

Certain objectionable features, however, still remain in the law.

The man who was over 25 when he entered the Service has not the right to a year's education at government expense, unless his education was "interrupted by the war." This clause, if closely interpreted, would deny one-third of the servicemen their rights. We hold this limitation to be unjust. We contend that every serviceman's life and education has been interrupted by the war.

The bill does not now closely define the type of education which a serviceman may have. This is left to his choice, provided he takes it in an "approved institution."

We should recognize that thousands of servicemen on being returned to civilian life will want an education unlike that which is now offered in most of the accredited educational institutions in this country. Thousands

will wish to learn or train for life and for enriched living, and not simply for "credit". Yet because our educational system is for the most part so constructed that a student must enroll on a credit basis to be a "full time" student, many servicemen may be denied what they actually want—a real education.

The entire training and retraining program for our returned soldier can be made more valuable to him and for the nation if it is conceived in terms of knowledge and social values and not merely in terms of "credit".

The retraining of the war worker for a peacetime job and his rapid reabsorption into industrial enterprise is vitally essential to the establishment of a stabilized economy. We cannot plan for the economic readjust of 10 million veterans without at the same time planning for the reemployment of the workers who supplied the materials of war. A universal, coordinated sound training program is essential for each citizen seeking post-war employment if any citizens are to be helped in effecting their adjustments.

Industrial training must be done on the job. The trainee should be adequately compensated during his training. Provision should be made for coordinated part-time private and public employment with training wherever that is desirable and practicable. Civil and cultural subject matter which is to be taught every trainee should be planned at the adult level, and should enable the worker to understand more fully his own rights and privileges and his duties and responsibilities in our society.

We recommend that the Standing Committee on Education formulate definite plans for training and programs in keeping with our principles and seek to have these programs implemented and adopted by the neces-

sary governmental and private educational and training agencies.

(P. 610) Your committee congratulates the officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor upon the significant part they played in securing the enactment of the GI Bill of Rights and especially for their success in democratizing the bill so it will better serve all veterans eligible to its benefits. We agree with the position of the Executive Council that retraining and rehabilitation should be available to veterans who were over 25 years of age at time of enlistment as well as those under 25.

Because of organized labor's long interest in vocational education and rehabilitation we urge that the staffs of local, state and national agencies of the Veterans Administration include persons familiar with the problems of organized labor. We urge that wherever possible, the Veterans Administration make use of advisory committees of management and Labor which have proved so successful in the Smith-Hughes vocational program.

Your committee further recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a special committee on veterans' affairs to consult, from time to time, with the chief of the Veterans Administration, regarding veterans' problems. It is the considered opinion of your committee that such a committee will be of significant value to the millions of members of organized labor who are now in the Armed Forces.

Rehabilitation—(1944, p. 535) The following resolution, No. 55, was unanimously adopted:

Whereas—Federal Public Law 16 provides for the rehabilitation of service-connected disabled veterans, and

Whereas—Under this law rehabilitation can be in the form of apprenticeship training for a maximum of four

years (or 48 months) during which time the government pays the veteran a monthly subsistence allowance for the full term of training, and

Whereas—It is against the policy of the Veterans Administration to place a veteran in training and in an apprenticeship which cannot be completed in four years' time, and

Whereas—The term of training in many trades is fixed by law and by agreement between employer and Labor as more than 48 months, and

Whereas—The consequent result may be that either a veteran cannot be placed as an apprentice in these trades or attempts will be made to shorten the term to four years by allowing credit for one reason or another; therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20, 1944, go on record as being opposed to attempts to shorten the apprenticeship term, except in cases where the practical experience and training is actually related to the trade for which time credit is allowed, and be it further

Resolved—That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to attempt to secure either a more liberal interpretation of Public Law 16 from the Administrator of the Veterans Administration to permit disabled veterans to commence an apprenticeship in these trades or take immediate action to sponsor legislation which will amend the law as interpreted today.

(P. 617) The Convention Committee on Resolutions submitted the following statement which was unanimously adopted:

Establishment of friendly and co-operative relations between organized labor and the veterans of this war is essential to the future welfare of America.

The achievements of American workers on the production front have served to defeat attempts to arouse animosity among servicemen against Labor. The eagerness of Labor to back up the fighting forces with everything they need to crush the enemy is appreciated not only by the commanding officers of our army and navy, but by the men in the ranks as well.

While Labor is proud of its own contributions to the cause of victory, all of us recognize that the greatest sacrifices and the greatest responsibilities have fallen upon the millions of men in uniform who are doing the actual fighting.

These men are going all-out for us. We must do all in our power for them.

Labor's obligation to the servicemen is two-fold. We must, first of all, produce in ever increasing quantities the weapons of war needed to hasten the day of victory and save needless death and suffering. This convention already has served notice of the determination of the seven million members of the American Federation of Labor to fulfill that immediate obligation.

But above and beyond this, we must also make every possible effort to provide for the economic and social security of our fighting men when the war ends and they come back home to resume civilian life.

The least America can do is to assure a good job at decent pay to every demobilized serviceman so that he can get a new start in life and make up for lost time.

This is a program for which Labor, industry and the veterans' organizations can and must work closely together, along with the agencies of the government.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor confer with

representatives of all these groups and agencies at the earliest opportunity in an effort to bring about agreement on essential objectives and the steps necessary to carry them out.

The American Federation of Labor and the unions affiliated with it already have taken steps to protect the seniority and job security of their 1,500,000 members now serving in the armed forces, who have been exempted from paying dues while in the service. In addition, a large number of our unions have taken action to admit qualified and honorably discharged servicemen into membership without payment of initiation fees. These are steps in the right direction.

Furthermore, the American Federation of Labor has given unqualified support to the "GI Bill of Rights" and other legislation seeking to provide postwar security for servicemen.

Your committee urges this convention to commend these policies and activities and to direct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to explore every new avenue of cooperation with veterans' groups that presents itself. Only in this way can we hope to discharge even a part of our obligations to the men who are defending the American way of life and to cement them with us in future efforts to improve that way of life when peace comes.

Readjustment ("An Epochal Year") —(1945, p. 10) One of the special problems of reconversion is the readjustment of veterans into civilian life. Congress has enacted legislation to meet the needs of servicemen in this period of readjustment and rehabilitation for the victims of war injuries. Our national purpose is to enable those citizens who have sacrificed civilian adjustments in order to render service to our country to overcome any handicaps resulting from this cause. We feel it is the

duty of the nation to return these citizens as members of our society and our civilian economy, prepared and able to assume their responsibility for their own lives like all other citizens. We believe that everything possible should be done to eliminate handicaps which would prevent veterans from being integrated into normal life. We believe our public and our private agencies should give assistance and encouragement to policies and programs that would tend to minimize or eliminate barriers that might separate veterans from other citizens of our democracy. Our program is outlined in the pamphlet "Veterans Welcome Home!"

Our affiliated organizations have maintained the union status of their members in the armed services, so that they may return to their unions with their rights protected, without interruption or additional expense. This is an important gain, for the union members concerned will thus be kept eligible for valuable union benefits and rights. Our unions also are generally admitting veterans without initiation fees and have expressed willingness to consider army work experience in estimating seniority and trade classification.

The readjustment of veterans will be facilitated or made more difficult in accord with the degree of our success in achieving maximum production and employment.

Subsistence Legislation—(1946, pp. 493-497) Res. 12, 15, 28, 63, 80, 81, 110, 119, 149, 151, 159. All of the listed resolutions requested remedial changes in subsistence legislation for veterans and related to apprenticeship allowances, etc. Convention recorded sympathy with intent and referred the resolutions to the Executive Council with request for thorough investigation and such legislation as will be most helpful in establishing

the objectives sought by the resolutions.

Housing—(1946, p. 590) Res. 100, unanimously adopted:

Whereas—Veterans of the armed forces have returned from World War II and, having fought for home and country, now have no home in which to live, and

Whereas—A housing program has been inaugurated to build one-family homes for these veterans, and

Whereas—A program of one-family homes of this magnitude will exclude a large number of our building trades workers from the opportunity for employment, thus weakening the building trades unions and eventually the whole union movement, and

Whereas—These one-family homes will cost more than the average war veteran can pay for in his remaining years of life, thus causing foreclosure and the loss of his home, and

Whereas—That as the majority of veterans do not want to be tied to the responsibility of paying off a long-term mortgage and do not wish to be forced to buy one of these homes in order to house himself and family, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 65th Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, Illinois, also sponsor action that apartment type housing in central locations be constructed, thus employing all branches of the building industry, creating a living setup that will be within the veteran's spending means causing him more contentment, and be it further

Resolved—That as this is both a state issue as well as a national issue, the American Federation of Labor Convention in Chicago is urged to go on record insisting that the National Housing Expediter enter a program of this type in the Veterans Emergency Housing Program.

In the midst of a critical shortage of all types of housing, shortage of rental housing has been especially severe. The rental housing provisions of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft General Housing Bill, which are designed to encourage large-scale rental housing within the means of families of moderate incomes and low incomes, deserve special consideration in the fight for the early enactment of that bill. In order to serve best the extreme need for rental housing on the part of our veterans and to alleviate the widespread lack of good homes at moderate rents, all sound programs for rental housing, conforming to the standards and policies of the American Federation of Labor, deserve our urgent support, whether such programs be federal, state or local. With these recommendations, your committee urges concurrence with the objectives and purposes of this resolution.

Public Relations Bureau—(1946, p. 535) The convention unanimously adopted Res. 105, which set forth the anti-labor campaign which had been waged among veterans and veterans organizations, and recommended remedial measures to offset the effects of the anti-labor propaganda:

Whereas—There can be no doubt that one of the spearheads used by the National Association of Manufacturers against the organized labor movement is the veteran and veterans' organizations, and

Whereas—There is a definite move involving returning service men and women in labor disputes as part of this well-planned program, and

Whereas—There is already clear evidence that some so-called "veterans' organizations" have been created to sponsor and work for anti-labor legislation, and

Whereas—There are many hundreds of thousands of A. F. of L. vet-

erans within the locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

Whereas—The A. F. of L. veterans have proven themselves loyal trade unionists, and are not in accord with any anti-labor legislation involving veterans against Labor, and

Whereas—There is specific evidence that poisonous propaganda levelled against the labor movements was part of a program forced upon many veterans during their period of service in the armed forces, and

Whereas—This propaganda was well planned and was used as a base to get the veterans hostile to Labor, and in particular to the organized labor movement, and

Whereas—It is a most important phase in the trade union activity to correct this evil, and to educate the veteran along the educational lines of the labor movement, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 65th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring an intensified educational program for service men and women who have returned to civilian status in order to offset the vicious anti-labor propaganda which was given them while they were in the service, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor Executive Council in its wisdom, take under advisement the necessity of this educational program and the establishment of a public relations bureau for veterans to offset all the unfair propaganda levelled at the organized labor movement.

Special Programs and Benefits—(1946, p. 625) In order to increase and extend its services to veterans, the Veterans' Committee of the American Federation of Labor recently made a survey of the special programs and

benefits provided for veterans by our affiliated unions. This survey covers the provisions contained in union agreements relating to employment rights, vacation eligibility, job assignment, pay and promotion, special consideration for disabled veterans and apprenticeship training programs of all the international unions which have had time to answer the Veterans' Committee's questionnaire. It also covers union policies with respect to the application to veterans of union fees and dues.

Approximately 1,800,000 A. F. of L. members are veterans of World War I or II. World War II veterans constitute 1,500,000 or 21 per cent, and all veterans 25 per cent, of the total A. F. of L. membership as of August 31, 1946.

Union Fees and Dues

The great majority of A. F. of L. affiliates have taken the initiative in reducing the financial burden on returning servicemen whether the veterans are joining one of our internationals for the first time or resuming their former membership. Almost 60 per cent of our affiliates have completely waived initiation fees for new veteran A. F. of L. members while 15 per cent have cut these fees. Only 25 per cent maintain their normal initiation fee.

In order to help prewar A. F. of L. members maintain their good standing while in the service, over 90 per cent of our international unions maintained servicemen's membership without any payment of dues. In many cases, the veteran's own local undertook to pay his dues. If a veteran was not in good standing when drafted, 90 per cent of the unions permit his return, in good standing, without any reinstatement fee. Most of the others limit back payments to three or four months.

Job Rights for Veterans
Perhaps the most crucial question

for union members who entered the service is job protection—protection of his employment rights based on the individual worker's length of service or seniority on his job. With the extension of seniority rights through collective bargaining, arbitrary layoffs and favoritism in promotion are reduced and workers' morale raised. The American Federation of Labor led in the fight to incorporate in the Selective Service Act the principles of retained seniority and job rights for all union members while in the service. The Selective Service Act, as passed, stated that any discharged serviceman was entitled to his former position or a position of "like seniority, status and pay."

Two difficulties inherent in this provision of the draft law were immediately evident. First, while veterans could bring court action against employers who denied them reemployment, the procedure was too lengthy and expensive for the individual veteran. So our local unions undertook the task of placing their support behind each individual veteran's fight for reemployment. The second, and major difficulty, was the "super-seniority" interpretation given by the Director of Selective Service. This "super-seniority" principle leads to chaos. It undermines the very equity of the seniority system. It constitutes "class legislation," in clear violation of the constitution.

Labor's fight against this "super-seniority" misinterpretation was based on our determination to safeguard the job rights of all workers, veteran and non-veteran. Without union organization and collective bargaining agreements, seniority has no meaning and the provisions of the Selective Service Act could not be genuinely effective. The U.S. Supreme Court, in a recent decision, supported the A. F. of L. position when it rejected the "super-seniority" interpretation.

Labor's deep concern for aiding the readjustment and reintegration of veterans into civilian life is shown by the benefits we have obtained for servicemen which go far beyond the requirements of the Selective Service Act—benefits which include numerous pay, promotion and vacation rights.

Vacation Eligibility

All A. F. of L. unions have fought for the most liberal application of vacation clauses for veterans in union agreements. In practically all contracts, military service is counted as "time employed" in determining the vacation time due to individual veterans. In addition, special determinations of time "at work" preceeding vacation rights are provided in a large number of contracts so that veterans' vacation rights can accrue as soon as they enter employment.

Job Assignments, Pay and Promotions

The Selective Service Act failed to answer many of the specific questions confronting a veteran when he applies for his old job: is he entitled to promotion? to increased pay? to a comparable job if his old job has been cut out?

In helping individuals answer these questions, our affiliates have not only insisted on the legal rights of veterans, but also demanded justice based on the equities of the individual case. Most A. F. of L. contracts have special clauses protecting promotion rights of veterans, stating specifically that he will be employed in the position and at the pay in the classification or at the same seniority to which he would have been entitled had he remained on the job. These contracts frequently provide that if a job formerly held by a veteran is discontinued, he will have a preferential status when new openings become available.

Disabled Veterans

The provisions for disabled veterans in A. F. of L. contracts have also gone far beyond the legal requirements of the Draft Act which makes no distinction between veterans who are physically handicapped and those able to resume their former jobs.

There can be no general rule for re-employment of disabled veterans, but a majority of our unions give seniority credit for those disabled during their recuperation period and extend the 90-day deadline for reinstatement after discharge.

Apprenticeship Training

Veterans are encouraged and aided to take part in all apprentice training programs our affiliates maintain jointly with employers. At present, veterans account for nearly 85 per cent of an estimated 100,000 apprentices. In addition, skilled trades are making a special effort to speed up apprentice training to assure a sufficient supply of journeymen trained to meet the heavy demands of reconversion, especially in the extensive housing program.

The rapid increase in the number of veteran apprentices is helped by the joint union-management apprenticeship committees which set up standards of pay and working conditions to protect apprentices and assure them of sound training. These committees now cover over 41,000 establishments—a 66 per cent increase over the past eight months.

Accelerated training of veterans is facilitated by the special considerations incorporated in the apprentice training agreements. These include specified priority in employment (in 70 per cent); credit for previous experience, including that in the armed services (in 88 per cent); maximum age exemptions (in 48 per cent); special considerations due to unusual qualifications, physical handi-

caps or veterans status (in 53 per cent); and provision for paid class instruction in related subjects (in 14 percent).

Hundreds of local building trades unions, faced with special local problems, have worked out new methods to speed and facilitate apprentice training, such as increasing the ratio of apprentices to journeymen, arranging to use public school facilities for classroom training to cut down the time required for "on-the-job" training, etc.

Thus each veteran apprentice receives not only the benefits won in the building trades unions' long fight to improve apprenticeship pay and other standards, but also the protection won by unions of veterans' rights under the GI Bill of Rights. Unscrupulous employers have used the government-paid monthly subsistence payments under this bill as a wage-cutting device and have put veterans on unskilled and unproductive jobs. We have insisted upon clearly defined standards which employers must meet before their training programs can be approved. Under a recently enacted bill (Public Law 679) standards are established which, if properly enforced, can eliminate malpractices in veterans' training programs. A. F. of L. will continue to fight for the rights of veteran-trainees by eliminating the limitations, also written into this bill, on the amount of allowance these trainees may receive.

The Veterans' Committee is pledged to continue its work in helping servicemen as they return to their homes, their jobs and their unions. In this way Labor can repay a part of the debt all Americans owe to veterans for the services they have rendered in the defense of freedom and their nation.

(1947, p. 268) The concern which the A. F. of L. has always manifested for the welfare of the nation's

veterans was reflected in the report of the E.C. and the convention action thereon, as follows:

The American Federation of Labor has always felt a keen responsibility for the welfare of the nation's veterans. Even before the passage of the Selective Service Act unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor were making contractual arrangements to protect the employment and seniority status of its members who had volunteered for military service.

The Federation took the initiative in preparing for reconversion early in the war years. A postwar planning committee of the A. F. of L. was appointed which gave special attention to the problems that servicemen would face as they returned to their homes and their jobs. In a series of recommendations, the committee framed a broad, constructive A. F. of L. program for veterans based upon these two fundamental principles:

1. Full job security for the veteran can be attained only insofar as this country is able to maintain an economy of high production and employment. Only when the nation can solve the problem of providing employment opportunities for all who wish to work will the veteran achieve real job security.

2. The veteran is entitled to every consideration that will enable him to become more easily integrated in civilian life. By devoting a crucial portion of his life to the service of his country, he has been seriously handicapped in his life-work. The community is therefore obligated to provide him with every available means to make up for his lost opportunities.

The American Federation of Labor Committee on Veterans translated these objectives into specific policies and procedures adopted by virtually

all of our unions. Initiation and reinstatement fees have been waived or drastically reduced, membership in good standing maintained without dues, benefits paid, apprentice training requirements relaxed, and special contract clauses written in order to make the transition period easier for the veteran and to give him better protection on his job.

Through the mechanism of the collective agreement, the veteran's right to his job and all improvements in terms of employment secured by the union in his absence have been protected. Special provisions regarding promotions, vacations, and disabilities have been incorporated into agreements. These go far beyond the temporary and limited protection afforded veterans by the reemployment provisions of the Selective Service Act.

Union contracts protect the veteran's job with full seniority rights, not on the one-year limited basis of the Selective Service Act, but for the length of his employment. This means effective and lasting security instead of the uncertain protection that would have been given by the "super-seniority" interpretation of the Selective Service Act. Labor imposed the "super-seniority" doctrine because, in order to gain a temporary, one-year protection for veterans, it would have pitted veterans against non-veterans in the fight for jobs and would have served to disrupt and destroy the very basis of seniority. In practice, the veterans themselves were given to recognize as crucial, the simple truth that seniority rules were devised and built up by unions and that without unions seniority is replaced by the whim of the employer.

Despite these many activities of unions on their behalf, many servicemen returned to civilian life with newly acquired prejudices against organized labor. These prejudices stemmed largely from the wartime

press and radio campaign of misinformation which magnified each work stoppage and gave Labor no credit for its part in the winning of the war.

In order to counteract these prejudices, the A. F. of L. Committee on Veterans published during the past year the pamphlet entitled, "What Every Veteran Should Know About Labor." This booklet was favorably received and widely distributed. Another pamphlet, "Jobs for the Handicapped Through Collective Bargaining," urging the employment of handicapped workers, dealt particularly with the problems of displaced veterans. These publications and intensive veterans' information services maintained by our headquarters staff have done much to win the good will of veterans toward our movement.

The so-called "veterans problem" involves a very large number of our citizens. At the present time the Veterans Administration estimates that there are over 18 million veterans in the United States. A. F. of L. estimates indicate that over 1,800,000 of these are members of unions affiliated with the Federation. In manufacturing alone, veterans now comprise over 20 per cent of the total work force.

These veterans constitute an important force in the life of the nation. They have been voicing many demands for special treatment in such fields as employment, education, and housing, many of which have been actively supported by the A. F. of L.

To this we feel it is important to add a warning. While it is imperative that the legitimate demands of veterans for preferential treatment be effectively met in order to compensate them, as much as possible, for the time they spent in the service of their country, it is also important that steps be taken to break down barriers of animosity between veter-

ans and non-veterans. The objective toward which all public policies concerning veterans should be directed is not only to adjust the legitimate grievances of veterans, but also to create an atmosphere of good-will in which veterans and non-veterans are treated equally, as citizens. Veterans and non-veterans alike must realize that this country will prosper only if all groups are prosperous.

For the American Federation of Labor, we urge that every possible action be taken to cement friendly relations between veterans and organized labor. Although much progress has been made in this, it is important to realize that any substantial drop in employment is likely to create new tension. A return to the era of unemployment and job competition will be disastrous to all workers. But the veterans will look upon it as their betrayal. If this nation neglects its responsibility of maintaining full employment, the "bonus marches" of 1932 are certain to be repeated on a greatly magnified scale. Soldiers and sailors of yesterday are workers and citizens of today. As workers and as citizens, they must make common cause with organized labor in furthering policies which would avert another depression and help build a nation strong in peace, able to yield a better life to all.

We urge that all affiliated unions continue to give special attention to the veterans' problems. We ask in particular that central labor unions formulate community-wide programs to acquaint veterans with the work of the American Federation of Labor. Union members and local union officials who are veterans are urged to participate actively, as individuals, in their community veterans' affairs, and, through their unions, keep the American Federation of Labor Committee on Veterans informed of their activities.

(P. 565) Convention unanimously adopted the following:

We recommend approval of this section which recounts the well-planned and effective program for veterans, in the adoption of which the American Federation of Labor has been instrumental. This program has sought to compensate veterans for handicaps due to military services as well as to help them to take up the responsibilities of civilian life.

We endorse the suggestion that all central labor unions participate in community programs or help to initiate programs where they do not already exist, to assist veterans to become integrated into the community. We urge each central labor union to appoint union committees to advise veterans as well as all young persons wishing to learn trades or enter industrial vocational training. Such committees should also advise potential workers of the services which unions provide.

Apprenticeship Training—(1947, p. 658) Res. 58 requested A. F. of L. support for amendments to Public Law 679 to meet the "intent and purpose of the GI Bill; and for the creation of a National or Statewide Joint Labor-Management Committee to advise with the Veterans Bureau on on-the-job training," etc. The resolution was referred to the Executive Council.

(P. 555) Protest against provisions contained in Public Law 679 relating to Veterans Apprenticeship Training, was unanimously voted in Res. 90, as follows:

Whereas—Public Law 679, relating to Veterans Apprenticeship Training, was recently passed and enacted by Congress at the last week of its 1946 session without a hearing or due consideration and deliberation, and

Whereas—The said Public Law 679 in its present form imposes a hardship upon trainees because it fails to

adequately compensate trainees and their dependents during their training period, and

Whereas—Public Law 679 presently tends to discourage eligible veterans from accepting the advantages of apprentice training and on-the-job training programs, to which benefits veterans are entitled and which they rightfully deserve the benefits of, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at this, its 66th Convention, take all necessary action to induce Congress at its next session, to restore to veterans all the benefits which they received prior to the passage of Public Law 679.

(P. 664) The convention unanimously adopted Res. 144 as follows:

Whereas—Under the GI Bill of Rights, Public Law 346, when it was first enacted a discharged veteran was given the assurance that he would receive the difference in wages on the progressive rate between an apprentice and a journeyman and at no time was he to receive above the ceiling wages of journeymen of any given craft or trade, and

Whereas—With this assurance the average veteran seeking to reestablish himself in civil life obligated himself to the fullest extent of his wages as guaranteed by Public Law 346, and

Whereas—The enactment of Public Law 679 placing a ceiling whereby a maximum of \$175 per month for a single man and \$200 a month for a married man was instituted, and

Whereas—This lowering of a veteran's wages reduced his living standards placing him in the position of not meeting his financial obligations, and

Whereas—The Veterans Administration, waiting for authorization to enforce Public Law 679, overpaid a great many veterans and have notified the veterans that not only will

the subsistence pay be cut off but they will be denied any further training under the veterans' program unless refunds of the overpayment is made immediately, and

Whereas—This will work an extreme hardship upon the veterans and will compel them to work at any job they may be able to secure with no chance of learning a skilled trade, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor goes on record as seeking to correct this injustice and use its influence to cause this law to be amended.

Legislation—(1947, pp. 253, 524) All support possible was given by the E.C. to measures favorable to veterans in the Congress. The convention directed that the E.C. continue its policy of supporting legislation introduced in the interests of the veterans.

(1948, p. 142) A brief but comprehensive report on legislation of particular interest to veterans, was included in the report of the E.C. to the convention.

(P. 472) Convention urged the continued support by the E.C. of all just measures for benefits to the veterans of all wars.

(P. 145) The council reported to the convention that the A. F. of L. had given full support to all measures favorable to veterans and "although the legislation enacted in the 80th Congress does not meet fully the proposals of the A. F. of L. . . . remarkable progress is being made in behalf of the veteran."

Certificates to Accompany Medals—(1948, pp. 235, 457) Res. 11:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in its 67th Convention, held in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, which convenes Monday, November 15, 1948, petitions the War Department of the United States Gov-

ernment to again issue to these heroes of World War II, these engraved and plate printed certificates at the same time they are presented with "The Air Medal," "The Purple Heart," "The Bronze Star Medal," for Meritorious Achievement in Ground Operations Against the Enemy, or "The Bronze Star Medal" for Heroism in Ground Combat.

(P. 277) In his response to the Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, President Green made the following remarks concerning parallel service of armed forces and "soldiers of production":

"I was just thinking when the distinguished commander-in-chief was delivering his message of the wonderful teamwork that was developed during World War I and World War II between those who served on the battlefields of Europe, as represented by the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the great army of production which we have the honor to represent here in the United States of America. I recall with a feeling of genuine pleasure and satisfaction the manner in which the membership of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars served on the battlefields of Europe and other places, and I also remember the great service rendered by the army of production here at home in the mill, in the mines, in the factories and on the transportation lines of the nation. Those who served in both armies gave their lives. Men were killed on the battlefields of Europe and men were killed in the mines and in the mills and in the factories at home. In fact, I think the record will show that about as many were killed at home as were killed on the battlefields of Europe.

"All gave their lives, all sacrificed, all suffered for the preservation of American principles and our form of government. I can truthfully say that

if another war comes in which the same principles are at stake, this great army of production here at home will rally again and serve just as they did in World Wars I and II.

"I recall that we made a solemn pledge and promise to the President of the United States, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, that for the duration of the war the members of the army of production of America would place the strike weapon behind the door and leave it there until Hitler and Mussolini were defeated. We did, and our people refrained from engaging in strikes. We carried out that pledge 98 per cent during the war, so that the armies abroad would not suffer for a single moment for anything they needed to win the war.

"It is that kind of teamwork that counts. It is that kind of cooperation that wins wars, and we are all happy in that we participated in the development of that character of teamwork and in that kind of service during the war.

"Little minor differences that might arise between us are of no consequence. These differences arise even in families, in churches, in fraternal organizations, and in all groups of society. But the important thing is that we stand together in defense of fundamentals, of vital principles, of our form of government and of America for American institutions. That is what we need to place emphasis on and that is what we will place emphasis on in the days to come.

"I want to thank you again for your visit to us and to assure you of our cooperation and support. We will stand with you in the fight you make for legislation for veterans, the armies, members of the Legion, or members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and we together will work in the future as we have in the past."

Veterans Hospital Employees—(1948, pp. 333, 476) Difficulties in attracting and holding efficient help in veterans hospitals because of low grades and classifications, was the subject-matter of Res. 130. A. F. of L. requested to "give its full support to legislation requesting a change in the titles of the (said) employees giving them a semi-professional title which will allow them higher salaries under the Classification Act and that adequate appropriations be granted to take care of the raise, and to relieve the annual leave situation which has accrued because of the lack of employees."

Sick Leave, Accumulated—(1949, pp. 52, 389) Res. 51:

Whereas—Many postal and federal employees were called to active duty with the Armed Forces of the United States during World War II, and

Whereas—No provision has been made granting accumulative sick leave for the time spent in the Armed Forces, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring granting accumulative sick leave to all federal employees for the period of time spent in the Armed Forces during World War II and in any future national emergency equal to that which they would have been entitled to, had they remained in continuous service in the Federal Civil Service, and that we urge the officers of the A. F. of L. to do all in their power to secure the enactment of legislation designed for this purpose.

Subsistence for On-the-Job Training—(1949, pp. 49, 387) Res. 38 requested legislation allowing the payment of full subsistence for veterans in on-the-job training programs where a standard work week of less than 36 hours per week has been established as a result of *bona fide* collective bargaining between employers and employees.

(1951, pp. 305, 513) Res. 79:

Whereas—There was established by the Veterans Administration a regulation known as Technical Bulletin 7-98 which is so written as to deny the payment of subsistence allowances to veterans who are serving apprenticeships as printers, and other trades such as pressmen, stereotypers, photo-engravers, plumbers, pipefitters, patternmakers and die sinkers, which would be paid to them under identical circumstances if they would select some other trade, and

Whereas—The Veterans Administration has flagrantly ignored the rights of such apprentices and has adamantly refused to recognize the journeyman rate as the objective rate of the apprentice and refuses to correct this discrimination against the trades named and the veteran apprentices therein, and

Whereas—Bills have been introduced in the Congress known as S. 801 and H.R. 2683 to correct by law the discrimination being invoked by the Veterans Administration through its regulation, and

Whereas—The Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget, has recommended to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare that it not give favorable consideration to S. 801, therefore, be it

Resolved—That it protests with full vigor this unfair action by the Veterans Administration of the United States and views with great surprise the fact that this office would so lightly brush away the rights of a specific group of veterans who fought as valiantly for the preservation of freedom as did any other group of veterans, and, be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor urge the President of the United States to reverse the action of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget and immediately request the Senate Committee on Labor

and Public Welfare and the House Committee on Veterans Affairs to enact without further delay S. 801 and H.R. 2683, to the end that the aforementioned discrimination of the Veterans Administration may be terminated and full rights restored to apprentices who suffer under said discrimination . . .

Trainee (Opposing Home Construction, By)—(1949, pp. 119, 501) Res. 119 opposed legislation pending which would permit veterans who are pursuing full-time institutional trade courses to build homes for veterans, buildings for charitable organizations, veterans' organizations and tax-supported institutions, and also to authorize veterans to construct, improve and repair public buildings for which work the veterans would receive no pay.

Apprenticeship Training — (1950, pp. 19, 456) Res. 1 unanimously adopted:

Whereas—The Veterans Administration has approved fees and subsistence pay for veterans qualifying for training under the GI Bill of Rights, who do not possess a college degree, or who do not have sufficient credits to enter a college, and

Whereas—The Veterans Administration has established a program of 18 months' duration for the training of veterans in skilled trades, and this is not adequate for a person to learn any skilled trade properly, and

Whereas—He upon graduation not being a competent mechanic is not qualified for membership in the craft union having jurisdiction in the field in which he has received his training, and as a result is usually found accepting positions under the regular established rates and thus undermining the trade union movement, and

Whereas—Our unions have constructive apprenticeship programs which would provide adequate sound

training for the veterans, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor take such action as is deemed necessary to have the Veterans Administration extend the period of GI training to a period comparable to those established by the *bona fide* unions in their respective fields, and be it further

Resolved—That the Veterans Administration also provide, in addition to regular apprenticeship training with *bona fide* employers, that the services of the public school system be made available to the students.

(Pp. 329, 498) Res. 112 directed attention to a regulation of the Veterans Bureau which in effect was discriminatory against trades requiring more than four years apprenticeship training, and calling upon the convention to strongly support H.R. 7809 and S. 3485 and seek passage thereof.

Postal Service (Benefits)—(1950, p. 153) Perhaps the most active legislative campaign for a large number of government employees in which we participated was for enactment of H.R. 87, the bill to grant credit for military service of veterans who entered the postal service after discharge from the military branches. Long hours were spent, both in House and Senate to get passage of this far-reaching measure. Every step of the way was contested by those who did not want the bill to get through.

Finally the bill was vetoed. The President gave as his reason that it was "class legislation" designed to affect only a select group of government employees. Other reasons included the cost factor. The bill actually would have been the forerunner to further legislation to include veterans in the non-postal service at a later date.

The House promptly overrode the veto, 213-72, after which some delay was met in having the motion made

in the Senate to bring about the same effect.

Training (Labor Representation Sought)—(1950, p. 236) Under the GI Bill of Rights, and subsequently enacted legislation to further implement the program, no provision was made for Labor representation in the planning of training programs. No administrative provision was made for Labor advisors in policy-planning and training.

As a result, the training program for GI's has been most unsatisfactory. Abuses, involving thousands of dollars of public money, have been reported. Men have been registered in trade schools which have little or no connection with a craft for which the worker allegedly is being trained. There has been little consideration given by counselors of the potentialities for employment in the crafts in which they have been advising veterans to take training. On the whole, there have been practically no functional relations between veterans' training and the trade union movement, or between veterans' training and the Federal Apprenticeship Training Program. We can now foresee an extended period of veterans' training. Hence, it is of greatest importance that special attention be given immediately to this suggestion.

In the interest of the veterans and to assure the use of public funds for properly conducted programs, provision must be made immediately by law or by administrative ruling for Labor advisory committees at the national, state, and local levels to participate in developing programs for veterans' training. These committees should be given express authority to help formulate policy and then to assure the observance of the policies agreed to.

(P. 428) This section of the Executive Council's Report calls attention to the fact that no provision has been made for Labor advisory committees

in relation to the education and training programs under the GI Bill of Rights. As a result there have been grave difficulties in the vocational training program of this important educational service for veterans. Not only has counseling in relation to job training been inadequate, but in many instances "racket" schools have urged veterans to enroll in courses which gave training for non-existent jobs.

The American Federation of Labor was one of the agencies which worked actively for enactment of the GI Bill and the liberalization of its educational and vocational provisions. The American Federation of Labor recognizes that literally millions of veterans have been constructively and honorably trained under the GI Bill. The absence of Labor advisory committees, however, in relation to vocational training, has resulted in inefficiency and exploitation.

For more than two-thirds of a century the American Federation of Labor has battled against exploitation of children in unfair child labor and against exploitation of workers in the name of vocational education. Organized labor should be equally concerned about the exploitation of the men and women who have served their country in the armed forces in time of war. Exploitation of veterans through deceptive educational programs is one of the most damnable practices in the whole field of education.

Conference of Union Labor Veterans—(1950, pp. 326, 491) Res. 104:

Whereas—There are thousands of war veteran members of the American Federation of Labor who are not affiliated with any veterans' organization resulting in the fact that labor veterans are not playing a maximum part in establishing the policies and programs of such veterans bodies, and

Whereas—Veterans' organizations suggest and help to determine many

policies and much legislation of both our state and federal governments pertaining to veterans affairs and other matters affecting not only veterans but other members of organized labor as well, and

Whereas—There has been established a veterans organization known as The National Conference of Union Labor Veterans to provide for a collective voice of labor war veterans in veteran affairs and to help promote a unified voice of Labor and veterans in politics and government, and

Whereas—Membership in the National Conference of Union Labor Veterans is open only to honorably discharged war veterans, who, where eligible, are members of recognized labor unions, and who subscribe to the aims and purposes of the conference, and

Whereas—The purposes of the National Conference of Union Labor Veterans as set forth in the organization's constitution and by-laws are in accord with the principles of the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor commend the National Conference of Union Labor Veterans and recommend membership and participation in this excellent veterans' organization by all members of the American Federation of Labor who are eligible for membership.

Preference (Post Office Carriers)—(1950, pp. 34, 480) Res. 28 directed attention to the possible results to non-veteran postal carriers if super-seniority is imposed without regard to service of the postal carrier.

Whereas—In the event of a reduction in force of a federal agency, no veteran may be separated while there is a non-veteran on the rolls, and

Whereas—It is conceivable that under the terms of this law, an employee

who has given many years of valuable and faithful service to his government could be displaced by a veteran with very little service, and

Whereas—This is a grave injustice and a menace to the security of hundreds of faithful and loyal employees who, because of their age, family conditions or physical handicap have been unable to serve in their nation's armed forces, and

Whereas—The recent curtailment order issued by the Postmaster General again brings into focus the need for legislation to protect carrier employees, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as favoring an early enactment of legislation to correct this situation, and give the veteran super-seniority only to the extent that his seniority is similar to that of a non-veteran whom he is to displace.

This resolution was referred to the Executive Council.

Health Care to Dependents—(1952, p. 267) The E.C. reported active support for proposed legislation as follows:

To provide for the national defense by enabling the states to make provision for maternity and infant care for wives and infants, and hospital care for dependents, of enlisted members of the Armed Forces during the present emergency, and for other purposes.

This proposal concerns the American GI—the enlisted man in the Armed Forces of the United States.

To servicemen whose wives become expectant mothers, nothing is more important than the assurance of proper medical facilities to see the mother and the child safely through. Yet, the great majority of them are confronted with an enormous economic obstacle: inability to meet the

heavy financial burden of proper pre-natal medical care, of maternity hospitalization and of proper medical care of both the mother and the infant.

(P. 493) The convention authorized continued support of legislation referred to under this title.

Insurance—(1952, p. 23) Res. 5 proposed an amendment to the Insurance Act governing veterans' insurance, whereby beneficiaries may elect method of payment instead of having to accept monthly payments.

(P. 457) The recommendation of the convention committee were unanimously approved as follows:

Your committee is of the opinion that the desires and instructions of the veteran owner of the insurance policy should be respected, and therefore recommends non-concurrence in the resolution, and with these comments the committee further recommends that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security.

Review Court on Claims—(1952, pp. 22, 457) Res. 3:

Whereas—Many of our membership are veterans of World Wars No. I and II, and

Whereas—A large percentage of our members are now enlisted, enrolled, drafted, inducted or appointed into military or naval forces of the United States, and

Whereas—Many veterans are of the opinion that the Veterans Administration has not given them just consideration in their claims for benefits available under existing veterans' law, and

Whereas—Section 5 of Public Law No. 2, 73rd Congress, now states that all decisions rendered by the Administration of Veterans Affairs under the provisions of this title, or the regulations issued pursuant thereto, shall be final and conclusive on all questions of law and fact, and no

other official or court of the United States should have jurisdiction to review by mandamus or otherwise any such decision, and

Whereas—This law is unfair and dictatorial, and

Whereas—These veterans desire to have their case reviewed by court of the United States in order to determine if they have received a fair decision, and

Whereas—Under existing law this privilege is denied, therefore, be it

Resolved—That a special court be established for the purpose of reviewing claims of veterans, who have been denied benefits by the Veterans Administration, and be it further

Resolved—That the court shall have only the power to review the claims after the request has been made by the veteran or his representative, and be it further

Resolved—That the court shall be empowered to review any other question of law, concerning laws coming under the Administration of Veterans Affairs, and be it further

Resolved—That this convention requests the American Federation of Labor to secure the enactment of legislation to revise the law now in effect, Section No. 5 of Public Law No. 2, 73rd Congress.

The convention referred the subject matter of the resolution to the officers of the A. F. of L.

Vice President of U.S., Duties—(1948, p. 331) Res. 125 called upon the A. F. of L. to officially go on record favoring an expansion of the duties and broadening of responsibilities of the Vice President; and further that the A. F. of L. call upon all labor organizations in the United States to use their utmost influence to bring about the realization of this objective.

(P. 470) Resolution referred to Executive Council by convention "for study and consideration."

Vigilantism—(1936, p. 571) Vigilantism is becoming more prevalent each year and more vicious in its attacks on organized labor with the aim of destroying trade unions and subjugating Labor to the will of the employers. Law enforcement bodies frequently have failed to cope with vigilantes, and in some cases have condoned and encouraged their lawless actions. Therefore, the A. F. of L. goes on record as condemning the activities of such terroristic organizations that take the law into their own hands.

Virgin Islands—(1925, p. 314) Resolution requesting the President of the U.S. to transfer the official government business of the Virgin Islands from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to the Interior Department was adopted. The E.C. is also requested to petition Congress to enact legislation that will place the people of the Virgin Islands under a civil form of government and grant to them rights of citizenship.

(1954, pp. 148, 584) Although the Virgin Islands have a population of only 25,000 in an area of 133 square miles, these islands have had a very cumbersome system of government. Under a 1936 law, three separate local governments were established to rule on the islands, a system which obviously produced a great deal of duplication and confusion.

The recent session of Congress, however, revised this arrangement and provided a new Organic Act, under which the islands will be governed by a single legislature and a single executive government of not more than nine departments. The Governor of the Virgin Islands will be appointed by the President of the United States and the island government will be somewhat supervised by the Interior Department. The enactment of this legislation, which represents a real advance in government for the

islands, was supported by the American Federation of Labor.

Vocational Rehabilitation, Office of—(1949, p. 182) In all training programs, we have urged the integration of the worker with his community. The need for integrating the handicapped worker with his community is especially important.

Largely through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, the LaFollette Act was passed. Under its provisions, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Federal Security Agency stimulates and aids the states in helping the handicapped become self-reliant citizens again. Such a program has been in operation for some time. To make the program work effectively, it is necessary that our state federations and our local central bodies and the leaders of our internationals actively cooperate with and counsel with the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation on the national and state level. Actually many of our members do not know of the opportunities open to them under this program. The Committee on Education has appointed a subcommittee to aid in improving and developing this essential program. We believe that the recommendations made by this subcommittee at the close of its study, should be presented to the American Federation of Labor and fully employed by our organization.

(P. 356) The Executive Council calls special attention to the opportunities for assistance to handicapped workers through the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. The permanent Committee on Education has appointed a special committee to aid in improving this important service. All affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor are urged to take advantage of the services which are available for handicapped workers.

Voluntarism — (1926, pp. 37, 304) American trade unions are founded fundamentally upon principles of voluntary action. They seek to negotiate agreements with employers which provide specific, definite terms and conditions under which work shall be done. Trade agreements rest upon the principle of voluntary action. It is upon this same fundamental principle of consent of the governed that our nation is built. Thus the principles and practices of American trade unionism are in full accord with the principles and practices of our great republic.

With the growth and development of American industry and the organization of ever larger units of industrial enterprise in corporate form there is the imperative need for a parallel form of organization of the workers in those industries so that the employment contract may retain the value and virtue of equality of opportunity and assure all a fair measure of mutuality and exercise of free will in the making of employment agreements.

When these principles of mutuality of participation and exercise of free will are denied in the making of employment contracts there develops a feeling of resentment or an indifference because of the lack of initiative which arbitrary management fosters. Protest against lack of mutuality expresses itself in many forms; in the desire of complete domination either by employers, by workers, or through the instrumentality of the state. Any one of these extremes is undesirable and harmful to the general community as well as industry. The trade unions of America are a helpful and constructive force in maintaining and perpetuating Americanism and its free and democratic institutions.

Because American trade unionism is founded upon these great principles the American wage earners have

progressed and prospered more than the workers of any other nation.

Trade contracts or collective agreements between organized wage earners and employers have therefore embraced in the main, standards for compensating workmen for services rendered and setting forth conditions under which that service is to be rendered. Therefore agreements have embraced in the main wages or returns that shall come to workers. Collective bargaining establishes a relationship between management and employees that affords an opportunity for organized wage earners to interest themselves in the problems of the industry and to give the benefit of their experience for the development of better methods of work and in the solving of production problems. A decided forward step has been taken in this direction by some of our national and international unions. This development and tendency should meet with favor and support from all organized labor. We are of the opinion that trade union agreements should include provisions providing plans for the establishment of permanent machinery for interpretation of agreements and for dealing with new incidental problems as they arise. We urge also careful consideration of additional provisions whereby the union may cooperate with management. There is a vital basis for cooperation between workers and management in their interdependent interests in the success of the industrial undertaking in which they are employed. Progress and efficiency in either group bring reciprocal benefits to the other.

In this regard this convention is in full accord with the expression of the last as well as previous conventions of the A. F. of L. to the effect that existing anti-combination or anti-trust laws have been so construed judicially as to create great uncer-

tainty regarding the legal status of trade unions and to restrict, hamper and hinder the expansion and activities of organized labor. These legislative and judicial restrictions and limitations are an attempt to prohibit necessary and normal development and a curtailment upon the principle of freedom of contract advanced under guise of promoting the public welfare and preventing public exploitation. While stated in terms of purposes of human welfare the actual operation of these restrictive laws so far as wage earners are concerned has been to deny and limit their opportunities for organization and in constantly narrowing their field of operation.

This subject is one that is highly complex and requires considerable research and study. It may also prove essential that affirmative legislation may be required in addition to legislation intended to remove existing legislative restrictions and limitations.

As directed by the last convention of the A. F. of L., the E.C. has given study to this subject. It is the hope that during the coming year substantial progress may be made in securing the cooperation of other interested groups to remove unjustified restrictions upon industry and organized wage earners and thereby enable organized workers and employers to enlarge upon the functions of trade union agreements which will lead to a more constructive form of relationship to and participation in industry.

Under an existing legal economic system those investing their capital in industrial or commercial enterprise are accorded advantages and opportunities not accorded to Labor. The investors of capital are free to organize into corporate associations and in turn these industrial units unite in various forms of associations, federations and combinations. They exercise rights and principles which they

seek to deny to their employees and other wage earners. Hence, such unlimited power and opportunity of organization tends to make Labor subservient to organized capital. We hold that the test of validity of organized power is not in the grant of power but in the manner in which such power is exercised. The right of employers to organization should be made dependent upon equal opportunity for organized powers and rights on the part of Labor. It is therefore recommended that efforts be directed toward making the grant of corporate power of capital dependent upon freedom of like power of organization upon the part both of the workers as well as the consuming public, thus reestablishing a fair degree of freedom of play to all economic, industrial and social factors and elements in industry.

Supplemental to this general proposal we have caused the subject of declaring the provision in employment contracts against joining a trade union as being contrary to public policy and therefore unenforceable at law, to be investigated, and as was directed by the Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L., considerable information has been obtained on this subject. There appears to be considerable doubt as to the validity or constitutionality of such proposed legislation. Then, too, there is embraced in this proposal the possible danger of such proposed legislation being used against organized labor.

While attention is directed to the elements of danger contained in this proposed anti-"yellow dog contract" legislation, nevertheless we are not yet fully prepared to submit a final recommendation on this subject. Instead, it proposes that the subject be further inquired into and that it be authorized to take such further action as its continued study and consideration may warrant.

The attempt to delay unnecessarily or to deny the workers organized and unorganized their right to cease work and to compel them to submit their grievances or adjustment of terms of employment and of compensation to arbitration or for decision to an industrial court, has practically ceased. It is recognized everywhere that an attempt made to fix terms of employment and to regulate remedial relations between employers and workers is a clear denial of freedom of contract and creates instead a condition of status. It is further recognized that for the state to fix the terms of the employment contract either through force of compulsory arbitration or industrial courts, will eventually lead to a complete domination of the state over industry itself.

What at first appeared as Labor's contest aroused the interest and support of all fair-minded citizens and even employing interests hostile to organized labor. Perhaps the only elements in our society favorable to such a state proposal were those solely engaged in trading and not manufacturing and those hoping to profit politically.

Because of the foregoing the Colorado law, which seeks to hold in check cessation of work with the thought in mind of developing compulsory arbitration, the Kansas Industrial law which is now merely a shadow and without substance, have ceased to merit any further public support and remain merely as exhibits of an abortive attempt to enslave industry to the state.

In addition to the foregoing, the former Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Law has been amended as a result of a decision by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council declaring this law *ultra vires*. This amended law is in substance a compulsory investigation law and intend-

ed to restrain cessation of work either at the instigation of employers or workers until the dispute in question has been inquired into and an effort made to secure an agreement. Therefore the parties to the dispute are free to do as they will unless both parties have agreed beforehand to abide by the decision of the industrial board. This amended law is largely modelled after the Colorado law and it is firmly believed will prove as ineffectual as the Colorado law.

Perhaps the most pronounced progress made this year in eradicating the most subtle form of denial of the right of freedom to collective agreements is evidenced in the enactment of the Watson-Parker Law. This law has abolished the Railroad Labor Board and instead has set out in clear and unmistakable language the right of the railroad and transportation workers to voluntary collective bargaining.

Thus to all practical intents and purposes the long, trying, as well as bitter campaign of the trade union organizations and the A. F. of L. for the right to collective bargaining and freedom from domination of the state in the form of compulsory arbitration or through industrial courts, has come to a successful ending. Again, organized labor in America has vindicated its course and demonstrated the wisdom of its judgment. In addition, it has rendered a great public service and has blazoned the way for more constructive policies and helpful procedures both to industry as well as the general public good.

(P. 304) The principles which the A. F. of L. sets forth in its report determine those distinctive qualities and practices of the American labor movement which gives it personality and character. The American labor movement has developed within a democratic environment and expresses the ideals of wage earners who be-

lieve in an essential equality of opportunity for all without restrictions of an artificial nature. Because our movement is directed by these principles, we are not handicapped by consideration of class restrictions but feel that by utilizing principles of voluntary initiative and association we can best discharge our responsibility for promoting our welfare individually and as members of groups with which we are associated. We wish specifically to emphasize the reciprocal effects of progress in promoting the welfare of any one group in society or industry.

We wish also to emphasize the statement that trade agreements and collective agreements must rest upon a basis of mutuality. Any other basis would be out of harmony with American institutions and with the architectural principles of our national institutions. It is necessary to guard against both legislative and judicial restrictions upon voluntary association.

Organized labor and industry must be free voluntarily to work out their problems through group action.

It is further pointed out that industrial relations and individual or collective agreements for service are in no sense nor should such agreements be considered either in law or equity as contracts for the sale of commodities or articles of commerce and be governed by the same legal standards or judgments. Human considerations are emphasized in agreements for service, while in contracts of sale material considerations are embraced in the main. Because service agreements embrace a personal and human relationship we set out specifically that machinery for the interpretation, construction and application of trade union agreements should be provided in such trade union agreements and that the courts of law or equity should not be per-

mitted to intervene in such trade union agreements.

Under our existing legal economic system, capital is accorded advantages not accorded to Labor and Labor is thereby placed to great disadvantage with organized capital. Reference is made in particular to those artificial creatures of the law known as corporations and to industrial and commercial associations and combinations.

The conclusion is reached that the grant of corporate power to corporations and organization of corporations should be made conditional. The purpose is to provide clearly and distinctly that corporations shall have no right under corporate charter or otherwise to deny or attempt to deny the right of workers or of the consuming public to unite into associations, organizations, or trade unions of their own choosing, voluntarily created, maintained and administered.

The Federation's frequent endorsement of publicity of corporation accounts and especially of periodic statements of the costs of production may be regarded as a first step to put organizations of Labor and consumers on a level with organizations of capital and would make possible and facilitate other remedial and constructive steps.

The A. F. of L. holds that industry and Labor should be free to work out their problems without undue intrusion on the part of government.

Voting Registration—(1931, p. 418) We call upon all city central bodies to take the lead in establishing committees in all cities whose duty shall be the registration of non-registered voters, these committees to be composed only of those who will devote to this all-important task the necessary time and effort, and that all local unions be asked to cooperate with such committees, to the end that within the radius covered by every city central

body there shall be a thoroughly organized effort to secure registration of those who are or can become eligible to vote.

Every city central body is required to report within 30 days the name of the secretary and chairman of the citizenship committees appointed pursuant to these resolutions and that monthly reports of work done be rendered monthly thereafter, upon blanks to be provided by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who shall see to it that such reports are filed at the specified times.

War Workers—(1942, p. 586) The problems regarding voting status of war workers who were deprived of their franchise when living on government property, was set forth in Res. 78 which was referred to the E.C. "for the purpose of securing administrative action or such legislation as may be required."

Whereas—Due to housing shortages resulting from the expansion of war industries in many localities, the government has had to lease substantial tracts of land from the state and private parties to accommodate the influx of workers, and

Whereas—Because of antiquated and ambiguous federal regulations restricting the right to vote of those residing on federal property, and

Whereas—Such antiquated restrictions are now depriving hundreds of thousands of citizens of the right to vote and threatening many more with the same consequence, and

Whereas—The said federal restrictions were never intended to victimize the citizens in this way, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor go on record to petition the appropriate executive departments of our government to make the necessary adjustments to reinstate the voting status of all citizens living

on government property, and be it further

Resolved—That if the executive departments of the government lack the authority to make the necessary adjustments that this matter be submitted directly to Congress for its immediate action.

Residents of Trailer and Government Camps—(1942, p. 589) The problem of franchise for residents of trailer and government camps without permanent residence was submitted to the convention through Res. 87:

Whereas—Citizens of our United States are now denied the right to vote because they have no permanent residence and because they live in trailer camps and in government camps, and

Whereas—This denial to American citizens of their fundamental right to vote is both un-American and contrary to every fundamental principle of democracy, and

Whereas—This denial to vote is one that affects primarily working people and to that extent is class legislation, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor be and he is hereby directed to cause to be prepared and introduced at the forthcoming legislature appropriate legislation to correct this evil and put an end to this un-American practice.

The objective of the resolution was approved by the convention and referred to the E.C. to secure the required legislation to implement the resolution.

Hours, Extension—(1943, p. 366):

Whereas—The reactionary and anti-labor forces are conducting a nationwide campaign, through their kept press and radio and through their powerful lobbies in Congress to discredit labor unions, defeat through legislation, Acts favorable to Labor

and enact in their place restrictive laws unfavorable to Labor, and

Whereas—In our last Congressional election, great numbers of workers were unable to vote on account of their working long hours and far from their homes, making it difficult to get to the polls in time, and finding the polls crowded, and

Whereas—The most critical time in our nation's history is before us, with the interest of the common man at stake, we must see that all who want to vote shall have that opportunity, and that all organized labor work collectively to elect our friends and defeat our enemies, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor petition Congress to pass a law making it mandatory to keep the polls open between the hours of 5 a.m. and 10 p.m. at election in November, 1944, and be it further

Resolved—Should Congress fail to enact such a law organized labor should declare a nationwide labor voting holiday for its members.

Your committee is in full sympathy with the end sought by this resolution but is of the belief that the method proposed is impracticable.

We recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to use every means at its disposal to insure every citizen of the United States an opportunity to vote at each election.

It is also recommended that state federations and city central bodies be urged to cooperate in securing modification of voting laws or regulations in order that all workers may have free access to the polls.

It is further recommended that the Executive Council, the state federations, the city central bodies, and all national and international unions urge all workers to make full use of the right of franchise at all elections.

Workers Duty—(1944, p. 473) Two resolutions, Nos. 17 and 18, both deal-

ing with the importance of getting out Labor's vote, were approved by the convention. The resolutions were "referred to the Executive Council for study so that practical plans may be worked out and recommendations made to the affiliated bodies." The "resolves" of the two resolutions are given herewith:

No. 17:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor develop permanent, complete and concise plans for getting out this vote, a plan to include all details to encourage Americans to use the privilege of the ballot, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor transmit this plan to all central bodies, state bodies, as well as international unions, so that full voting strength will be mustered for all county, township, village, school, judicial, municipal, state and national elections.

No. 18:

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor recommend to all international unions that there be included in their constitutions, as well as in the by-laws of their respective local unions, a clause which shall read: "It shall be the duty of every eligible member of this union, as proof of his love of liberty and democracy and an expression of his desire to be a good citizen, to register, to vote and be properly registered for all elections, and at all times to make the most intelligent possible use of the ballot in all elections."

Condition of Membership (Proposed)—(1947, p. 648) A proposal was submitted to the convention through Res. 36 that trade union membership be conditioned by voting qualification. Convention non-concurred in the resolution, which follows:

Whereas—The enactment in 1947 of vicious, anti-labor legislation by

Congress and various state legislatures, has pointed out the urgency of every member of the American Federation of Labor being qualified to vote so as to be able to elect candidates favorable to the struggles of the wage earners, and to defeat those politicians who have proven themselves enemies of the aspirations and programs of the American Federation of Labor, and

Whereas—There are unions at the present time which require as a condition of membership, that all members be qualified voters, which is a union law this body would like to see adopted by, and put into, every national and international constitution, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, goes on record urging all unions to make it a mandatory condition of membership that every member be a qualified voter.

While your committee strongly favors having all members voters in their respective counties, and urge upon them the necessity of their participating in the election of all public officials, your committee cannot approve the mandatory conditions for trade union membership contained in the resolution, and therefore recommends nonconcurrence.

Use of Franchise—(1948, p. 234) Res. 5 called upon the A. F. of L. to "take such steps as may be possible to secure national legislation making the exercise of the franchise a 'must' of citizenship and prescribing such penalties as may be needed for its non-observance."

(P. 455) Convention non-concurred in the resolution with the following statement: ". . . in sympathy with the objective of the resolution but the resolve is out of line with the spirit and principles of freedom and democracy."

Proportional Representation—(1954, pp. 384, 521) Res. 33:

Whereas—The proportional representation method of voting is a European system, and does violence to the American plurality system of voting, and

Whereas—Proportional representation destroys the bipartisan, or two-party system, and

Whereas—Proportional representation is unAmerican, undemocratic, and leads to dictatorship, and

Whereas—Under a dictatorship unionism, as a protection for the worker, withers and dies, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, voices opposition to proportional representation and believes that any cities or towns operating under proportional representation should by legislative enactment return to the American system of majority or plurality elections, and be it further set forth that the object of this resolution is to insure the preservation of those rights, liberties, and freedoms proclaimed by the founding fathers in the Declaration of Independence.

Referred by the convention to the officers of the A. F. of L. for inquiry.

Wages (also see: Bankers and Wages; Employment, Hours and Wages; Living Standards; Defense (Labor Policy, Production); Fair Labor Standards; Wage Stabilization Board; National War Labor Board; WPA—The A. F. of L. conventions approved resolutions progressively raising the federal minimum wage. These will be found in the proceedings of A. F. of L. Conventions.

(1925, p. 36) The textile industry has raised the issue of wage reductions. That industry confronted by the problems of technical changes and over-expansion, has resorted to the expedient of wage reductions for the purpose of reducing production costs

despite the innumerable demonstrations that high wage expenditures do not produce high costs.

High production costs usually indicate inefficient management and inadequate production records. The assay of industrial waste made by the Federated American Engineering Societies charged 50 percent of industrial waste or misuse to management and only 25 percent to workers. Obviously here is the big field for changes that will reduce production costs with benefits to all concerned.

On the other hand while wage reductions may reduce the total costs chargeable to that one item, the probabilities are that other items may be increased so as to more than counterbalance the effect of wage reduction on the total costs. The loss in morale may diminish production output. Lower wages mean lower living standards in turn reflected in loss of physical and mental well being of workers.

Wage reductions diminish purchasing power of the group of workers in the textile industry which is reflected in the business of the whole community and extends out into the industrial fabric of the nation.

Wage reductions are a powerful factor in the vicious combination that initiates a period of business depression. The most prosperous and best managed production establishments do not attempt to meet industrial difficulties through wage reductions. It is the industry that is unable to solve its management problems by eliminating wastes and bad practices, and by finding the way to secure from every employee the most valuable service that he can contribute, that resorts to wage reductions.

The lowest production costs can be reached only through intelligent co-operation based upon full understanding of the work done. Workers competent to perform good work with commensurate wages, the best tech-

nical equipment with the use of power machinery wherever possible under efficient management, will contribute to the maintenance of production costs at the lowest possible figure.

The labor movement is economically sound in its protest against wage reductions and it is socially correct in opposing conditions that would lower the social standards of our nation. We urge upon wage earners everywhere that they oppose wage reductions.

(P. 231) We hold that the best interests of wage earners as well as the whole social group are served, increasing production in quality as well as quantity and by high wage standards which assure sustained purchasing power to the workers and, therefore, higher national standards for the environment in which they live and the means to enjoy cultured opportunities. We declare that wage reductions produce industrial and social unrest and that low wages are not conducive to low production costs.

We urge upon wage earners everywhere: that we oppose all wage reductions and that we urge upon management the elimination of wastes in production in order that selling prices may be lower and wages higher. To this end we recommend cooperation in study of waste in production which the assay of the Federated American Engineering Societies covering important industries has shown to be 50% attributable to management and only 25% attributable to Labor, with 25% attributable to other sources, principally managements in industries producing commodities for any single industry under consideration.

Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day are progressed in pro-

portion to man's increasing power of production.

(1926, p. 316) There is no simple formula to which wage theory can be reduced. High wages is the American policy. An additional problem with which organized labor must deal is that of adding wage increases in proportion to increased production and indicating the sources from which such increases may and should be paid. As one of the means to this end we recommend study of the organization of business and of accountancy and of all essential factors and considerations related to and involved in this subject. To this end the cooperating service of the Workers' Education Bureau can be made of great service.

The industry that cannot pay high wages is an industry self-convicted of inefficient management and wasteful methods. Organized labor may help to indicate the sources of waste and inefficient methods so that management may make the necessary changes. Cooperation in this field will lead finally to consideration of the conditions under which work orders should be formulated.

In addition to the perfecting of production technique there is the development of units of measurement so that industrial output may be evaluated per individual and per plant. For help in this field we must turn to technicians. This work is now being undertaken by the United States Department of Labor. It is hoped this will form a permanent service in addition to that now rendered in the gathering of cost of living and other forms of essential data. We earnestly commend these various problems to our unions for study. They are problems that demand our intelligent consideration.

Because we seek to settle wage problems at the conference table where we must deal with experts in

various fields rather than on the industrial battlefield, we must check their data with data drawn from Labor experiences. Such data could be accumulated regularly and made available when needed at the minimum expense. We commend to unions provisions for the cumulation and compilation of this information.

With increasing mechanization of industry and perfecting of the assembling of materials for fabrication, articles to supply existing and probable demands can be produced in much less time than formerly. It has become of utmost importance that wage earners be organized into trade unions in order to protect their rights and interests in changing situations. With improvements in production technique hours of production must be reduced in order to prevent surplus of products, wages must increase so that wage earners may benefit from the material wealth which they help to create and that financial depression may be avoided.

Progress in these material standards will open opportunities for wage earners for beauty and pleasure in living and for that development essential to the production of a higher citizenry.

(P. 46) American wage earners are the highest paid workers in the world. A number of factors have contributed to wage increases for our workers: our wealth of natural resources, our use of power and machinery, our high productivity per worker, a trade union movement that has steadfastly insisted that economic benefits were its immediate concern. The standards set by trade unions have lifted wages for all workers. Through the activity of the trade union movement, wage earners have participated in the benefits of our most remarkable industrial progress.

American methods of production and efficiency are the subject of study

by employers, technicians and wage earners of many countries. The American labor movement has been foremost in recognizing the interdependence of the interests of all concerned with production and in declaring that increased productivity is essential to permanent increases in the standards of living. On the other hand American labor has pointed out that workers must have wage increases if there is to be sale for the increased output of industries and agriculture.

Though many wage earners who share in the benefits secured by trade union activity have not contributed to the support of the movement, let them not imagine that present high wage rates could have been secured without well-directed organized activity, or that present progress would continue without a trade union movement. We know that fundamental to sustained participation in industrial progress through wage increases is skill in taking advantage of the ability of business to pay more.

Our understanding of wages has advanced from the various stages when we thought that supply and demand, the iron law of wages, labor-costs theory, or cost of living basis, contained the whole story of wage determination. Knowledge of economic principles enables us to use them for better results. Our progress is reflected by the larger ideal expressed in the successive epithets applied to our objectives—the living wage gave way to a saving wage and that to a cultural wage.

The technique of collective bargaining has steadily increased in complexities as industry has increased in its scheme of production and its financial requirements. Representatives of the workers must know the finances of the particular establishment, every detail of production, the comparative efficiency of its management, wage standards and work conditions in

competitive areas and a wealth of other detail.

The results of organized labor's activities benefit the whole of the general public. High wages and shorter working hours are recognized as national assets. The public generally is coming to understand that with the great tendency of mass production continuing in the future to the same degree as has been experienced in the past there must of necessity be created an ever enlarging buying power or else our productive processes will spell their own ruination and prove a public calamity. The wage earners and their dependents constitute such a large proportion of that consuming power, it is therefore essential that the income of the wage earners must of necessity increase.

It is pleasing to note that economists, employers, men of professional occupation as well as those in all other walks of life are fast coming to realize the validity of the economic wisdom and necessity that have heretofore prompted American organized labor in its wage policies and in its efforts to reduce the working hours. Labor's endeavors find approval and endorsement not alone upon a purely economic basis but also upon sound and ethical consideration.

American organized labor has held steadfastly throughout its history for voluntary group action expressed through collective bargaining and trade agreements. It has rejected efforts to promote a state control of Labor and industry presented under any guise. It adheres only to principles of freedom from domination of the state and believes the only true course of a free people is to solve their problems of life and work through voluntary group action.

The record shows that the American workers are fully vindicated in this understanding by the progress

made and the success which has attended their efforts.

(1927, p. 87) The Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia, in the case of *Holliday vs. Elkhorn Piney Mining Company*, held that the issuance of script to employees for labor performed, redeemable in cash on pay days, otherwise in merchandise only, and non-transferrable, was a violation of the statute relating to the issuance of script as amended by the West Virginia Legislature in 1925. Holliday, a merchant, had accepted at face value from employees of the company script issued by it and had presented this script to the company for redemption after same became due on a regular pay day. The company refused to redeem the script, whereupon this action was brought, with judgment for Holliday.

An action was brought in New York to restrain the award and execution of subway contracts because the contracts provided for the payment of "the prevailing rate of wages" which was claimed to be unconstitutional for uncertainty. The motion for an injunction was denied and a motion to dismiss the complaint was granted. The court held that such a provision was constitutional and under the labor law it was the duty and right of the public authorities to ascertain the prevailing rate of wages and to determine wages to be paid to persons employed on public work accordingly. It was held that any objection to the unfairness of making "locality" co-terminous with the City of New York because the work was confined to 53rd street between 2nd and 8th avenues was without merit. The court held that the expression "locality" means a political subdivision and it was entirely within the spirit of the statute to set these limits as the bounds of the City of New York in connection with the contract in question. This decision was rendered by the Supreme

Court of New York County in the case of *Morse vs. Delaney*.

Standard High Wage Policy—(1927, p. 36) The two primary objectives of trade unions are higher wages and shorter hours, for they are the keys to opportunities. For years organized labor has struggled to raise wages. It has been a rare experience to find an employer who voluntarily raised wages. It is a regrettable commentary that the principle of higher wages had to be established largely by force. Our unions have been generally successful in preventing wage reductions in the past year and quite a number have negotiated wage increases. Where collective bargaining is in effect, wages have increased in amount and in purchasing power. However, there has been a decided increase in productivity. Our studies of the relation of productivity to wages have only just begun. However, they warrant us in saying that wage increases for union workers have paralleled increased productivity much more closely than in the case of the unorganized or the less effectively organized. After we have the facts of the share which wage earners contribute to value added by their labor to manufactured articles, union representatives will be able to present even stronger cases. The employer has his production records, his cost accounts, and other sources of information. These, of course, he interprets from his own point of view. The opinions of any one interest may need modification when checked against the facts and understanding of other interests. Organized labor has been able continuously to submit convincing reasons why wages should be sustained or increased. In past periods of depression we have been successful in inducing employers to see the importance of maintaining the purchasing power of wage earners. Industries are based upon the purchasing

demands of the masses and, hence, reduction of wages results in industries being unable to dispose of their product—this in turn brings curtailment of markets and the forces of industrial depression are set in motion. In the period of rapidly mounting prices, higher prices constituted an argument for wage increases. The period of expansion and increased production sharply brought out the need for wider groups of consumers and more markets, and furnished additional argument for higher wage standards. By using its experience effectively, the American labor movement has succeeded in raising wage standards for organized workers and thus enabling wage earners to participate in social progress. That our movement has been successful in maintaining and advancing standards is an achievement that benefits not only all wage earners (organized and unorganized), but industry and all society.

Union rates have been the standard that have lifted rates even for the unorganized. The results of organized labor's efforts constitute what is called by outside observers "The American Policy of High Wages." However, there are still thousands of unorganized workers working for wages that are far below wages necessary to maintain American standards of living. We regret the impression carried abroad by some reporters and commissions that high wages prevail generally. There are unskilled and unorganized workers receiving less than is necessary to maintain decent standards of living. These workers the unions would gladly help and we invite them to join our ranks for higher wages and shorter hours.

The A. F. of L. has been for years battling for higher wages. With the development of collective bargaining has come greater need for sustaining demands for higher wages by mar-

shalling of facts. This is made markedly apparent by development of accounting methods and resulting availability of statutes. Thus far the statistical field has been developed for the use of employers. Unless workers are to be put at a disadvantage in maintaining and advancing wages, unions must gather their own statistics and make their own interpretations of the statistics compiled by statistical bureaus and employers.

We have been publishing in the *American Federationist* a series of studies on wages, discussing the relation of wages to prices and productivity. These studies indicate that wages have generally increased in amount and with reference to prices. With reference to productivity wage movements are not so regular and it is evident that there is need of data to show the way to wages that will provide a purchasing demand proportionate to increases in production. Our present plan is to utilize statistics of the manufactures census and to make the results available by industries. The studies will be published in the *American Federationist*. This undertaking, we feel, is a distinct step forward. For the first time Labor is exploring the field of government statistics to ascertain whether its share in national income is equitable and whether wages paid to wage earners will enable them to share in advances in material civilization.

That the idea of higher wages has gained in popular acceptance and that the Federation has begun studies of wages, mark a definite stage in progress toward clearer understanding and discussion of wages.

Wage determination is one of the pivotal issues in industrial relations because it is the foundation for morale in industry and the key to opportunities in the life of the wage earners. Wages must be satisfactorily determined before there can be cooperation

in the problems of production. If wages are adequately discussed in collective bargaining, there can be no concealment of industrial records. Full and public accounting by all industries would help to eliminate many non-social practices. Here again the interests of the workers are in harmony with general welfare. Higher wages are an aid to industry and the buying power of workers guarantees active growth of trade.

(1929, p. 256) Under the leading title, "Wage Earners' Progress," and sub-titles relating to employment, incomes and wages, the E.C. presents a mass of statistical information with which trade union officers and members will do well to become acquainted. First, under the sub-title "Employment," we present figures to show that in the first half of 1929 there were approximately 500,000 fewer wage earners employed in the manufacturing industries than during the year 1919, and approximately 790,000 less than in 1920. This, notwithstanding the fact that the number of wage earners employed in manufacturing industries during the first half of 1929 was 362,512 more than the number employed during the year 1928 and 144,498 more than in 1927. Here, therefore, we have another indication of unemployment. While the number of workers in manufacturing industries has decreased very substantially, the production of those industries has very greatly increased. The downward tendency in employment is due to the increasing use of machinery. It is undoubtedly true, of course, that some of the displaced workers have found employment in other industries, notably in personal service occupations, hotels, etc. But they are not all accounted for, by any means. Any one who mingles among the working population can find evidence of unemployment on every hand. An instance of the present trend is to be

found in the intrusion of machinery into the field of music made possible by sound amplifiers attached to phonographic mechanism of one sort or another. Here we have a development that not only affects incomes and employment, but which tends to restrict that which is often referred to as the most creative of all arts. This is a phase of so-called mass production which, in the course of time, may tend to a limitation rather than an increase of supply. At any rate, the present effect is unemployment among musicians.

Everywhere we turn, the increasing use of machinery, which in the course of time will, in most instances, prove beneficial, is at the present causing unemployment and thus is ushering in human want and suffering. Surely this is a problem to which the thoughtful citizen should give earnest consideration.

We point out, very pertinently, that when the employment of the worker ceases his income is cut off. To that we might add that when his income is cut off his purchasing power is diminished and eventually ceases. And when his purchasing power is lost, not only is industry without a customer in his case, but he and his family may, and sometimes do, become public charges, thus resulting in tax increases to which industry must contribute.

Why should it be necessary to go into detail with reference to a situation that must be obvious to every intelligent observer. Is it possible that intelligent men who have shown their capacity for successful organization in the establishment and developing of tremendous industrial establishments, great transportation systems and enormous financial institutions are unable to understand that their own continued prosperity and success is entirely dependent upon the purchasing power of the masses of the people. It is true that in recent years

there has been an awakening among them to some extent and that there has been an increase in the number who understand that it is to their own interest to frankly and openly admit that steady employment and high wages are not only beneficial to the workers but to all other classes in society.

The A. F. of L. is in full accord with the proposal that "efforts be made to stimulate study of the displacement problem and to urge conferences between workers, employers and other concerned groups prior to the introduction of the changes and thus provide against avoidable hardships."

The convention approves the recommendation for the authorization of an effective federal employment service and the establishment of municipal employment bureaus, and also its recommendation that the promotion of federal and state employment agencies be made one of the major projects of the Federation for the coming year.

Under the sub-title, "Comparison With Union Wages," we present some interesting figures which show that the earnings of union members, 1927-1928, are substantially higher than the average earnings of all workers. In determining the average rate of all workers, those who receive the union rates of pay have, of course, been included. A comparison between the average wages of unorganized workers and the average wages of organized workers would show an even greater discrepancy in favor of the union rate, notwithstanding the well-known fact that any advance by the organized workers always has a favorable influence upon the wages and conditions of the unorganized. These figures are evidence of the value of trade unionism in raising the income of those who work for wages.

(1931, pp. 64, 399) Wages are

more than compensation for Labor. In the field of wages, Labor has also helped industry to realize the interdependence between the various factors in the economic structure. Employers argued that lower wages meant lower labor costs and higher profits. Labor has shown employers—some against their will—that higher wages meant more efficient, higher grade workers and lower labor costs per unit of production. Our efforts have succeeded to the extent that American employers now acclaim with pride our American high wage principle.

There are industrial areas and new industries that refuse to learn from the experience of the older business undertakings. They will be a drag upon progress for all until they learn the principles of associated activities which characterize the present age. Wages are something more than the price of labor. They represent the credit upon which retail markets depend and all business undertakings are ultimately dependent upon these retail markets. With the trend to mass production, production is geared for mass buying. For mass buying there must be wage rates that provide workers with adequate consuming power. Experience has proven that installment buying and other forms of deferred payment are not a substitute for higher wages. Industries must make sure that retail buying power is adequate.

(1933, pp. 110, 278) The need for minimum wage laws for women and minors has become so necessary that seven states enacted such legislation this year. The publicity given to sweat shop wages has alarmed the legislators, and they more than ever believe that women and minors should have proper protection.

Sixteen states now have minimum wage laws.

(1934, pp. 85, 357) Every effort

should be made in the states where such laws are not in effect to have similar legislation enacted.

Very important action was taken by seven states in a meeting at Concord, New Hampshire, on May 29. The states represented were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania. They declared that:

No employer shall pay a woman or a minor, under twenty-one years of age, an unfair or oppressive wage.

A bill was introduced in Congress to authorize the several states to negotiate contracts or agreements to promote greater uniformity in the laws of such states affecting Labor and industries. The state which has enacted laws for the betterment of working conditions, eliminating sweatshops, setting maximum hours of labor, etc., finds itself handicapped in competition if its neighboring states have lower standards. During the depression the struggle for business has been keener and standards are consequently relaxed. Improvements which have taken many years to accomplish have been swept away. It is to remove these obstacles to fair competition that the compacts are being recommended.

(1935, p. 145) The sentiment in favor of minimum wage legislation for women and minors has developed rapidly in the last few years. Sixteen states have enacted such legislation into law.

While we favor the enactment of minimum wage legislation for women and minors as a step toward progress, it is the avowed purpose of the A. F. of L. to fight to secure for women the same rate of pay as paid to men engaged in relatively the same occupation.

In states where minimum wage laws for women and minors have not

been passed officials of state federations of labor are urged to sponsor and secure the introduction of such proposed legislation in the state legislatures.

(1936, pp. 138, 466) June 1 the Supreme Court of the U.S. declared the New York minimum wage law for women and minors unconstitutional. October 12, by the same vote, 5 to 4, the Supreme Court refused a rehearing. Justice Butler, who delivered the opinion, held that the principles of law involved had been established by the court in 1923 when a District of Columbia minimum wage law was held invalid by a 6 to 3 ruling.

At the same time the court granted a review of the Washington state minimum wage law which is very similar to the New York statute which was declared unconstitutional. The Washington law was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of that state. New York was joined by Massachusetts, Illinois and Washington in appealing for the rehearing. The appeal was refused.

Three weeks after the Supreme Court declared the New York law unconstitutional, Massachusetts amended its minimum wage law by declaring:

Oppressive and unreasonable minimum wages for women and minors seriously impaired their health, lowered their morale, compelled public contributions to enable them to exist, and seriously threatened the stability of industry by creating unrest among the affected employees.

Another state that has a similar law to that declared unconstitutional is New Jersey. This law was enacted in 1933. Since then it has not been enforced until this year when an advisory council of 12 members met to provide for enforcement. The state labor commissioner declared that be-

cause of the decision of the Supreme Court, New Jersey State would proceed cautiously in enforcing the measure.

Until a decision is made as to the constitutionality of the State of Washington law, the future of such legislation is problematical. Fifteen states have minimum wage laws.

In addition to New Jersey, the Colorado and Utah laws have remained inoperative through lack of appropriations. In all states but one the minimum wage laws are applicable to women and minors of both sexes, though in Minnesota the law was held unconstitutional in its application to adult women and is in effect in respect only to minors.

(1937, pp. 177, 310) The Supreme Court in 1935 declared minimum wage laws unconstitutional. After minimum wage laws were declared unconstitutional, they became inoperative in more than a dozen states. This year, the Supreme Court changed its opinion and declared the Washington State Minimum Wage Law constitutional. This reversal of the opinion of the Supreme Court brought hope again to the women and children employed in industry.

Twenty-three states and the District of Columbia now have such laws in effect. The District of Columbia law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1923, but as a result of its latest decision was made constitutional. Therefore, a board was appointed and is now engaged in carrying out the provisions of the Minimum Wage Act for Women and Minors. The following states and possessions have these laws:

Arizona	New Jersey
Arkansas	Minnesota
California	Nevada
Colorado	New Hampshire
Connecticut	New Jersey
Dist. of Columbia	Rhode Island
Illinois	South Dakota
	Utah
	Washington
	Wisconsin

Massachusetts
Minnesota
Nevada
New Hampshire
New Jersey

Rhode Island
South Dakota
Utah
Washington
Wisconsin

The laws of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and Wisconsin have been revised. Those for Arizona, Nevada, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania are new. The rest are revived.

All but four of these laws apply to women and minors: Nevada, Puerto Rico, and South Dakota cover only females, while Oklahoma covers men, women and children. In the Nevada, South Dakota, Puerto Rico, and Arkansas laws, the minimum wage is specified but in Arkansas it is subject to modification by the commission.

The Supreme Court in ruling upon the Washington minimum wage law upheld as constitutional the law to protect women and children against employment at wages below a minimum fixed by requirements of health and right living. The court went back to the opinions of Chief Justice Taft and Mr. Justice Holmes in the *Adkins* case which are quoted as follows:

(1) Legislatures which adopt a requirement of maximum hours or minimum wages may be presumed to believe that when sweating employers are prevented from paying unduly low wages by positive law they will continue their business, abating that part of their profits, which were wrung from the necessities of their employees, and will concede the better terms required by the law; and that while in individual cases hardship may result, the restriction will enure to the benefit of the general class of employees in whose interest the law is passed and so that of the community at large.

(2) This statute does not compel anybody to pay anything. It simply forbids employment at rates below those fixed as the minimum require-

ment of health and right living. It is safe to assume that women will not be employed at even the lowest wages allowed unless they earn them, or unless the employer's business can sustain the burden. In short the law in its character and operation is like hundreds of so-called police laws that have been upheld.

The court thus held:

We think that the views thus expressed are sound and that the decision in the *Adkins* case was a departure from the true application of the principles governing the regulation by the state of the relation of employer and employed.

In fixing minimum wages two considerations must be held in mind: Minimum requirements for health and decent living and value of services performed.

(Kick-Back Law)—(1934, pp. 74, 728) For months complaints were made in Washington and other cities that contractors on public works, financed in whole or in part by grants from the United States, were not paying the prevailing rate of wages as specified by the Davis-Bacon Law.

Employees were compelled either to return part of their wages or to accept a much lower rate. This is known as the "kick-back." Public No. 324, an Act to effectuate the purpose of certain statutes concerning rates of pay for labor, by making it unlawful to prevent anyone from receiving the compensation contracted for thereunder, and for other purposes, will give wage earners hereafter protection.

The law provides that whoever shall induce any person, employed in the construction, prosecution, or completion of any public building or public work financed in whole or in part by loans or grants from the United States, to give up any part of the compensation to which he is entitled

under his contract, shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of the Interior jointly shall make reasonable regulations for contractors or subcontractors on any such building or work, including a provision that each contractor and subcontractor shall furnish weekly a sworn affidavit with respect to the wages paid each employe during the preceding week.

(*Cost of Living Basis*)—(1934, p. 400) The A. F. of L. again goes on record as opposing the use of a cost-of-living standard as a basis for determination of wages or salaries, and further opposes (so long as a cost-of-living standard is in effect) the present inequitable system of determining the cost of living.

Opposition to fixing of wages on subsistence standards is a fundamental principle of the organized labor movement. Continuation of application of this principle to government workers is not only a gross injustice to these workers, but it is a transgression by the government itself of the principles of industrial recovery advocated by it. By the application of the Economy Act concerning reduction in wages and prescribing restoration only upon a cost of living basis, the government not only fails to fulfill its declarations for higher wages and shorter hours, but actually reduces standards formerly existing.

(1946, p. 521) Res. 27, nonconcurrent in:

Whereas—Prices control the value of wages, and

Whereas—Price controls are inadequate and ineffective, and

Whereas—Our veterans and workers are the victims of continuous rising prices, and

Whereas—Our agreements with employers extend over long periods of one year and more, and

Whereas—Prices increase from day to day, and week to week, and month to month, and

Whereas—Our present agreements or contracts are ineffective in keeping pace with the rising cost of living, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, seek through its affiliates and their employers or contractors, because of these circumstances, a monthly cost of living bonus, payable on or before the fifteenth of each month, and be it further

Resolved—That copies of this resolution be sent to the Honorable Harry S. Truman, President of the United States, and to proper government officials urging them to take such action necessary for legalizing payment of such bonus.

(1936, pp. 142, 435) In August of this year, according to the Federal Reserve Board, production in manufacturing industries was six per cent above the level of 1923-25, and only 12 per cent below the 1929 level. Not only did manufacturing production fail to register a seasonal decline last summer, but, in fact, attained higher levels than at any time since the beginning of recovery. A sharp rise in freight carloadings, sustained increases in the output of steel, automobiles, lumber and electric power, as well as such consumers goods as cotton and shoes, these and other factors combined to indicate that business activity was approaching pre-depression levels.

What has been Labor's share in recovery in terms of employment, wages, hours and purchasing power? To answer these questions in a general way, without the bias of seasonal changes, year to year comparisons of the available data will be made.

In 1935, industrial recovery was in full progress. Although in that year manufacturing production was still

24 per cent short of 1929, it already exceeded 1932, the worst year of the depression, by 43 per cent. In this development, the fact most significant to Labor was that manufacturing employment failed to keep pace with the increases in production. In 1935, employment in manufacturing industries was only 28 per cent above 1932, while production was 43 per cent above that year.

In the period of decline, between 1929 and 1932, Labor suffered from an even more drastic cut in total wages than in the number of jobs. During this time, employment in manufacturing industries declined 39 per cent, while weekly payrolls fell 58 per cent. Weekly payrolls after 1932 recovered at a greater rate than employment but they recovered from lower levels.

Underlying these trends were significant changes in hours and wages. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in June, 1936, the average hours worked in manufacturing industries per week were 39.2. The National Industrial Conference Board figures for 25 manufacturing industries indicate that in August of this year the average actual hours per week in those industries were 40.

Lagging production, and, to some extent, share-the-work plans in many industries, cut the working hours considerably between 1929 and 1932. In the latter year, they were at an average of 37.9. In June, 1933, the hours were further raised to 42.6. In August of that year, the President's Reemployment Agreement went into effect bringing about a steady decline in the length of the work-week during the balance of the year. By 1934, the average work-week in manufacturing was shortened to 34.7. Beginning with May, 1935, the average work-week was slowly increased to an average of 40 hours. This lengthening of hours sharply curtailed the rate of reemployment in the latter part of

1935, and in 1936, eliminating a large number of job opportunities for those still unemployed.

The average hourly earnings in manufacturing industries began their recovery in the last months of 1933. In 1934, hourly earnings in these industries increased by 16 per cent over 1932. A still further rise occurred in the following year so that in 1935, hourly earnings were 20 per cent higher than in 1932. By 1936, however, the rate of increase had leveled off and hourly earnings remained about stationary through August of this year.

Average weekly earnings were reduced much more drastically during the depression than the hourly wage rates, registering a decline of 31 per cent between 1929 and 1932. Recovering by only 19 per cent between 1932 and 1935, the weekly earnings still remained 18 per cent below 1929.

In 25 manufacturing industries covered by the National Industrial Conference Board similar trends in weekly earnings are apparent. From \$28.55 in 1929, the average dropped to \$14.53 in March, 1933, a fall of 49 per cent. In June, 1936, weekly earnings were \$24.45, or 68 per cent higher than in March, 1933, but still 14 per cent below 1929.

Much of this increase, however, was offset by a marked increase in the cost of living in the past three years. Since March, 1933, the cost of living has increased 18.5 per cent, so that the real weekly earnings in June, 1936, were only 42 per cent higher than in 1932. In other words, the average weekly wage of \$24.45 in June, 1936, had the buying power of only \$20.56 in March 1933 dollars.

At the same time, technological improvements and expansion in the volume of output resulted in increased productivity per worker per hour. In 1935, a worker produced on the average 13 per cent more goods in one

hour than in 1932. This, however, was not a new development. Productivity of Labor had already been greatly increased between 1929 and 1932. It is estimated that between 1929 and 1935, productivity per man per hour increased about 40 per cent. This means that if a worker made 100 units in one hour in 1929, in 1935 he had to produce 140 units.

This fact is important because it explains why it required increasingly fewer man-hours to manufacture more goods. Between 1932 and 1935, total man-hours in manufacturing increased only 26 per cent, while production increased 43 per cent.

Since it requires less time to produce the same volume of goods, a proportionately smaller number of workers is employed to turn out these goods unless the hours of work are still further curtailed. The fact that employment lags behind production more and more gives striking evidence of the need for a shorter work-week. Industry cannot and will not absorb the unemployed unless it creates more job opportunities by limiting weekly and daily hours of work.

The shorter work-week and the six-hour day furnish the real solution to the insistent problem of unemployment. It is the responsibility that private industry must accept in order to give the necessary balance to economic expansion.

Economic stability cannot be attained by government spending. Industry's obligation to bring about such stability is more imperative in these crucial days of transition than ever before. We know only too well that unless this is done current recovery will end in a greater disaster than we have yet known.

Shortening of the hours of work is the correct answer to the problem we are facing today.

(1937, pp. 95, 229) Records of wages in the first half of 1937 are

striking evidence that workers must depend on union organization to increase their income. So far reaching has been the effect of the organizing drive this year that average hourly earnings in all recorded industries rose from 59 cents in December 1936 to 64 cents in June 1937, according to figures calculated from Labor Department records. This is an average gain for all workers of 5 cents an hour or more than \$2.00 per week. In the previous two years, hourly earnings rose only 2½ cents—from 56½ cents in December 1934 to 59 cents in December 1936.

Thus workers won for themselves in six months of union organization twice as great a gain as private industry had given them in two years. At no other time since depression, except the first four months of NRA, have such large gains been made.

Union organization has also been effective in shortening work hours this year by half an hour per week. There has been a tendency during recovery from depression, for employers to lengthen hours as production increased. Particularly striking was the increase in hours which followed the termination of NRA, when in six months two hours were added to the average work week, in industry generally, raising it from 37½ to 39½ hours. Until the organizing drive this spring, employers continued to lengthen the work week so that by January 1937 the average was 41 hours.

This increase was checked by union action in the first half year, and by June 1937 hours were reduced to 40½ per week, a gain of one-half hour's leisure. This contrasts sharply with last year when one hour was added to the work week during the same period.

These figures show clearly, however, that even the 40-hour week is not yet won in industry generally. Since the average week is 40½ hours,

probably more than half the wage and small salaried workers in the U.S. still work over 40 hours a week. Only by strong organization can we prevent further increases and work toward a universal work week of 40 hours and less.

Measuring progress over a longer period, we find that wage gains since the start of recovery in March 1933 have in large part been cancelled by rising costs of living. Cost of living in the period March 1933 to June 1937 rose 24 per cent, and a 33.5 per cent increase in weekly wages only raised the average living standard eight per cent. Average earnings per hour of 64 cents in June 1937 compare with 46 cents in March 1933.

The average work week today is one-half hour shorter than it was in March 1933 when hours averaged 41 per week. During NRA the work week was shortened to a 37¾ hour average, then lengthened again after NRA, and finally checked from further increase by union activity.

Comparing the worker's position today with that of 1929, we must take into account the 25 per cent increase in production per worker per hour in manufacturing industries from 1929 to 1935, and the estimated 10 per cent increase in production per worker per year in all industries in this period. What the increase since 1935 has been we have no figures to show, but we know that production per worker has not stopped increasing, and that productivity in 1937 is higher than in 1935.

With higher productivity and a larger working population, it is estimated that production must reach a level 20 per cent above 1929 before unemployment can be reduced to the 1929 level. This estimate was made by the Labor Department and WPA in their joint study on productivity.

To raise production by 20 per cent requires a corresponding increase in

workers' buying power. In the first half of 1937 the buying power of the average worker's weekly income was only four per cent above 1929, and buying power of all workers in recorded industries was five-tenths of one per cent below 1929. (These figures are from the Department of Commerce, brought up to 1937 by Labor Department indices and adjusted for changes in living costs by the National Industrial Conference Board index.) In terms of dollars, without adjustment for living costs, which are still 11 per cent below 1929, the average wage is still nine per cent below 1929 and workers' total income is 13 per cent below the 1929 level.

The average work week of 40½ hours in June 1937 is considerably below the average of about 49 hours in 1929.

Since 1929, workers have gained on the average 8½ hours leisure by shortening of the work week; but with the present 40½ hour week, wages and workers' buying power are still far short of the level necessary to put all the unemployed to work.

(Pp. 164, 500) The Black-Connery Wages and Hours Bill, sponsored by the administration and passed by the Senate, will come up for passage in the House when Congress convenes again. Its purpose is to eliminate sweatshops and compel employers who do not pay a subsistence wage to meet the requirements that will be fixed by a board. The board is to consist of five members, one of whom shall be a representative of employees and one a representative of employers.

At the Cincinnati meeting of the E.C., held on May 23rd, the Hours and Wages Bill as submitted by the administration, was considered and discussed. It was ordered that the same be accepted as a basis for approval, subject to the adoption of amendments, to safeguard collective

bargaining and to limit the scope of governmental regulation to those fields wherein collective bargaining machinery is ineffective or difficult of functioning and only until collective bargaining has substantially covered the field.

These suggestions were submitted to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor by the President of the A. F. of L. at hearings on the bill.

But when the bill was reported by the Senate committee, it did not contain these collective bargaining amendments. But it contained provisions subjecting governmental contracts theretofore under the Walsh-Healey Act to the provisions of the new bill. As the wage scale had an upper limit of 40 cents per hour and the hour scale a lower limit of 40 hours, the new bill would destroy the effectiveness of the Walsh-Healey Act.

The discussion on the Senate floor took place after the Supreme Court Reorganization Bill had been lost. At that time there was also pending the Housing Bill in which the A. F. of L. was vitally interested. A movement was on foot in the Senate to recommit the Wages and Hours Bill to the Senate committee, thereby killing the legislation for the session. Such defeat would have resulted in the adjournment of Congress and the loss of housing legislation as well.

A confidential survey disclosed to us at the same time that:

1. A drive by us would secure the adoption by the Labor Committee of the House of the amendments we desired for collective bargaining.

2. The Senate Labor Committee was prepared to eliminate provisions referring to the Walsh-Healey Act from the Senate bill, and the House Labor Committee would accept such amendment.

3. The administration was prepared to lend its support to have our pro-

gram carried into effect in the House, if the Senate bill were adopted in the Senate, subject to amendment in the House and also to resist any other amendments not satisfactory to us.

A crisis was reached in the Senate when Senators, opposing the Senate bill as submitted, or who were skeptical, demanded a statement of our position which would determine its recommittal or passage.

With the above assurances from the administration and in order to save the housing bill, we advised the Senate that rather than recommit, it would be better to pass the Senate bill over to the House, where we hoped to improve it, and that then in its final form we could determine our position whether to finally accept or reject the legislation.

The Senate bill was so passed. The House Labor Committee approved the amendments which we submitted by an almost unanimous vote. Their character and effect appear from the statement which we issued, which is as follows:

"The House Committee on Labor accepted certain provisions embodied in the Wages and Hours Bill passed by the Senate, but it also adopted amendments submitted by the President of the A. F. of L. which reduced the specific limits of the board's jurisdiction over wages and hours to slight significance. Through the adoption of these amendments the Wages and Hours Bill is made a practical and constructive measure. It reduces government control over industry to a minimum and confers upon the board power only to deal with chisellers and those employers who through company unions or through the use of fake collective bargaining agencies maintain sweatshop conditions of work and starvation wages.

"On the other hand, the amendments to the Act will provide protection to employers of Labor who

engage in legitimate collective bargaining, from cut-throat competition by chisellers, preserve prevailing rates of wages in each community as established through collective bargaining, and prevent the imposition of wage and hour schedules by the board which adversely affect prevailing schedules in other communities established by collective bargaining. It provides for the exclusion of governmental action in any industry or class of work which is substantially covered by legitimate collective bargaining. Through the adoption of these amendments, the differentials between North and South are preserved but the prevailing wage and hours standards will be improved in the South as the prevailing standards of the North are lifted higher through collective bargaining. It was on such basis that the conflicting interests of the North and South were reconciled and the opposition of the South was thus removed through the bill as amended.

"Through the adoption of these amendments the bill is made an effective collective bargaining statute. The fear of Fascist control over Labor and capital is definitely removed and made impossible.

"Labor was not happy over the wage and hour provisions of the Senate bill. Capital opposed the more stringent provisions of the original bill. Through the formula adopted the conflict is reconciled to the advantage of unions and employers.

"The amendments proposed by the President of the A. F. of L. provide that:

"1. The board has jurisdiction over wages and hours in any occupation only if it finds that collective bargaining agreements in respect to them do not cover a substantial number of employees of such occupation, or that existing facilities for collective bargaining in such occupation are inadequate or ineffective.

"2. Wage and hour standards established by collective bargaining agreements in any occupation are *prima facie* of the appropriate wage and hour standards in the occupation.

"3. The board cannot lower the wage standards or increase the hour standards from those already prevailing in the occupation in the community considered.

"4. The board cannot establish any wage or hour classification in any community which adversely affects the prevailing wage or hour standard in the same or other communities.

"5. Industries protected against prison-made goods, which are outlawed in commerce.

"6. The label provision of the original Act, which is a survival of the NRA blue eagle, is eliminated, so as to protect industry from that nuisance.

"7. Government work is removed from the control of the board and placed under the Walsh-Healey Act, as before."

The bill, as voted out by the Labor Committee, contained many other amendments to the Senate bill and it was apparent that when the bill reached the floor of the House additional amendments might be offered. Those adopted by the committee were not objectionable to us.

The bill, however, never emerged from the Rules Committee. It will no doubt be acted upon when Congress again convenes.

(P. 500) So that some of the issues involved in the Black-Connery Bill may be more clearly defined the convention calls attention to the fact that this bill was not introduced by the A. F. of L., neither did officers of the A. F. of L. participate in its preparation.

The bill was not drafted by a committee of the Senate or the House, neither did the Senator who introduced in it the Senate and the Con-

gressman who introduced it in the House, have a hand in its preparation.

The bill when first introduced gave to the commission it proposed to create, authority to set up undefined jurisdiction. The bill quite evidently was intended to establish maximum hours of labor and minimum wage rates, which would protect that part of Labor unable to protect itself. The commission, among other things would have had authority to set up differing minimum wage rates along geographical lines, and within these boundaries to set differing regulations as between certain industries and groups of employers.

With the purpose of establishing a point below which wages could not be paid and hours of labor beyond which wage earners could not be employed, the A. F. of L. is in accord. There exists, however, differences of opinion as to how this most desirable and necessary condition can be secured.

The experiences of our movement with the authority exercised by NRA and the difficulty, if not impossibility, of having the unwise and conflicting decisions of subordinates reviewed and set aside, the experiences of our movement under the National Labor Relations Act give valid reason for most searching examination before we give our approval to the establishing of further boards or commissions having power to determine questions of minimum wage and maximum hours or any other phase of the relationship of employer and employed.

These experiences make us reluctant to approve the creation of any additional boards or commissions having to do with industrial relations.

It seems obvious that our trade union movement should support all legislation necessary to guarantee and protect Labor in its unlimited right to organize; in its unlimited right to choose its own representatives; and

its unlimited right to carry on collective bargaining with employers.

The introduction of another principle for regulating hours and wages, after the right to organize and to carry on collective bargaining has been established, raises a most serious problem.

The convention notes with approval the efforts of the President of the A. F. of L. to secure amendments to the original bill which would safeguard the vital interests of our free trade union movement, and which would not work against the practice of trade union organization and collective bargaining by all wage earners of the country.

(1937, pp. 179, 311) Even unions sometimes have difficulty in obtaining redress for their members against employers who default on payrolls, and the individual worker, farm laborer, or domestic servant whose employer refuses payment on some pretext, or because he needs the money for some other purpose, is in a peculiarly helpless position. Irresponsible, fly-by-night concerns without assets to attach in case of failure to pay are a plague in certain industries. Various kinds of laws have been tried to meet different situations—lien laws, semi-monthly pay day laws, laws requiring bonding pay rolls of certain employers, wage collection laws. The collection of unpaid valid wage claims is a primary service which every Labor Department should be equipped to render every worker in the state who needs it; thousands of such claims are presented every year to state labor commissioners, yet in only a few states are these officials granted really adequate power to deal with the recalcitrant or irresponsible defaulting employer. The fact that in those states having good wage collection laws a very high proportion of claims are collected (in California 60 per cent) indicates that in states lacking such machinery an enormous

amount of injustice is done wage earners each year on this score.

Organized labor has for years pushed for the enactment of effective wage payment, wage collection, and lien laws, and this year secured the enactment of new laws or amendments in 22 states. Labor commissioners in four states were authorized to accept assignments of wage claims and to collect for wage earners through the civil courts, bringing the number of states that now specifically have granted this power to the labor commissioner to 11. Nearly every state labor department makes some effort to assist workers with wage claims that they are unable to collect, and increased activity is reported in recent years. A study made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that many more states are now collecting at least small amounts than was true a decade ago. Thirty-five states reported some activity in 1936 compared to 18 in 1932.

A small claims court bill passed the U.S. Senate August 6 and will undoubtedly pass the House.

(1938, p. 172) Disappointingly little progress was made in state legislation against the practices complained of by workers who failed to receive the wages due them, or who are not free to spend the wages they earn because they are not paid in full in cash, or because they are not paid at sufficiently frequent and regular intervals, and are thus forced to draw credit from their employers, at a discount, or trade at high-priced company stores with coupons. Actual cases of refusal to pay the agreed wages still occur, and in the absence of legislation the unorganized worker, and sometimes the organized worker as well, is without redress.

It should not be difficult to persuade legislatures to set up the few simple requirements that would enable these workers to enjoy an elementary right,

the right to receive and freely spend wages earned. Yet only South Carolina this year adopted an incomplete measure which, moreover, exempts some of the very industries in which the worst abuses are found. While omitting the requirement that wages be paid on regular prearranged pay days at specified intervals, the law requires the notification of all newly hired employees of their rates of pay, and of the time and place when payment would be made—provisions which should do something to establish the pay-day habit and to eliminate certain frequent causes of dispute in wage claim cases. The law requires prompt payment of employees on leaving (whether they quit voluntarily or are discharged); and empowers the labor commissioner to hear wage claim disputes and to assist employees in settling claims, but does not give him the right to take assignments of claims.

Legislation authorizing labor commissioners to take wage claim assignments and to sue for their collection may assume new importance for wage earners in connection with the administration of the new Federal Wage-Hour Law. In those states where the labor commissioners are so empowered, it will be possible for workers either individually or collectively to assign claims for back wages due them under this Act for immediate collection right in the state where the deficiency has occurred, without moving through Washington. Locals unions seeking to enforce the claims of their members can also avail themselves of this machinery. A drive for wage claim legislation in the 25 states still lacking such a provision should start gathering momentum now for the 1939 state legislative sessions.

(P. 153) When the Wages and Hours Bill, S. 2475, was introduced May 24, 1937, the A. F. of L. insisted that certain fundamental require-

ments be embodied in any such legislation which might be adopted. We proposed that a ceiling for hours and a foundation for wages be incorporated in the Act with no differentials; that wages and hours should not be determined by a board and that prosecution of violators should be by the Federal Department of Justice.

The Senate bill was very objectionable as it contained provisions directly opposed to those contended for by the A. F. of L. No effort was made to amend the bill as it could not be done satisfactorily. It was decided that after the bill had passed the Senate and it reached the House that the House Labor Committee would be asked to prepare a real bill that would be along the lines favored by the A. F. of L.

The President of the A. F. of L. conferred with President Roosevelt on the provisions that he should submit to the House Labor Committee. On August 6, 1937, the House Labor Committee reported amendments to S. 2475, which were unsatisfactory. Congress adjourned before any action was taken on the bill.

This objectionable bill was up for passage in the House December 17 in the special session. In the meantime the President of the A. F. of L. had sent a telegram to all members of the House of Representatives urging them to vote for its recommitment in order that proper amendments could be made to the bill. The C.I.O. opposed recommitting the bill. The House, however, despite opposition, recommended recommitment of the bill by a vote of 216 to 198.

The President of the A. F. of L. then resubmitted the A. F. of L. bill to the House Labor Committee. It provided for a uniform minimum wage of 40 cents an hour and a maximum 40-hour week for workers in substandard industries engaged in in-

terstate commerce, with child labor and convict labor prohibited. Violations were to be punishable by a fine of \$100 and prosecutions to be made by the federal district attorneys through the Federal Justice Department. No boards or differentials were recognized. In explaining the A. F. of L. bill the President of the A. F. of L. said:

"The great advantage of the measure we propose is its straightforward simplicity. It carries out in full the letter, the spirit and the objectives of President Roosevelt's recommendations to Congress.

"Its provisions are clear-cut. There is no possibility of escaping or twisting out of them by any manner of interpretation. The law stands on its own feet. It is uniform throughout the nation. It requires no administrative board or machinery to make it effective. It provides for quick punishment of any violation.

"We are unalterably opposed to a complex system of federal wage and hour regulations and their administration by a new federal board, as contemplated by the Black-Connery Bill. Labor, industry and the public are fed up with federal boards. We have had extremely disappointing and disillusioning experiences with the National Labor Relations Board. Nor do we believe that the creation of a federal administrator with district wage boards under him would serve any purpose but to complicate and confuse enforcement of any wage and hour measure."

Finally a bill carrying out to a great extent the recommendations of the A. F. of L. was reported by the House Labor Committee. Up to this time no matter how objectionable a proposed wage and hour bill might be the C.I.O. leaders favored it. They were willing from the beginning to accept the very objectionable Senate bill which provided that wages should

not exceed 40 cents an hour and hours not less than 40 a week. This would permit a minimum wage of anywhere between one cent and 40 cents an hour and the number of hours anywhere from 40 hours up.

Injection of objectionable tactics by the C.I.O. inflamed the members of the Rules Committee and they refused to grant a rule. However, at the request of the A. F. of L. on May 6 a petition was placed on the Speaker's desk and in a little more than two hours the necessary 218 signatures were obtained. This permitted action on the bill. The President of the A. F. of L. had sent a telegram May 3 to all members of the House urging them to sign the petition as the bill had been approved by the A. F. of L. On May 24, 1938, the bill was passed by a vote of 314 to 97. It was then sent to conference.

Owing to the fight being made by Southern members of Congress against wage and hour legislation, the Senate Conference Committee was increased to seven to permit two Southern Senators to be added to prevent a filibuster. The conference report was submitted June 13. It did not comply fully with the wishes of the A. F. of L., but was approved by both Houses June 14 and signed by the President June 25. Section 6 provides:

Every employer shall pay to each of his employees who is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce wages at the following rates:

- (1) during the first year from the effective date of this section, not less than 25 cents an hour,

- (2) during the next six years from such date, not less than 30 cents an hour,

- (3) after the expiration of seven years from such date, not less than 40 cents an hour, or the rate (not less than 30 cents an hour) pre-

scribed in the applicable order of the administrator issued under section 8, whichever is lower, and

(4) at any time after the effective date of this section, not less than the rate (not in excess of 40 cents an hour) prescribed in the applicable order of the administrator issued under section 8.

This section shall take effect upon the expiration of one hundred and twenty days from the date of enactment of this Act.

Subdivision 3 of Section 6 undoubtedly provides that if an industrial committee can convince the administrator that not more than 30 cents an hour can be paid at any time within the seven years, then the wages for that industry would never reach 40 cents an hour. They could remain at 30 cents. This would permit wage differentials between industries, but whatever wages are determined for an industry they will not be regional. They will be universal.

It will depend on the administrator, who can veto any decision of an industrial committee, whether the wages will be permitted to remain at 30 cents an hour.

Section 4 creates in the Department of Labor a Wage and Hour Division under the direction of an administrator to be known as the "Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division." The administrator is appointed by the President. The administrator shall, as soon as practical, appoint an industry committee for each industry engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce. Such committees shall include a number of disinterested persons representing the public, the employees and employers. In the appointments the administrator shall give due regard to the geographical regions in which the industry is carried on.

These committees will determine the wages to be paid after the second

year. During the first year employees shall not work longer than 44 hours and the second year 42 hours. After the second year none shall work longer than 40 hours unless paid for overtime at the rate of one and one-half times the regular rate.

The industries committees and the administrator shall consider among other relevant factors the following:

(1) competitive conditions as affected by transportation, living, and production costs;

(2) the wages established for work of like or comparable character by collective labor agreements negotiated between employers and employees by representatives of their own choosing; and

(3) the wages paid for work of like or comparable character by employers who voluntarily maintain minimum wage standards in the industry.

No classification shall be made under this section on the basis of age or sex.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor at least 250,000 employees in substandard industries will have their wages increased on October 24 to 25 cents an hour.

It is the intention to seek amendments to law as soon as the insufficiency of some of its provisions has been shown.

We are opposed to that portion of Section 14 of the Act which provides for a lower rate of pay for learners, apprentices and handicapped workers. We maintain that all these workers should be paid the minimum rate of pay provided for under the Act.

(1939, pp. 126, 634) A well organized attempt to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act which would have exempted nearly 2,000,000 workers from its provisions presented a grave threat to the continued operation of the Wage

and Hour Law. The amendments proposed exempted all workers receiving the guarantee of \$150 a month or more from this statute. In addition to the hundreds of thousands of clerical workers who would be deprived of the right to overtime compensation, this provision would exempt all crafts and skilled workers paid on a piece rate or hourly scale where it would be to the employer's advantage to guarantee the employees \$150 a month. Other proposed amendments are:

Exempting from the wage and hour provisions 120,000 employees engaged in packing fresh fruits and vegetables; 160,000 employees engaged in canning fresh fruits and vegetables; 13,000 pecan shellers; 68,000 tobacco stemmers and handlers; 250,000 employees engaged in the milk industry (including distribution) and in the making of ice cream and cheese; 125,000 employees engaged in ginning, compressing and storing of cotton; 70,000 employees engaged in the making of sugar, molasses, and maple syrup; 100,000 employees cutting, milling and manufacturing timber in to lumber where the employer has 15 employees or less; 6,000 nursery employees; 30,000 employees engaged in handling, slaughtering, dressing and refrigerating poultry; 30,000 stockyard employees engaged in handling or transporting livestock; 30,000 employees engaged in storing and warehousing all these products; 75,000 drivers engaged in handling and transporting meats, grain, livestock, lumber, cotton, and all other perishable foods.

In addition the amendments would exempt from the maximum hour and overtime provisions among others the following: 55,000 employees of the big grain elevators and exchanges wherever located; 100,000 employees engaged in logging and lumber operations; 10,000 employees engaged in evaporating and condensing milk;

42,000 employees engaged in the wholesale distribution, including foreign imports, of fresh fruits and vegetables; 20,000 employees handling the storage of other commodities; 125,000 employees engaged in handling and packing dried fruits, or in canning dry products for 16 work-weeks; 128,000 employees of the big meat packers for a like period.

It is conservatively estimated that the amendments, if adopted, would exempt 1,000,000 workers from the present wage provisions of the Act and more than 1,500,000 to be exempted from the maximum hours provision.

Three bills containing amendments to the wage and hour bill were granted a rule by the Rules Committee, the object being for the House to consider the three bills and agree to a single measure.

Fearing that Congress was in such a temper that it would adopt a most reactionary measure the President of the A. F. of L. wrote a letter to Representative Barden in which he said:

"It is my opinion that the Fair Labor Standards Act should at least remain as it is. Time will demonstrate the soundness of the provisions of this social justice statute. It has only been in operation about one year. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed in order that we might test the soundness and practicability of the regulatory provisions of this Act."

The members of the House went further than expected. They refused to consider any amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act and the matter will have to be adjusted in the next session.

There is no doubt that a well organized effort is being made to emasculate the law or even to force its repeal. When the House Appropriations Committee considered the recommendation of the Budget Bureau and the President that \$2,000,000 be appro-

priated in the third deficiency bill in order that the administrator of the Act could investigate violators it was stricken out. In his report the administrator pointed out that there were 20,000 violations of the law and that he had only 218 inspectors. The Senate voted to appropriate \$1,200,000 and the House accepted the amendment.

One amendment was made to the Fair Labor Standards Act in a separate bill, S. 1234. It provides for the "exemption of any switchboard operator employed in a public telephone exchange which has less than 500 stations." It passed both Houses and was signed by the President.

(P. 158) The passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act failed to exert as great a stimulus on the state legislatures as had been anticipated. State wage and hour bills, introduced in 30 states, did not pass. Extensions of minimum wage are to be noted in Alaska, Maine and Connecticut (where the law has been broadened to include men). Oklahoma failed to correct the error in the title of its minimum wage law which was responsible for the court decision invalidating the minimum wage orders for men and minors, and in fact the whole law just missed being repealed. Coverage of the eight-hour day and 48-hour week laws were extended in Montana and Utah, but on the other hand, the principle of one-day-of-rest-in-seven lost ground in New Hampshire and New Mexico. South Carolina allowed its recent hours legislation for men, women and minors to be enjoined and declared unconstitutional without enacting anything to replace it; so that now the only remaining hours statute in that state fixes a 12-hour day, 60-hour week for women in mercantile establishments. The hours of minors were reduced in West Virginia and Hawaii.

Two new industrial home work laws were passed—California and West

Virginia—making 19 states with this type of regulation.

The basic 16-year minimum age was adopted in Alaska, Hawaii, and West Virginia (though in the last-mentioned it was weakened by exceptions). In view of the action taken in Alaska and Hawaii, it is all the more surprising that 37 states and the District of Columbia still fall short of this standard.

(P. 159) Drastic reduction in work hours was necessary in the last decade to prevent widespread unemployment; but if we had cut 10 hours from the work week without adjusting wages, living standards would have been reduced to poverty levels for millions of workers. Major adjustments in hourly wage rates were also necessary to compensate the reduction in hours.

Probably no decade in our history has seen more sweeping wage changes than the 10 years from 1929 to 1939. There were first the severe wage cuts of depression which in four years reduced the average hourly wage of 56c in manufacturing to 46c in 1933. Following these losses, the effort toward recovery under NRA codes brought substantial wage increases and in the next two years depression wage cuts were in large part restored. By 1935 the average wage of factory workers had recovered to 57c per hour. After the termination of NRA, the National Labor Relations Act freed workers to organize, and growing trade unions held NRA wage gains, and by 1937 succeeded in bringing the average factory wage to 64c per hour.

Thus in this brief period of eight years we had a general wage reduction of 10c per hour in the first four years, followed by an increase of 18c in the next four years.

The last two years of the decade gave a striking example of trade union success in maintaining wages; for

the sudden business recession of 1937-8 reduced production and prices so rapidly that we were threatened with serious widespread wage cuts. Trade union resistance, together with administration influence to maintain wages, effectively checked wage reductions. We came through this recession with relatively few wage cuts, and these have in large part been restored. In the first half of 1939 factory wages have averaged 65c per hour.

Thus the net result of the last decade is a 19c increase in the hourly wage of factory workers. This increase has not been enough however to bring weekly and yearly income of workers back to the 1929 level with the shorter work week. In 1929, the average factory wage earner worked a 49-hour week at 56c an hour and earned approximately \$27; in 1937 he worked an average 39-hour week at 64c per hour and earned approximately \$25. In 1939, with industry not yet fully recovered from the 1938 recession, part time and unemployment have reduced weekly earnings to \$23.50. Factory workers' yearly income averaged \$1,300 in 1929 and \$1,175 in 1937.

Thus it is clear that with the shorter work week, workers' incomes are not yet back to 1929 levels. Nevertheless, we have been helped toward a 1929 living standard by the decline in living costs. Living costs indices in 1937 were nearly 12% below 1929. This price decline enabled wage earners in 1937 to support a 1929 living standard, even though the actual cash income received was not as great as in 1929. Measured in the goods our earnings would buy, the average factory worker's income in 1937 at the lower price level, was equivalent to \$1,325 per year, compared with \$1,300 in 1929.

The above figures are for manufacturing industries, because in these in-

dustries records are more complete; it is not possible, with the present inadequate information, to follow changes in hourly wage rates in all industries. Commerce Department figures show us, however, that changes in the average yearly income of all wage and salaried workers in American industry from 1929 to 1937 have closely paralleled those in manufacturing industries. Employees in general in 1929 had an average yearly income of \$1,475, which was reduced to \$1,310 in 1937, but with lower price levels this 1937 income would buy goods and services equivalent to \$1,480 at 1929 prices.

These general averages are at best only very rough indicators of progress since 1929. The figures do not represent the actual wage or the actual yearly income of any individual or of any craft or group of workers; in such averages the unemployment losses of individuals are often discounted because the lay-off of employed workers may be offset by the hiring of others.

These averages do show in general, however, that trade union action in the last decade, together with federal laws affecting workers, has succeeded in bringing about certain gains for wage earners in spite of all the difficulties created by the most severe business depression in our history. Those of us who are fortunate enough to have steady jobs are in general able, in a year of normal activity, to support a living standard equal to that of 1929 with 10 hours more leisure time per week.

Ever since 1926 the A. F. of L. has swung the entire force of the labor movement behind a drive to shorten work hours in order to reduce unemployment. We struggled first for the five-day 40-hour week, then for the 30-hour week, and we have insisted that the work week be shortened without reducing the weekly income

and living standard of American wage earners. This great drive, together with the help of federal legislation, has resulted in outstanding achievement, equalled in no other country of the world. While there are still industries where the 44- or 48-hour week is in effect, and in some few cases hours even longer, throughout a major part of American industry the 40-hour week is now prevalent, and hundreds of thousands of workers are already working a 30-hour and 35-hour week. Union building tradesmen and union members in printing trades have 95% of their membership working a 40-hour week or less; and of these, 26% in building have a work week of 35 hours or less, and 30% in printing have a 37½ hour week or less; 10% in building already have the 30-hour week.

American trade unions, American employers, and all those who have assisted in achieving this major economic adjustment may well note that our measures have proved effective. We have prevented the loss of several million jobs through technological changes in industries, we have substituted leisure for unemployment, and we have accomplished this without reducing the living standard of employed workers.

The reduction in work hours to a 40-hour average, and the increase in average hourly earnings to 64c has laid a foundation for unprecedented future progress in living standards and industrial expansion in the United States. This has been a difficult adjustment, and it has been made when American industries were hard pressed in our worst industrial depression. The very difficulty of such an adjustment may have retarded somewhat our recovery from depression, but it has gone far to bring our economy back in balance and restore inherent soundness and industrial health. Present wage scales are a basis for the highest workers' buying

power and the largest home market for goods in our history once industry again resumes its normal rate of expansion.

We must next consider the low level of industrial production in this last decade and the effect it has had on our living standards. The year 1937 was intentionally chosen for comparison with 1929 because it was important to show what the living standard is today in a year of nearly normal industrial activity. In every other year of this decade, however, industrial production has been below 1937, living standards have been lower, and in most years there have been many more unemployed. Therefore, while 1937 was the only year by which we could measure achievements, 1937 living standards are by no means typical of the 1929 to 1939 decade.

Even in 1937, when employed workers were able to maintain a 1929 living standard, we cannot overlook the heavy burden of caring for the unemployed which fell upon the shoulders of our wage earners. With more than 8,000,000 out of work, millions of American families had to support relatives who, in normal times, would have supported themselves. The average worker's income was required to stretch over a larger number of persons than in 1929, and consequently, the average per capita or per person living standard for the entire population, even in 1937, was lower than 1929. As noted above, even at the lower 1937 price levels, the average per capita living standard was 7.5% below 1929. Thus while employed workers can maintain a 1929 living standard with shorter work hours, our comparison makes no allowance for the insecurity of working conditions today, the anxiety of not knowing whether one will have a job tomorrow, the burden of supporting unemployed family members. Unemployment compensation payments are an essential help here, but they are

not a substitute for work opportunities.

If now we compare progress in the decade just ending with progress in the 10 previous years (1919 to 1929), we find a strong contrast between the previous decade of expanding productive activity and the present 10 years of industrial stagnation. From 1919 to 1929, the average per capita living standard in the United States rose 23% and hours of work were reduced by two per week (from 51 in 1919 to 49 in 1929). From 1929 to 1937, the average per capita living standard declined 7.5% and work hours were reduced by 10 per week.

The only tangible gain to workers in the present decade has been an increase in leisure while adjustment in wage rates pave the way for higher living standards when industry expands. In the last decade the increase in leisure was very much smaller, but the 23% rise in per capita "real" income raised workers' living standards to the highest level of any country in the world. This contrasts with a net loss in the present decade, due to industrial stagnation.

For industry as a whole, however, this decade has brought a major gain, the value of which is not yet apparent, for basic adjustments of work hours and wage rates have placed the national economy on a sound basis, ready to go forward. Industry ended the previous decade with a period of inflationary debauch, which temporarily brought high profits, and then plunged the country into depression. The present decade has on the whole been a period of low profits, and even in 1937 profits were considerably below 1929 levels. But this decade closes with industry in a healthy condition ready to go forward to higher productive activity and greater creation of wealth than ever before.

As noted in the last section, our

problem today is to restore industry to full productive activity so that the adjustments of this decade may take effect in higher living standards and increased incomes for all.

(P. 175) Marking the culmination of the long and stubborn legislative battle unswervingly led by the A. F. of L., the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 became law on June 25, 1938. As the minimum wage and maximum hour provisions of the new statute did not become effective until October 24, 1938, the first four months following the signing of the Act were consumed in the setting up of the Wage and Hour Division in the Department of Labor as the agency responsible for the administration and enforcement of the labor standards prescribed in the Act.

The child labor provisions of the Act are administered under the direction of the chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

The Fair Labor Standards Act applies only to workers engaged in interstate commerce or those producing goods for interstate commerce. When the minimum wage and maximum hour provisions became effective on October 24, 1938, it was estimated that the protection of minimum standards of the law extended to over 11,000,000 workers.

The initial statutory wage of 25c an hour went into effect on October 24, 1938. This minimum will be advanced automatically to 30c an hour on October 24, 1939, and will remain in effect for six years when the 40c minimum will apply. A large mass of workers in low-paid industries and in low-wage areas have been benefited by the application of the 25c minimum.

The statutory method of maintaining a minimum wage standard is supplemented in the Act by the machinery which enables the administrator to issue minimum wage orders for

specific industries. These minimum wage orders must provide for minimum wage determination between 25c and 40c an hour and are based on recommendation of an industry committee made up of an equal number of representatives of Labor, employers and the public. Under this procedure, an industry committee reviews all available wage evidence and hears witnesses from all interested parties and by a majority vote submits a recommendation to the administrator which he can either accept or reject in its entirety but cannot modify in any part. Before accepting a recommendation of an industry committee and embodying it in a wage order, the administrator must hold public hearings in which the basic record of evidence is established.

(1941, p. 71) Through united, concentrated effort all American Federation of Labor organizations have succeeded in lifting the American wage level and in securing decided improvement in conditions of employment. Notwithstanding this fact there are thousands of workers whose wages are still below a subsistence level. This is evidenced by the fact that special drives have been made to establish the minimum wage standards provided for by the minimum wage law in a very large number of industries.

It is a part of the fixed policy of the American Federation of Labor to continue its driving efforts to increase wages for those whose rates of pay may be classified as being in the higher brackets, and to increase the wages of those whose rates of pay are indefensible and whose incomes are in no way commensurate with the requirements of our American standard of living.

Wage earners base their demand for increased wages upon a justified claim to share in increased productivity and increased income which has

been created by the production expansion developments arising out of the application of the defense program. Increasing productivity, savings in production costs, reduced unit selling costs, economies which accompany expanding production all along the line have made it possible in general to pay higher wages without reducing industrial profits. . . .

(P. 74) The membership of the American Federation of Labor is moved by a sincere and compelling desire to realize and enjoy a higher standard of life and living. They can only realize this ambition and achieve this noble purpose through the enjoyment of an annual income fully commensurate with the requirements of American citizenship. It is, therefore, the fixed and determined purpose of the American Federation of Labor to continue to demand and secure higher wages and improved conditions of employment for the working men and women of our country.

(P. 624) Wage rates fix the income of wage earners, determine the standards of living for their families, and condition their ability to share in social and economic progress. Our unions, through collective bargaining, fix standards above those minima established by administrative procedure and endeavor to secure for workers compensation based upon their contributions to production.

(Pp. 624-5) Industrial records, cited by the Executive Council's Report, shows that Labor is entitled to larger compensation: production per man hour increased 43% between 1929 and 1941 while labor costs per unit of product declined 6.5%. Wages constituted a relatively small part of production costs in many industries and therefore do not automatically force price rises as some maintain. It is especially important under present conditions for all unions to have adequate industrial and finan-

cial information to sustain their wage contentions. While we realize present danger of inflation makes it necessary for the unions together with all other groups to cooperate to curb inflationary tendencies we cannot be deluded into believing that wages should be frozen. Stabilization and maintenance of the *status quo* are not necessarily the same thing.

As the Executive Council Report points out, wage policies should not be confused with any proposal for price control or price freezing. Wages are incomes paid to persons as compensation for work. Prices are the market valuation of commodities. As the American Federation of Labor had written into the Clayton Anti-Trust Act and later in the basic principles of the ILO, "The labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce."

Payment for work must be determined between the individual rendering the work and the employer, or between their representatives. This procedure is inseparable from human freedom and dignity which lies at the base of democratic institutions and controls their nature and operations. If we are to defend free institutions we must continue to function as free people, with representation in the making of policies and decisions which concern our well being. Any form of price control will indirectly affect wages when union representatives negotiate for Labor's share of the returns of the employing companies. Direct fixing of wages would constitute income control which, when applied to employers, will involve fixing of profits. On the other hand, price control will indirectly affect profits as well as wages.

What Labor wants from price control is an economic stability that will enable industries to operate and all individuals and public agencies to be able to plan to expend their incomes

to the best advantage of all concerned. Without stability there can be no security of income, investments, or other property.

The price control bill of the administration wisely does not propose to fix wages but authorizes the President to fix prices with adequate provisions for hearings within time limits, and with limits on the duration of this authority.

(1942, p. 121) Figures show clearly that the vast majority of our workers cannot earn a decent living for a family of four unless they work overtime to a considerable extent. Since one-third of American families actually will have incomes of \$2,500 this year, it is clear that many of them have to depend on more than one member working and bringing in an income.

This is significant, for it shows that standard wage rates in America have not yet reached the point where any but a very small minority of highly skilled workers can hope to earn an adequate living for a family of four in normal times. At present, because much overtime is being worked and many families have more than one wage earner, workers are enjoying a temporary betterment. But until wage rates are lifted to a much higher level, the vast majority of workers' families must live on a very inadequate budget in normal times.

We have not yet established a wage which will carry us into the post-war period at a decent living level, nor at a level which will create an adequate market for industry's products.

(1944, p. 136) The E.C. submitted an informative statement on A. F. of L. policy with regard to our national wage policy. Incorporated in this lengthy report is an important statement as follows:

Your Executive Council cannot impress too strongly on the convention the following facts: Full production and full employment make possible a

high level of wages. Increased costs of government and payments on our war debt will require large revenues from taxes. If production and national income are at high levels a relatively low tax rate will bring in the necessary funds. However, if industry operates at low levels, using only part of its capacity, high wages will become a burden which many companies cannot pay, and the necessary taxes on corporations and individuals will also be burdensome at low levels of production. Such burdens tend to discourage the business initiative on which employment depends.

The American Federation of Labor has a definite part to play in the national effort to bring full production and full employment. Our task is to see that wage rates are high enough to provide a good living and furnish the necessary buying power, which alone can make full production possible.

At today's wage rates there is a shortage of workers' buying power. This shortage is so serious that it will undermine the very basis of our future prosperity, threatening to plunge the country into a disastrous business depression.

To correct this shortage, substantial wage increases for all union members must be secured. But our task will not be ended there. Millions of low paid, unorganized workers must also have their wages raised. Full production and full employment will not be possible unless they too receive very substantially higher wages. To secure the necessary wage increases throughout industry we recommend the following program:

1. That all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor make a concerted drive for wage increases for all workers.

2. That the necessary legislative action be taken to raise substantially

the wage floor provided in the Fair Labor Standards Act.

3. That a concerted drive under Federation leadership be carried out during the coming year to assist international unions in organizing workers in their jurisdictions in the low paid industries and in raising their pay; and where there are no international unions having jurisdiction that the workers be organized in federal labor unions and the necessary wage increases secured.

(P. 577) The convention committee submitted a report endorsing the E.C. statement on wage policy which was unanimously adopted by the convention as follows:

Under the caption of "Wages," the Executive Council has presented an exhaustive study of wages and the part they played in maintaining consumers' capacity without which American industry and commerce cannot succeed. It also makes a comparison between wages and the cost of living, supplying a mass of statistical information relative to the subject. The report concludes with the recommendation that all unions in the American Federation of Labor make a concerted drive for wage increases for all workers, that the necessary legislative action be taken to substantially increase the wage floor provided by the Fair Labor Standards Act. That a concerted drive under the American Federation of Labor be put into effect during the coming year to assist international unions in organizing workers under their jurisdiction, and also in the low paid industries, so that necessary increases in wages may be secured for all workers.

In this connection your committee believes it advisable that the record of this convention should contain a reproduction of the letter sent to the President of the United States under date of November 13, 1944, by Secre-

tary-Treasurer George Meany. The letter follows:

November 13, 1944

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.
My dear Mr. President:

As a member of your Cost of Living Committee I wish to place before you the reasons for Labor's persistent and determined objection to the way the Bureau of Labor Statistics "Cost of Living Index" is used in wage stabilization. Chairman Davis has given you a report which reviews in detail the work of the Mitchell Committee of experts and gives his conclusions on the increase in living costs since January 1941. I am giving you a special report to clarify certain points which the American Federation of Labor feels have not been sufficiently emphasized.

First of all I should like to point out the difference between measuring prices and measuring the costs of living. The Bureau of Labor Statistics measures prices. It does not measure costs of living. This distinction was made clear by the experts:

The Mills Committee expressly says:

Within the limits established for it, the cost of living index provides a trustworthy measure of prices paid by consumers for goods and services.

And the Mitchell Committee states:

For many policy and analytical purposes it is important to isolate the price factor alone. For these purposes, the index should be as nearly as possible confined to the price factor in the living costs of families dependent upon wages and low salaries.

Thus clearly the index is limited to the measurement of one factor in the cost of living, that of prices, and to that alone; and according to the Mitchell Committee, it should be so

limited. This means that it measures prices, but it does not measure living costs.

However, Chairman Davis confuses these terms when he says that the index is "an acceptable approximation to changes in the cost of living for urban workers" and that "it should be regarded as the standard measure of changes in the cost of living for wage earners and lower-salaried employees."

Labor cannot accept this index as a measure of the changes in the costs of living. Also, as to its being a trustworthy measures of prices, the Mitchell Committee finds that due to under-reporting of prices of price-controlled foods, the index has a downward bias of one-half of one point. Thus it is not entirely trustworthy even as a measure of prices. These are two of the reasons why Labor cannot accept the index as even an approximation to changes in living costs.

Secondly, I cannot agree with Chairman Davis' general statement that the BLS index figures "are good basic figures for use in the formulation of fiscal and other governmental policy." This statement should be qualified so as to make it clear that such policies do not include the adjustment of wages. Such a qualification is necessary to avoid any misunderstanding as to the use of the index.

The chief question which your Cost of Living Committee undertook to answer in November 1943 was this: "What is the cost of living today compared to January 1941? No one on your committee has answered the question.

Mr. Davis' conclusion, adopting the findings of the Mitchell Committee, is that the over-all increase in the cost of living from January 1941 to September 1944 is 29 to 30 per cent.

Labor finds, however, that many factors which have greatly increased

our living costs are not allowed for by the Mitchell Committee report. By living costs we mean the cost of maintaining the same living standard we had before the war—and there is general agreement on this definition. Our living habits have had to adjust to wartime conditions, often at greatly increased costs. Landlords no longer do the repair and redecorating work they did before the war and we are forced to pay these costs ourselves; rationing of meat has forced us to eat in restaurants at greatly increased cost; inferior gasoline, wear and tear on automobiles by ride-sharing to and from work, the use of worn-out cars requiring much repair have increased the cost of necessary transportation and are only partly accounted for by the BLS; families living in crowded war centers without equipment for home laundering must send their washing out at much higher cost. This type of cost has not been accounted for in the Mitchell Committee's estimates, but our members tell us that such things add greatly to the amounts they must spend to maintain their prewar standard of living. Unless earnings rise enough to cover such costs as these, in addition to those covered by the Mitchell Committee, workers must move to cheaper houses, buy cheaper commodities, and so on, in an effort to make ends meet. Every wage earner family knows that the increase in the amount they have to spend to maintain standards is greater than that shown by the Bureau of Labor Statistics or the Mitchell Committee.

When the Little Steel Formula was established the War Labor Board made plain that it intended to maintain established living standards, as Vice Chairman Taylor's opinion states:

Those groups whose peace-time standards have been broken are entitled to have these standards re-established as a stabilization factor . . . Such labor standards can be

preserved without any significant effect upon the broad inflation problem.

And Chairman Davis said:

Because of the need for maximum war production it is necessary that fair and equitable labor standards should not be broken down . . . Not to protect these standards would justly give rise to a sense of insecurity and frustration among the workers who remain at home; and it is only fair to the workers who are drawn into the fighting services that their standards should be protected while they are away.

Thus the public members of the board clearly recognized the principle of maintaining workers' peace-time living standards as a basic requirement for justice both to war workers and to servicemen.

This basic principle, however, has not been upheld. Although the original purpose was to permit wage increases equivalent to the rise in living costs, the Little Steel Formula froze the increase at 15 per cent and wage rates have not been allowed to move upward and have not kept pace even with the rise in prices shown by the BLS index.

One reason for this was the failure of the Bureau of Labor Statistics index to measure the rise in living costs. All those who have examined the index agree that it measures only one element in the increased cost of living, that is, the rise in prices of a selected list of commodities and services bought by wage earners and small salaried workers living in large cities. It does not measure the total rise in living costs for workers generally, or show what this rise has meant to them in reduction of their peace-time living standards. It does not adequately measure such elements as quality deterioration, disappearance of cheaper articles from the market, absence of special sales (which are included in the Mitchell Committee estimate);

nor does it measure such other increases in living costs as those I have listed above. The Mills Committee and the Mitchell Committee both feel that it should not measure these items, because, if it did so, it would no longer be a price index suitable for use in measuring price inflation and for other necessary purposes for which it is now an essential measuring rod.

The BLS itself recognizes that its index is not a cost of living index and says so in the statement placed at the head of its monthly cost of living releases:

The index does not show the full wartime effect on the cost of living of such factors as lowered quality, disappearance of low-priced goods, and forced changes in housing and eating away from home.

The Mitchell Committee states:

It is really an index of price changes in a list of customary supplies, kept as nearly constant as possible. (Part I, page 18)

The name of the index should be changed to something more appropriate, such as "Index of Workers' Retail Prices." One recommendation of the Mitchell Committee is that "The index should be given a less misleading name." (Part I, page 20).

All of the changes and refinements suggested by the Mills Committee and others to improve the index, are to improve it as an index to retail prices of goods and services customarily bought by wage earners and small-salaried families in large and smaller communities. These are not intended to make it a cost of living index. The Mitchell Committee expressly states that "What the BLS now tries to supply is desirable" and that to mix additional factors with price changes would only impair its usefulness. Yet these additional factors have a very important bearing on workers' actual living costs and force heavy increase in those costs. Chairman Davis also

says that "the BLS must exclude changes in the manner of living if its index is to continue to perform the intended purpose of recording how living costs are being influenced by changes in retail prices." The things he specifically mentions for exclusion are, in addition to "changes in the manner of living," eating away from home, the cost of forced transportation difficulties, increased living costs of migrants. If the index does not measure these things, then it does not measure cost of living.

Clearly then the index is not and cannot be made a satisfactory indicator of increases in costs of living necessary to adjust wages so that the welfare of wage earners can be stabilized.

The Mitchell Committee also shows another reason why the index cannot be properly used for wage determination. It does not apply to many groups of wage earners:

The BLS index relates only to families, only to families living in cities of considerable size, and only to urban families that work for a living. The index is misused when it is applied to individuals, or to small town and rural families, or to families on the verge of poverty. (Part I, page 20)

The Mills Committee also states that for the purpose,

of estimating the pressure on present wage rates and the present wage adjustment formula by workers' experience with living costs, a national average of living costs is not satisfactory.

There are millions of workers for whom the national index cannot properly measure even the price changes that affect their living costs. Use of the BLS index to adjust their wages cannot possibly bring justice.

The American Federation of Labor has never agreed to the principle of basing wages on cost of living or on

price inflation. The established wage policy of this country has always been based on raising wages as increases in productivity made this possible. This is the only possible basis for an expanding economy with rising living standards.

In wartime however, we have been willing to meet the emergency with emergency measures. At every stage of wartime policy-making the American Federation of Labor has supported inflation control and has loyally supported the war administration even though our living standards have not been maintained and we have been denied fair compensation for work done. We have not asked increased pay to keep pace with the enormous increases in productivity in war industries. We have willingly contributed this to the war effort—and it has amounted to many billions of dollars. The government has profited by more work done for the same costs and through great reductions in costs. We have not asked wage increases to compensate for the substantial rises in productivity which have reduced unit labor costs in civilian industries.

I said we have been willing to accept emergency measures. But even these emergency measures have not been applied so as to give basic justice to wage earners. For one long year technical inquiries into the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost of living index have been drawn across our pathway so as to divert Labor's attention from the main issue—the injustice of freezing wages below the inflation indicated even by the bureau's inadequate index. Thus wages have been kept frozen instead of being stabilized, which was the common understanding of the purpose of the law.

The Little Steel wage freeze has made it impossible to carry out the fair and just wage stabilization policy outlined on October 3, 1942, by

your Executive Order 9250 which expressly grants the War Labor Board power to approve wage increases "necessary to correct maladjustments or inequalities, to eliminate substandards of living, to correct gross inequities, or to aid in the effective prosecution of the war." Your order recognized that true wage stabilization must take into account many phases of wage adjustment in addition to adjustments for cost of living. Substandards must be raised; inequities and inequalities must be adjusted; where low wage rates interfere with the prosecution of the war, they must be corrected.

But the Little Steel wage freeze has cut across all these factors of a just wage stabilization policy. It has prevented the proper raising of substandards. It has checked the fair adjustment of inequalities. It has even interfered with the prosecution of the war by delaying correction of very low wages which were creating manpower shortages in foundries and other plants behind schedule in their war production. In fact it has made true wage stabilization impossible.

This freeze has penalized workers as compared to other groups so that the original plan for price control requiring equal sacrifice from all groups, as stated by you, has been sabotaged. This inequality of sacrifice is clear from a comparison of income increases before taxes for different groups. Commerce Department figures show that from 1939 to 1943 the yearly income of the average farmer has increased 204%; the income of the average business proprietor increased 94%; corporation profits rose 329%, but the average worker's income rose only 58%.

The increase in the worker's income in this period was due chiefly to overtime pay, certain war-time bonuses and the longer work week, all of which will disappear with the ending of the

war. The straight time wage rate on which he must depend for long term progress has increased less than the rise in living costs. The average American non-farm worker actually receives less real buying power for his straight time hour of work today than he did before the war. Average straight time hourly "real" earnings of all non-farm workers have declined from 65c in 1940 to 60c in 1944. These are Commerce Department wage figures expressed in constant buying power of January, 1941, price levels, as determined by applying Mitchell Committee living cost estimates.

Our concern over the wage freeze is increased because we know its consequences will extend into the post-war period and undermine efforts for full employment. We are equally concerned because of our obligation to those in the armed services to maintain undiminished opportunities to work at compensation which will assure high standards of living. At the risk of wholeness of body and life itself, they are fighting to maintain for us all the institutions of freedom. We shall be derelict in our duty unless we maintain for all those standards of work and pay that help to give substance to freedom. Returning soldiers should be able to resume work with at least the same conditions as when they left. The wage freeze policy has turned downward the line of progress and cut away "real" wage levels established through long years of effort. This is shown in a particularly striking way by the following "real" wage figures, which have been adjusted for the rising in living costs as estimated by the Mitchell Committee, so that they show us nearly as possible the buying power of one hour's work in constant prices—those of January, 1941:

	"Real" Wage In Cents Per Hour		
	1935-6	1940	1943
Building trade	106.2	128.3	111.2
Printing trades....	110.3	112.6	103.1

Bakeries	66.1	73.0	66.9
Truck drivers	69.7	79.4	72.6
Street railways	71.7	78.2	71.6

These are union wage scales, the only figures we have to show straight time hourly wage rates as distinguished from "earnings." The BLS average hourly earnings figures include overtime, up-grading, and "incentive" payments and so obscure the trend in straight time hourly wage rates.

In every case the above figures show that the peace-time trend of rising "real" wages has been reversed by the Little Steel Formula. Far from being maintained since 1940, the peace-time living standard represented by these wages has been seriously cut away. In bakeries and on street railways "real" wage rates have been cut down to the level of 1935-6; and the printing tradesman who received \$1.10 in 1935-6 have been cut far below that level to \$1.03. I am convinced that this destruction of our hard won wage standards, this blotting out of years of progress, has not been a wartime necessity.

So great has been the reduction of workers' "real" straight time hourly earnings in industry as a whole through the Little Steel wage freeze that today 60% of all workers in private industry are receiving less than 85c an hour, the amount necessary (on a 40-hour week) to support a family of four at even the bare subsistence living level provided in the BLS Maintenance Budget; and only 8% receive a wage of \$1.30 per hour or more, which is necessary to give their families the health and efficiency standard outlined in the widely recognized Heller Committee Budget.

We have accepted this wage freeze, with its serious reduction in our living standards, at a time when the profits of businessmen and of corporations were reaching unheard of peaks. We

know that most employers are able to pay us a just wage without raising prices, and we are fully confident that in the few cases where price adjustments would be necessary these adjustments can be made without causing inflation.

The failure of straight time hourly wage rates to rise as our national producing power expands and our gross national product increases will be an unsurmountable deflationary force paralyzing our efforts for full employment. Reconversion will sweep away the various devices by which workers' take-home pay has been maintained, such as continuous overtime, rapid up-grading, the six-day week and special bonuses in war work. The elimination of overtime, the layoff of extra workers and demobilization of armed forces will reduce consumer buying power by \$23 billion when both wars end. Subtracting this from our present level of \$128 billion in consumers' income available for purchase of goods and services will leave only \$105 billion, according to Commerce Department estimates. But studies of the Commerce Department and the Federal Reserve Board show that we shall need \$114 to \$116 billion of consumer purchases to maintain full employment. There will be a shortage of \$9 to \$11 billion unless present wage rates are raised.

We cannot hope to escape the necessity for maintaining high wage levels at home by counting upon large exportation of our products. For sooner or later we must be ready to import an amount of goods roughly equal to our exports, so that the countries who buy from us will be able to pay us. Dumping goods abroad is no answer to the problem of inadequate buying power at home.

Our economic planning for the postwar must keep abreast the military time table both for war production and for postwar plans. We should now be in readiness for the end of the

battle of Europe. Readiness in wage policy is an essential. The serious declines in workers' real wages must be remedied now, so that a clear and stable wage policy will be in effect when we enter the difficult period of reconversion. For if wage adjustments were to be left until after V-E day, the resulting chaos would retard reconversion and cause irreparable damage to our whole economy.

Wage rates to be effective in civilian production must be agreed to in advance by management and unions so that they can be incorporated in estimates and plans. We must have ready not only the blueprints for full employment but provisions for the consumer purchasing power to sustain production at that level. Can we offer less to those who have won the war on the home and military fronts?

Justice to wage earners at work and those now in the armed services demands that the government wage control policy be modified so that straight time wage rates can be adjusted to maintain established labor standards.

What the A. F. of L. has proposed as wise policy is contained in our resolution:

Be It Resolved—That the National War Labor Board request the President to issue an executive order which will realistically adjust the Little Steel Formula with the increased cost of living and permit employers and employees to effectuate the newly established policy by voluntary agreement without submission to the National War Labor Board.

Mr. President, this proposal would work out as follows:

There would be a return to the principle and practice of collective bargaining over a wide area. Employers and workers could by mutual agreement increase wage rates to maintain standards of living—up to

the proposed 30% over January, 1941. The only requirement would be the filing of the agreement with the WLB.

In cases of disputes, the WLB would be permitted to increase wage rates up to the 30% increase over January, 1941, depending on the particular circumstances found to exist in each case.

Thus collective bargaining would be revived so that it could play its part in providing the necessary purchasing power for full employment. In addition, conditions in the labor market would induce employers to increase voluntarily the wage rates of unorganized white collar and other low income groups, so that they too would share the opportunity for increased wage rates within this new limit.

Sincerely yours,
 GEORGE MEANY,
 Secretary-Treasurer,
 American Federation of Labor.

With these comments your committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's Report.

(Job Evaluation of Army Opposed)
 (P. 538) Res. 129:

Whereas — A S F (Army Service Forces) of the War Department has established at the arsenals and certain other War Department industrial establishments, a job evaluation and wage system which, from the point of view of the shop crafts, is extremely unsatisfactory and unjust, and

Whereas—The job evaluation part of this system has the effect of breaking up the work of the skilled trades into specialized operations and violates long standing trade traditions, and

Whereas—A schedule of wages has been established consisting of five rates of pay for each classification called grades, with these grades overlapping and arranged systematically from the bottom to the top, similar to the schedule of pay under the Classi-

fication Act of 1923 as amended, in accordance with the relative skill of the employees as determined by the management, and

Whereas—This system of analyzing jobs and setting wages has resulted in unfairness, favoritism, intense resentment on the part of the workmen, and is unsatisfactory to many of the managements of the arsenals, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 64th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself as unalterably opposed to this job evaluation and wage system, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor do everything in their power to have the system discontinued by the War Department.

(1946, p. 171) The wage policy of the A. F. of L. as enunciated by the 1925 Convention, was given in a lengthy report by the Executive Council. Due to its historical economic importance the report is given in its entirety as follows:

The Federation Convention of 1925 adopted a wage policy which has played a decisive part in the progress of American workers and in the economic and social progress of our country generally. The policy was stated as follows in the Executive Council Report and the report of the committee considering it:

Increased productivity is essential to permanent increases in our standards of living . . . With improvements in production technique . . . wages must increase so that wage earners may benefit from the material wealth which they help to create, and that financial depression may be avoided . . . High wages is the American policy . . . The industry that cannot pay high wages is an industry self-convicted of inefficient management and wasteful methods. Organized labor may help to indicate the sources of

waste and inefficient methods so that management may make the necessary changes . . . Cooperation between all groups concerned with production results in a very genuine partnership that brings reciprocal benefits of the highest value . . . Your committee urges . . . cooperation and the spirit of intelligent responsibility in industry.

During the years since 1925, productivity, as represented in production per man hour has increased rapidly in American industry. Unions affiliated with the Federation, following the above wage policy, have succeeded in raising wages as production per man hour increased. During the period from 1925 to 1939 this policy brought an increase in wages while living costs declined and living standards were thus substantially raised for all groups. In manufacturing industries during these 14 years, production per man hour rose 54% and the buying power of the factory worker's hour of work rose 41%.

In the war years, however, shortage of consumer goods and the danger of inflation made it necessary to modify temporarily the policy of increasing wages in proportion with the rise of workers' production per man hour. From April 1943 until the end of the war, wages were frozen to the Little Steel Formula and only minor adjustments were permitted.

In the first war years, however, from 1939 up to April, 1943 wage freeze, wages rose rapidly in war industries (or "durable goods manufactures" in Labor Department nomenclature). The average weekly wage or take-home pay in these industries rose from \$26.50 in 1939 to \$48.67 in April, 1943, a gain of more than \$22 or 84% in slightly over three years. More than half this rise was due to increases in straight time hourly wages or to upgrading, and the rest

to longer hours and overtime pay. These increases, which brought wages to a level far above non-war industries, attracted workers to war plants and assisted greatly in our wartime achievement of manning war industries by voluntary means. By the time of the April 1943 wage freeze, a work week of 48 hours or more was in effect in most war plants, and the average week worked was 46.8 hours in these industries. This level of work hours was held without any further significant change until the spring of 1945.

After April 1943, the wage stabilization regulations permitted few upward adjustments of wages. From then until wages in war industries reached their peak in January 1945, there was a further increase of only \$5 per week, to \$53.54.

The significant fact is that these wartime gains in the heavy industries were rapidly lost as war production slackened after V-E Day. From the peak of \$53.54 wages in these industries fell to \$42.57 in February 1946. Straight time hourly earnings fell back almost to the level of April, 1943, at the start of the wage freeze. The drop was due in no small part to down gradings, for as work and employment were cut back in shipyards, airplane plants and other war industries, numbers of workers who had held supervisory positions were downgraded to jobs at lower rates of pay.

Due to the wage freeze, workers in war plants did not receive wage increases commensurate with their increasing production per man hour. War Production Board figures show an increase of 45% in production per man hour in war industries from January 1943 to September 1944, the peak period of the war effort. In September 1944, due to the wage freeze, the average war worker was producing 35% more for every dollar paid him in wages than he had produced in January 1943, according to

these same figures. Straight time hourly wages in war industries (adjusted to eliminate overtime) had risen only 11% in the same months. Taking the whole war production period, from 1942 to August 1945, production per man hour in war industries rose more than 60% by A. F. of L. estimates, while straight time hourly earnings rose only 23%. Much of this wage rise was due to wartime bonuses and upgrading which were lost during reconversion.

Wartime wage progress was quite different in the industries manufacturing consumer goods (or "non-durable goods industries"). These industries made slower progress in raising wages during the period before the wage freeze, showing an increase slightly less than \$12 in weekly pay from 1939 to April 1943, compared to \$22 in the war industries. The wage level before the war was also much lower; average wages rose from \$21.78 in 1939 to \$33.58 in April 1943. During the wage freeze, progress was about the same in the war and the consumer-goods manufacturing industries. But the significant fact is that after the war the general level of weekly wages in consumer goods industries, after declining very slightly in August, continued to rise while weekly pay was falling off sharply in war industries. By February 1946, wages in consumer goods industries had reached a new all-time peak, even above the highest wartime period. With the drive for wage increases after the war these industries which had no reconversion problem adjusted wages upward as hours were shortened. Each month this spring brought the level of weekly wages or take-home pay to a new peak. Thus the slow increase in the early war period was offset by the absence of decline after the war and for the whole period, 1939 to June 1946, wage gains in consumer goods industries were about equal to the gains in war industries,

amounting to about \$19 per week in each case. In this period (1939 to June 1946) wages in the heavy or war industries rose from \$26.50 to \$46.43; in consumer goods manufacturing, from \$21.78 to \$40.27.

In industries less well organized, wage gains during the war were far smaller. Retail trade is a good example, where average weekly wages rose by slightly over \$11 during the entire war period. This was only a little more than half the gain in manufacturing industries. The increase from \$21.17 in 1939 to \$32.39 in June, 1946, left these industries at a level far below manufacturing. It is significant however that the increasing strength of the Retail Clerks Union, which has quadrupled its membership since 1943, achieved a much more rapid wage increase in the last few years than the earlier period.

The serious effect of the wage freeze was felt by American workers as soon as widespread cutbacks in war work began to reduce work hours. These cutbacks started early in 1945 and increased after V-E Day, so that the average work week in war industries was reduced from 46.8 hours in January 1945 to 41.1 hours in August 1945 (V-J month) and has since declined further to 39.8 in June, 1946, in heavy industries. A similar decline took place in consumer goods manufacturing and service industries.

Workers who had depended on longer hours and overtime pay to enable them to meet the high cost of living, found their take-home pay cut by amounts varying from 10% to 35%.

Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor sought by constructive means to remedy this situation and raise wages to make up for these cuts in take-home pay. Our policies contrasted sharply with those of unaffiliated organizations.

Immediately after V-J Day, the President, on August 18, 1945, issued

Executive Order 9599 returning industry and labor to free collective bargaining with the sole limitation that wage increases should not break price ceilings. The American Federation of Labor saw the wisdom of this policy, recognizing that price ceilings must be held to prevent increases in living costs and to speed an orderly reconversion of the nation's industries to peacetime work. We cooperated fully with the President's wage policy.

Our unions therefore set out to remedy the lag in wages by measures which would not interfere with reconversion. Throughout the months of September, 1945, to February, 1946, we carried out thousands of wage negotiations with employers, and accepted wage increases which did not, in any case, break price ceilings. Although our no-strike pledge terminated with the end of the war, we carried out these negotiations with a minimum of strikes. By the middle of February, 1946, we had won wage increases averaging between 10c and 20c an hour for some 3,000,000 workers, and in the vast majority of cases these increases were won without strike or threat of strike. Our demands were adjusted to the needs of the reconversion period, for we recognized that workers would benefit most by speeding the transition, so that production per manhour would be increased and output of consumer goods would make up shortages and check inflation dangers. Jobs for veterans were also vital as servicemen were demobilized. Therefore, if we found employers unable to pay the full increase we asked without breaking price ceilings, our unions accepted 5c or 10c in the fall with a provision for reopening the agreement for an additional 5c or 10c in the spring when industry had reached a larger production volume. We also negotiated widespread improvements in vacations, health and welfare plans, shift bonuses and many other advantages for

our members which in no way interfered with reconversion.

Some unions outside the Federation did not consider the needs of reconversion. A series of strikes were called in which wage demands were set 30% or \$2 a day, and the unions insisted on having government "fact finding" boards set up to determine a wage formula. The oil strike in mid-September was followed by strikes in automobiles, electric equipment, meat packing and other industries, culminating finally in the steel strike of January 1946, when the steel workers insisted on striking although they were offered a wage increase of 15c an hour. The President settled the steel strike by breaking the price ceiling of a strategic commodity, arranging a steel price increase of \$5 per ton or 8% before the steel companies agreed to grant an 18½c wage increase. Executive Order 9697 was issued on February 14, 1946 superseding the government wage policy of August 18, and requiring that OPA grant price increases to companies requesting them on the basis of a wage increase approved by the Wage Stabilization Board. The Board was directed to approve wage increases for purposes of price adjustment which it found were "consistent with the general pattern of wage and salary adjustments . . . in the industry or local labor market area" or which it found "necessary to eliminate gross inequities, . . . to correct substandards of living, or to correct disparities between the increase in wage or salary rates . . . and the increase in cost of living."

This provision for paying wage increases by raising prices has had a disastrous effect on the entire economy. It resulted in price increases throughout industry which have caused a rapid rise in the cost of living. From February 14 to June 30, OPA granted 504 industry-wide price increases and some 15,500 increases to

individual companies. These increases appeared first in wholesale prices, but were soon carried into retail prices. Cost of living rose 0.5% in April and the same amount in May, but with the cumulative effect of these price adjustments, the rise in June was 1.2%. The price ceiling break resulted in pressure from all groups on OPA and on Congress, for when the price line was no longer to be held, each employer and farmer sought equal treatment. Congress did not pass a strong OPA extension law, and the measure that finally received the President's signature will result in a series of further price increases. The cost of living in August was already 10% above January 1, 1946, and by the year end may be 15% above the first of the year.

This living cost rise brings a serious loss to every one of the millions of persons who have invested their money in war bonds or other savings, and to every one who depends for his living on a pension or Social Security. For each dollar of investments, savings and pensions will buy 10 or 15c less. This drastic living cost rise need not have occurred if the President's wise wage policy of August 18 had been observed and if he had insisted that it remain in effect. Those unions which broke price ceilings to get 18½c followed a short-sighted policy. Early in July their press statements claimed that they had lost most of this increase by rising living costs, and they brought the same losses on all other workers. Had they been really willing to accept smaller increases and adjust their demands by genuine collective bargaining to industry's ability to pay, they would be better off today and so would all American workers. And their members might have saved huge losses incurred in long strikes.

After the 18½c wage formula was established for the steel industry in February the Federation representa-

tive on the Wage Stabilization Board insisted that justice required setting 18½c as the Board's pattern for wage increase approval for all workers. His proposal was rejected. Increases of 18½c, however, became the general trend throughout industry as unions covering hundreds of thousands of workers negotiated increases of this amount and their increases were approved by the Wage Stabilization Board.

Throughout this difficult period since V-J Day, unions affiliated with the Federation have an outstanding record of sound relations with their employers. We have negotiated wage increases bringing more than 6,000,000 American workers an addition of more than one billion dollars to their yearly pay entirely without strike. Although strikes have sometimes been necessary, the vast majority of the strikes which have tied up industry and delayed reconversion have been outside the American Federation of Labor. From V-J Day through May 31, some 2,400,000 workers engaged in strikes involving 10,000 or more workers. These strikes included 80% of all workers who struck during the period. Unions outside the A. F. of L. accounted for 77% of those on strike; 18% were in the coal mines where the United Mine Workers sought to establish its great humanitarian reform—the health and welfare fund; all other A. F. of L. unions accounted for the remaining 5%. Out of 2,400,000 workers on strike, only 134,000 were in these other A. F. of L. unions.

Since 1925 the Federation has insisted that wages should increase in proportion as rising output per man-hour increases the worker's production of wealth. During the war the effort of our entire economy was bent to increasing war production, with the result that production per man-hour in war industries rose more than 60% as noted above. This gain was made at the expense of industries pro-

ducing civilian goods, since the best machinery and the most highly skilled manpower were used for war industries. Since V-J Day however, the Federation can report that production per manhour is already increasing in industries where our members are employed. Preliminary figures show a marked increase in such industries as cement, brick products, newspaper printing, paper and pulp, anthracite coal.

The Federation maintains that no true progress for workers can be made by bringing the government between management and labor in collective bargaining or by government formulas which pay for wage increases by raising prices. Wage increases must be paid out of the increased wealth created by raising production per manhour. Our policy adopted in 1925 states:

American organized labor has held steadfastly throughout its history for voluntary group action expressed through collective bargaining and trade agreements. It has rejected efforts to promote a state control of labor and industry presented under any guise. It adheres only to principles of freedom from domination of the state and believes the only true course of a free people is to solve their problems of life and work through voluntary group action.

We reindorse this policy.

The rise in living cost has been so great since the spring of 1941 that wage increases in a very large sector of American industry have not been enough to give workers the same living standard they had before the war. The widely-accepted Heller Committee budget shows that a minimum adequate living standard for a wage earner's family of four (including taxes) cost \$2,042 in the spring of 1941 and \$3,079 in June, 1946, (average for the United States). This budget is priced

each year and gives a reliable indication of the rise in living costs. The increase since early 1941 is 50%, (without taxes 44%). In spite of all the publicity about high wages in war industries, workers' weekly take-home pay in these industries in June, 1946, was only 37% above 1941 while the cost of a decent living standard had risen 50%. As the Federation pointed out repeatedly, when we insisted upon revision of the Little Steel Formula, workers had to depend on long hours and overtime premiums to pay the high cost of living during the war. Now that the war is over, and industry is back on a 40-hour week, hundreds of thousands of workers have been forced down to a living standard below the 1941 level. This is just what our War Labor Board representatives forecast in the 1944 hearings on revision of the Little Steel Formula. In many industries the cut-back in living standards has been especially serious because living standards were already far below an adequate minimum. We cite retail trade as an example, the largest distributive industry, employing 4,000,000 workers. In this industry average wages were \$21.50 a week in the spring of 1941 when it took \$40 a week to buy an adequate living; today workers in retail trade receive \$32 a week when an adequate living standard costs \$60 a week.

In some industries unions have won large enough wage increases to offset the rise in living costs and to maintain or even slightly increase workers' living standards. But few workers today receive incomes of \$1.50 per hour or \$60 per week which is the cost of an adequate living standard for a family of four.

In spite of wage increases in the first half of 1946 workers' average take-home pay in the heavy industries is lower today than it was when wages were frozen in April 1943 and is 14% below the wartime peak. The

average factory wage in June was \$46.43 in heavy industries and \$40.27 in consumer goods industries.

War workers who were laid off from war plants have taken the heaviest losses. A Labor Department study of 3,600 war workers shows their typical experience. These workers were interviewed in the spring of 1945 and again after V-J Day. About 25% of them, when questioned 5 to 7 months after V-J Day, were still unemployed and seeking work. This alone represents a pay loss averaging well over \$200 per worker. Weekly earnings of those who had found jobs averaged 31% below what they had earned in war work, largely because jobs in peacetime work paid less than war jobs. More than one-fourth of the women had left the labor market, mostly to become housewives; but less than 3% of the men had retired from work. Only 15% of all these war workers had kept their jobs in the aircraft, ordnance and shipbuilding plants where they had worked in the spring of 1945. Comparing their earnings with 1941, the Labor Department found the same experience as we have noted above—these workers on the average had taken a serious cut in living standards. Their wages averaged only 26% higher than 1941. As we noted above, living costs have risen 50%.

Since workers have taken such severe reductions in living standards, we may well ask: How is it that consumer buying power is creating such an immense demand for industry's products today? An examination of the state of buying power is most important, particularly as we look to the future. Today's unprecedented demand for consumer goods is due chiefly to three factors: (1) The level of employment is at an all-time peak for peacetime; workers have jobs and incomes. (2) Workers have a certain sense of security because their jobs seem likely to last for a while and

because many of them have accumulated some savings, although these savings are far less than the public has been lead to believe. These two factors make them willing and able to spend. (3) They want to buy now to make up the huge shortages of consumer goods which accumulated during the war.

Total wages and salaries of all employed workers in June 1946 were running at a level of 10% below the war time peak. This however was higher than in any previous peacetime period. The figure was \$8.6 billion for the month of June '46 compared to \$9.6 billion at the end of February 1945 (seasonally adjusted Commerce Department figures). The \$1 billion decline is due chiefly to the demobilization of service men who have not yet gone to work in industry. Government wages and salary payments to servicemen and others have dropped by a little more than \$1 billion. The total payroll of private industry on the other hand is slightly above the wartime peak. Thousands of workers have shifted from one industry to another, so the total monthly payroll in manufacturing and other production industries has dropped by \$500 million, while that of service and distribution industries has increased by about the same amount.

A recent study by the Federal Reserve Board on consumers' savings confirms the statement our representatives have repeatedly made: Industry must depend for its market on high and rising incomes of workers. Savings cannot be counted on to maintain production. The study shows that 62% of the consumers' savings accumulated before 1946 are in the hands of the middle and high-income families—those who receive incomes of \$3,000 a year or more. Those families receiving less than \$3,000 (or less than \$60 a week) hold only 38% of all savings. This low income group represents 70% of all families and

includes the vast majority of wage earners.

The study also shows that 20% of American families (9.3 million) received less than \$1,000 a year, or \$20 a week; they had saved on the average only \$20 each, and many actually spent more than they earned. Those with incomes between \$20 and \$40 a week include 27% of all families (12.4 million); they saved on the average \$230 during the entire war. Families with incomes between \$40 and \$60 a week include 23% of all families (10.3 million) and their average savings were \$470 per family. These figures show how very small an amount most wage earners had been able to lay aside.

The higher income families who hold almost two-thirds of the \$81 billion of accumulated savings cannot be expected to spend any considerable portion to buy consumer goods. Many low-income families will also hold their savings against a rainy day.

With this year's rapid price increases there is grave doubt whether workers' buying power is adequate to maintain industrial production at full employment levels. The immediate task before us is to build up those economic forces which will bring prices down to a reasonable level. This cannot be done by parades, slogans or buyers' strikes. It requires steady production of the goods needed to make up current shortages. These shortages are the main cause of the inflation. When the supply of goods is adequate to meet demand, the normal reaction of the market will bring prices down. This will result in more benefits to workers and all other consumer groups than any other single economic action. Steady production by workers is essential to accomplish this end, and government controls must also be so adjusted as not to interfere with production.

The American Federation of Labor

reiterates the constructive principles which have guided our wage policy in the past:

Progress for workers and all others requires that wage increases be paid for by increasing output per manhour. Where collective bargaining exists and a relationship of square dealing and good faith has developed between management and union, cooperation of the two groups to promote efficiency and increase production per manhour will contribute greatly to the progress of both. Such cooperation should lead to a genuine partnership between management and workers, to the end that the income to pay wage increases will be created, wages will be increased and workers will receive a just and equitable division of profits that accrue from the wealth they produce.

(P. 486) This section of the report of the Executive Council contains details of wartime developments in wage rates and workers' incomes. These facts show how governmental controls have warped the wage structure and prevented a proportional increase in wage rates to compensate for increases in output per manhour. Controls exercised by O.P.A., Civilian Production Administration, and the Wage Stabilization Board still impede collective bargaining—the accepted procedure for adjusting wage rates in accord with economic conditions, output per man, cooperation with management by which workers assume proportionate responsibility for eliminating wastes and proposing economies.

Prices have been raised by O.P.A. because of foreign as well as domestic conditions, while wage rates have been curbed. As a result, serious unbalance is developing between output of consumer goods and consumer purchasing power. Workers' families are feeling the pinch of rising prices and

less flexible earnings. This situation would be serious even if workers and management were free to make the best possible arrangements through collective bargaining, but it is more dangerous when Government prohibits payment of increases which management accepts as equitable and practical under present conditions.

Wartime controls are steadily developing into hindrances to reconversion and normal progress with production to serve normal needs.

We therefore urge:

(1) Immediate lifting of price controls, except rents.

(2) Dissolution of the Wage Stabilization Board.

(3) Return to collective bargaining based on workers' contribution to production and capacity of the employer to pay.

(4) The development of union-management cooperation plans with joint responsibility for improving production and reducing wastes that unnecessarily increase costs together with the development of records to show workers' contribution to production and workers' production achievements.

(5) The expansion of union-management machinery through joint agreement upon management techniques which would otherwise definitely restrict the field of collective bargaining.

There are industries and occupations where it is impractical or impossible to measure the individual's production, as in the case of so-called white collar workers for whom the cost of living is of vital importance.

We urge reaffirmation of these present wage policies:

High wages are the distinctively American policy.

Increased productivity and increased output per manhour are essential to continuous increases in our stand-

ards of living and provide resources for paying higher wages.

Industries and business undertakings which cannot pay high wages are enterprises self-convicted of inefficiency and wastes. Business enterprises that can pay high wages and do not are either short-sighted as to future prosperity or else unwilling to shoulder the full costs of maximum prosperity.

After fair rates of pay have been determined by management and labor, sustained progress requires that wage increases be paid out of increased output.

During this period of reconversion and reconstruction, progress and prosperity depend upon getting our production facilities into operation at a capacity to supply needs here at home and in the war-devastated areas. Adequate supplies are the surest economic check on inflation. Our unions must exercise good judgment and discretion to secure our gains at the least cost to ourselves and the community.

Our unions must be courageous, far-sighted and insistent upon wage rates that compensate for services given. The wage earners of the United States are production partners in our great and prosperous industries and we offer industries the price-less cooperation of the Nation's tool makers and tool users, who have the know-how that is production skill and who know how to get the most out of the materials of production. Our wage rates must increase proportionately as the productive power we control enables us to increase output. Only high national income will sustain an economy that utilizes the newest in technical progress. High national income is impossible unless producing workers, the largest national group, have high wage rates.

(P. 12) In keynote speech to the convention the President of the A. F. of L. declared—

"Now we are going to fight on for higher wages, because we cannot be made consistently more efficient without sharing in that efficiency. We have not reached the limit. There are a lot of people complaining about high wages and charging that that is what is contributing toward inflation. First of all, you must place in the hands of the consuming public the purchasing power with which to buy the goods that industry produces, and if there is an unbalance between purchasing power and production, we will have the same condition as we have now during this period of inflation. The market must be there, it must be created, and the way it can be created is through the payment of wages, so that the workers of the nation shall possess the buying power adequate and necessary in order to consume the goods which industry produces.

"And then if fewer workers produce more goods, are they to remain down on the wage level they occupied before they were made more efficient? Is it to be a one-sided affair, that only capital of the nation shall be the beneficiaries of efficiency? The answer of 7,000,000 members in the American Federation is 'no,' with increasing emphasis. We are determined to mobilize our economic strength and to force from unwilling employers, if necessary, that wage standard to which we are entitled under this modern development situation."

(1947, p. 16) The importance of high wages to our national economy was pointed out by Pres. Green in keynote speech to convention in which he said, in part:

"There is no doubt but that the wage increases realized by organized labor in the last two years have materially narrowed the dangerous economic gap between excess-profits prices and the purchasing power in the hands of the people. This has kept our economy from spiraling into another depression

to date, but we have been hard pressed to keep a firm grip on the tail of the ever-rising skyrocket of prices. Labor's hands are tied. It is, therefore, the direct responsibility of the manufacturers and sellers of our products to return to the American tradition of producing in large quantities for a mass consumer market at the lowest prices possible compatible with American standards. Then—and only then—will we realize a strong, permanent economy with full production, full employment, and purchasing power in the hands of our people sufficient to keep the wheels of industry in full motion.

"I know it is difficult for you not to express your great alarm over this threat of continued inflation, how you find your dollar constantly buying less and how difficult it is for you even with the changes that have taken place to maintain the American standard of living. It is a difficult problem, one that we must deal with, and I know that this convention will make a strong pronouncement upon that subject."

(1952, p. 40) Res. 52:

Whereas—The textile industry has expanded its productive capacity greater than ever before while the workers' buying power and consumer demand has lagged so far behind the increased productivity that now we are faced with a depression in the midst of the defense boom, and

Whereas—According to a study by the American Federation of Labor, based on reliable government and private economic reports, it is estimated that the rise in productivity since 1939 through 1951 is about 38%, as against the factory workers' buying power of only 12%, or less than one-third the rise in productivity, and

Whereas—The American Federation of Labor Executive Council called on the Wage Stabilization Board to accept the following decision and prin-

ciple, "that workers must advance their incomes proportionately with their producing power in individual plants, otherwise living standards will lag and the economy cannot be kept in balance, and that the WSB approve wage increases resulting from more efficient and increased productivity," therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse this vital principle and economic necessity, and that we petition the Wage Stabilization Board to set forth a new productive regulation in order to rectify a rank injustice done to the workers under wage controls, and be it further

Resolved—That we demand a minimum of 10% in the new wage determination under Walsh-Healey for increased productivity in the textile industry as a matter of governmental policy and a requirement in government purchases.

(P. 468) Your committee recommends the adoption of the first resolve of this resolution.

Your committee is in sympathy with the principle stated in the second resolve, but calls attention to the fact that the Public Contracts Act requires the Secretary of Labor to make his determination of the prevailing minimum wage solely on the basis of factual findings allowing him no discretion to adjust wages beyond such findings. We, therefore, ask that the officers of the Federation give consideration to the possibility and appropriateness of legislative proposals which would make it possible to reflect productivity gains in wage standards on public contracts. Your committee asks the adoption of this recommendation in lieu of the second resolve.

(1953, pp. 290, 538) Important developments in wage negotiations of our unions are reviewed in this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

Termination of the wage stabilization program which had severely restricted wage negotiations between labor and management and the return to free collective bargaining early in the year, placed full responsibility for wage determination once again in the hands of management and labor.

It is a tribute to our collective bargaining system that this sharp transition from wage stabilization to free negotiations has been accomplished without widespread industrial strife. In general, unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been able to negotiate substantial wage increases during the past year without resorting to strike action.

During the coming months, the economic climate for the negotiation of wage increases is likely to be less favorable. If business activity should turn downward, employer resistance to wage increases will stiffen. It is therefore important for all unions to keep informed regarding the economic conditions within their own industry or trade so that they can be thoroughly prepared for future wage negotiations and equipped to establish wage standards necessary to maintain the pace of economic expansion and advance in the standard of living established in the past.

American Federation of Labor unions should be proud of the improvements in living standards that they have won for their members. It is the responsibility of our affiliated unions to carry on with increased skill and vigor their central task of bringing within the reach of the nation's workers better living standards.

(1947, p. 629) Res. 10:

Whereas—A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhood economists have shown beyond any doubt that the cost of living index put out by the Department of Labor does not reflect the true cost of living, and

Whereas — Big business has promoted the slogan that wage increases mean price increases, and do not take into consideration the increase in productivity, and that the true cause for the increase in prices is to assure more profits for themselves, therefore, be it

Resolved—That we pledge to keep our wage standards at the highest possible level and to improve them if possible, and that all locals be cautioned about adjusting their wage scale with the price index but base their wage demands upon the needs of their members and that they be instructed to resist wage cutting from any source.

(Wage and Collective Bargaining Developments)—(1954, p. 273) Under this title the Report of the E.C. discussed the problems of collective bargaining following a general economic decline. The following concluded this section of the report:

Unions must also be careful not to water down or abandon wage increase programs because of what may actually be only a minor or temporary economic setback for a particular company. Nor should they automatically swallow unsubstantiated pessimistic management forecasts of business prospects. For most companies, sales and profit levels have been so substantial that a modest downturn has not markedly impaired their ability to make reasonable wage improvements.

In the case of individual companies hard hit by severe economic difficulties or for some time in a chronically depressed state, unions have usually been reasonable and realistic in modifying wage increase terms. They cannot be expected, however, to subsidize inefficient firms by accepting or condoning substandard wages.

Recent experience has also shown that negotiating unions should be more cautious than ever not to accept

descriptions or summaries of wage bargaining results without careful checking and evaluation of their own. Erroneous impressions have been created by widespread publicity given selected instances in which unions in severely depressed companies have settled for little or no wage increases. Reports which purport to show a prevailing wage settlement "pattern figure" often lack balance and are particularly misleading. Most unions fortunately recognize the limitations of such publicity and do not allow themselves to be stampeded into inadvisably low wage settlements.

On the plus side, it is worth noting that the continued widespread negotiation of wage increases during the recent months of economic retrogression and uncertainty, a period, however, in which the cost of living did not rise appreciably, is a most significant achievement.

There has been broadened recognition that increases in real wages must keep pace with advances in our national productivity, which is today estimated as rising at a rate of about 4 per cent a year.

It has been amply demonstrated and accepted, especially in the light of the record of the past several years, that the rapid forward movement in national productivity makes wage advances possible without requiring automatic rises in the economy's price structure.

Wage increases achieved through collective bargaining in the past year have played an important role in minimizing the speed and the depth of the economic decline. The stimulus they have provided to worker purchasing power has served as an effective aid in bolstering the sagging economy.

Collective bargaining has played an essential role in the continuing improvement of American standards of living. It must now function to re-

store the advancement and growth stunted in so many areas in the past year.

(Pp. 273, 578) The E.C. Report contained a report on trends in collective bargaining negotiations. The convention committee made the following report thereon which was unanimously approved by the convention:

Our affiliated unions are to be commended for the sizable wage and benefit gains achieved through collective bargaining this past year in the face of the general economic downturn. Union-negotiated wage increases have benefited not only union members but the nation as a whole, for their effectiveness in bolstering wage earner buying power but have played an important role in preventing a more severe economic decline.

Unions have not allowed and must not allow a general economic recession to dissuade them from negotiating justified wage and contract improvements.

The Executive Council cautions unions against being misled by publicity designed to foster the impression that unions are foregoing wage increases. It further cautions against being deceived by employers in a basically sound financial position who attempt to maneuver unions into abandoning wage increase efforts on grounds of the general economic downturn.

In the last year only a relatively few unions, those in the most severely depressed business situations, have had to conclude negotiations without any improvement in wages or fringe benefits. This is heartening evidence of the general recognition that, even in a depressed and uncertain economic atmosphere and with a relatively stable cost of living, wage increases are warranted to improve worker standards of living and to keep pace with the economy's constantly rising level of productivity.

Advances in our national productivity provide a firm basis for substantial wage improvements, apart from the local or particular industry factors justifying wage and benefit adjustments. In fact, our economy requires that the gains in national productivity be paralleled by corresponding increases in wages if consumer purchasing power is to expand sufficiently to stimulate and support prosperous productive expansion.

Action through collective bargaining is the most direct means through which organized labor can exert its influence upon the nation's economy. At a time when Congress and the Administration has failed to take the necessary action to stimulate a more sustained economic revival, it is all the more imperative that organized labor utilize to the fullest its strength through collective bargaining.

The months ahead will be crucial ones for our economy. We urge our affiliated unions to achieve substantial wage gains as a major step toward restoring our nation's economic health and making possible greater improvements in living standards for all America.

(Annual Wage Plan)—(1939, p. 444) The convention non-concurred in Res. 7 by adopting the report of the convention committee as follows:

Whereas—The fluctuation in employment in industry has brought tremendous hardships upon the working people, resulting in a challenge to our democratic system of government with its freedom of speech, assembly, and worship; and

Whereas—The uncertainty of permanent employment and income is greatly retarding our progress toward recovery; be it therefore

Resolved—That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of a living annual wage, and be it further

Resolved—That the National and International Unions, affiliated with this Federation, be requested to attempt to negotiate all new agreements, with the employers for an annual wage, based upon their prevailing or improved wage rates.

Your committee has had presented to it no workable plan by which the present method of paying wages could be superseded by an annual wage system.

Your committee is of the opinion that it would be most unwise for the American Federation of Labor to declare itself in favor of an annual wage system, until a practical plan has been suggested and made the subject of intensive study.

(1947, p. 555) The convention did not take action on Res. 161, but referred it to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action. The resolution requested the A. F. of L. to prepare legislation calling for a guaranteed annual wage of 52 weeks plus a reduction in the hours of the work week.

Controls (also see: OPA, Inflation)

(Standardization Called For Prior To Stabilization)—(1942, p. 595) Res. 106 recommended the adoption "of a policy and an effective program which will establish standards of fair and equal pay for the same work before approving any rigid formula for the freezing of wages or jobs, as advanced by any agency of Government". The resolution was referred to the E.C. for early consideration and such action as necessary to protect the rights and welfare of the wage earners.

(Wage Boards)—(1946, p. 537) Res. 114, unanimously adopted, called for abolishment of both Wage Adjustment Board and Wage Stabilization Board.

Res. 116, also unanimously adopted, protested against administration of Executive Order 9697, establishing

the National Wage Stabilization Board and called for revocation of the aforementioned Executive Order 9697.

(1949, p. 8) In his keynote speech the President of the A. F. of L. said—

Then again we ask for no interference on the part of governmental agencies. We don't want Government boards. We don't ask for Government boards. We are opposed to Government boards setting our wage standards anywhere or anyplace. This is a very fundamental principle with our great American Federation of Labor.

(1951, p. 164) Following the failure to arrive at a plan for the reestablishment of the Wage Board which would be acceptable to both labor and management groups, the issue was . . . submitted to the newly formed National Advisory Board on Mobilization Policy. But a vote of 12 to 4, with industry members dissenting, the Advisory Board adopted a plan for the reconstitution of the Board and submitted it to the President.

In line with this proposal, President Truman issued an Executive Order on April 21, setting up a new wage stabilization and disputes board. This order reconstituted the Wage Stabilization Board as an 18-man tripartite body. As regards the disputes functions of the new board, the order stated as follows:

Sec. 405. The board may assume jurisdiction of any labor dispute which is not resolved by collective bargaining or by the prior full use of conciliation and mediation facilities and which threatens an interruption of work affecting the national defense where:

A) The parties to any such dispute jointly agree to submit such dispute to the board for recommendations or decision, if the board agrees to accept such dispute, or

B) The President is of the

opinion that the dispute is of a character which substantially threatens the progress of national defense and refers such dispute to the board.

The decisions of the board are binding on the parties only in cases of voluntary submissions, where both parties agree to accept the decision. In the second type of case, those referred to the board by the President, the board's rulings are to have only the status of "recommendations."

This plan was accepted by the United Labor Policy Committee, and on May 8 the new board was formally organized for duty.

(P. 160) On January 11, the American Federation of Labor, together with the C.I.O. and railway unions, presented a joint United Labor Policy Committee statement to the Wage Stabilization Board, setting forth the views of organized labor with respect to the policies which that board should follow in the event that wage controls were invoked. The committee noted that the "submerged status and lack of authority" of the board did not offer "an effective or real opportunity to the representatives of Americans who work for wages and salaries to get their views and problems before those persons having the power of decision in the field of wage stabilization." It asserted that before any acceptable stabilization program could be worked out, the Board would have to have independent decision-making power of its own.

The committee's statement emphasized the importance of preserving collective bargaining as the basis of wage stabilization policy. It stated that "... collective bargaining must continue to be the primary means by which working standards are established and administered. Wage stabilization should supplement—but never supplant—the collective bargaining process. . . ."

The committee also warned that no wage stabilization program should be instituted, or could succeed, unless an overall system of anti-inflation controls were also imposed—on the basis of equality of sacrifice. It noted that loopholes and special interest clauses in the Defense Production Act made it virtually impossible to control the rising cost of living unless that Act were substantially strengthened by Congress, and stated that: "The efforts of the board to fulfill its duty would be discriminatory and futile, if it sought to restrain inflation by penalizing workers for legislative and administrative failures on the other sectors of the anti-inflation front."

The statement went on to give the views and advice of Labor on certain specific problems involved in wage stabilization, such as the problem of "time inequities"; the necessity for approving cost-of-living and productivity adjustments and for recognizing the validity of existing contractual provisions; the importance of allowing for the correction of inequities between areas, industries, jobs and establishments as well as "in-plant" inequities, and the correction of substandard wage rates; and the problems involved in any attempt to control health, welfare, retirement and other benefit plans which are non-inflationary and not properly subject to wage stabilization.

(P. 533) This section of the Executive Council's Report is devoted to a summary of developments in the field of wage stabilization since the creation of a Wage Stabilization Board last September.

The American Federation of Labor has accepted wage stabilization for the present period of emergency, as evidence of its patriotic determination to support the defense program of our government to the fullest extent—even though it is clear that the key to an effective program of infla-

tion control lies elsewhere than in the device of wage restraint. The Federation has cooperated in the administration of wage controls in order that this program might be carried out in a realistic and equitable manner, with a maximum degree of consideration for the needs and interests of American workers and with a minimum degree of interference with the processes of free collective bargaining. It is apparent that this participation has resulted in significant improvements in the administration of this program, and has served the best interests of both workers and the nation as a whole in this period of crisis.

The committee notes that Labor's vigorous protests against the original structure and functions of the Wage Stabilization Board—and against the terms of its notorious Regulation No. 6—have borne worthwhile fruit. The report describes some of the important modifications of the policies of the board following its reconstitution as a result of those protests. In recent weeks further modifications have been forthcoming—notably the board's decision to permit general increases in wages, over and above the 10% formula, to compensate for increases in the cost of living; the approval of deferred increases negotiated prior to wage controls; the new policy on inter-plant inequities; and the decision to remove the wages of workers in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands from wage stabilization controls. The board has recently exercised its function with regard to the adjustment of labor disputes, for the first time.

However, a number of important steps remain to be taken if gross injustice in the administration of the wage stabilization program is to be avoided. First among these is the development of an equitable policy to permit the free adjustment of substandard wage rates, so that workers in trades and industries where wages have lagged behind those of workers

generally may move to a position of parity, without the straitjacket of wage control formulas. Until this is done, those who are least in a position to do so will be compelled to bear an inordinate share of the total burden of sacrifice by being subjected to un-American standards of living for the duration of an emergency of unpredictable length. Furthermore, unless an equitable substandard policy is adopted, these groups will suffer an undue hardship through the use of wage stabilization formulas based upon percentage allowances over some previously existing wage level. The application of percentage formulas to these cases means a continually declining standard of living, since the cents-per-hour equivalent can never be sufficient to compensate for increases in the price of the necessities of life.

A general policy allowing for the negotiation of increases in wages in recognition of increased productivity is also essential to a fair and workable wage stabilization program. Labor has never accepted the concept of the cost of living as the sole criteria for wages, and it never will. Labor must continue to receive a proper share of the proceeds of industrial and technical improvement. The Wage Stabilization Board cannot operate successfully unless its policies assure equity in the distribution of the proceeds of industry.

The status of pension, health and welfare plans under wage stabilization still remains in doubt. These programs are non-inflationary and not properly subject to wage stabilization. The board should remove them from the rigid and unjust controls which have been placed upon them under its early regulations.

The disputes function of the board, based as it is upon voluntary compliance, is a vital and necessary adjunct of the board's operations. However, the committee feels impelled to

caution against hasty or unnecessary recourse to the board for the settlement of issues arising under collective bargaining. If the board is to fulfill its proper role as a supplement to—rather than a substitute for—collective bargaining, our object should be to keep out of the board as much as possible, and to exhaust all of the potentialities of collective bargaining before taking our cases before that body. Only then can we safely assume that the traditional processes of free collective bargaining will emerge from this era of controls unimpaired.

(P. 534) There was submitted to the convention by the E.C. a comprehensive report on the formation and activities of the Wage Stabilization Board, and the change in administration of the new board as compared to the old board. The following excerpt from the report directs attention to some important phases of the change (p. 536):

... Emphasis is placed upon the fact that the structure of the National Wage Stabilization Board, its regional boards and commissions is uniformly tripartite in character. There is equal representation of Labor, industry and the public. This structure results in an equality not only in representation but also in influence. There is no other government agency in the defense mobilization effort where the representatives of Labor hold a similar position.

In view of the unusual structure of the Wage Stabilization Board, the fact is all the more significant that both in revising the wage policies of the old Wage Stabilization Board and in establishing new wage policies, there has been almost completely unanimous action by the representatives of Labor, industry and the public. This record substantiates the objections of Labor to the actions of the first Wage Stabilization Board and supports the position taken by Labor

representatives on the reconstituted board in their demands for fair and just treatment of wage earners—organized or unorganized. Most certainly this record shows that free men can voluntarily unite to defend the nation at a time of peril.

(1951, p. 168) The Executive Council, at a meeting held in May 1951, made the following statement of policy:

As for wage controls, the American Federation of Labor has accepted the inevitability of wage stabilization. We have done so despite the unchallengeable fact that price increases since Korea cannot be attributed to increased labor costs but resulted entirely from speculation, hoarding and profiteering. Through the operation of the new Wage Stabilization Board, the American Federation of Labor believes that fair wage policies can be adopted and administered, with enough flexibility to permit the correction of hardships and inequities to the nation's workers.

(1952, p. 161) The record of the Wage Stabilization Board for the preceding year was submitted in the Annual Report of the Executive Council. At the conclusion of this section, the following statement was made:

An objective review of the wage stabilization program during the last year demonstrates beyond question that it has acted as an effective brake upon wage increases and improvements in working conditions. Yet this is the price which the trade union expected to pay in exchange for an effective price control program which would preserve the value not only of the wage dollar but of all dollars.

The facts on the record make crystal clear the conclusion that the Congress of the United States has foisted upon the wage earners a shoddy price control program. Time and time again the Congress has shown complete dis-

regard for its obligation to maintain a price control program equal in effectiveness to wage stabilization. Despite the best efforts of the American Federation of Labor to obtain for all wage earners and all consumers some modicum of protection from the inflationary effects of the defense production program, the Congress has seen fit to continue on a path which can lead only to uncontrollable inflation. Unless there is a substantial change in the attitude of the elected representatives of the American people in the very near future, the continuation of the wage stabilization program will not only be useless but it will be a cruel injustice to the wage earners of America.

(P. 404) The convention committee report on this subject was unanimously adopted:

The Executive Council presents in detail unchallengeable facts which point unmistakably to the conclusion that anti-inflation controls are now devoted primarily to stabilization of workers' wages. While there has been no relaxation in the control of wages, the Congress has riddled price, rent and credit controls with the outright exemptions and built-in inflationary features demanded by reactionary business interests. The further inflationary rise in consumer prices is the direct result of this sacrifice of the public interest by the reactionary coalition in Congress, to serve selfish, special interests.

In the meantime, the Wage Stabilization Board rules have been tightly applied. Even the vitally important proposal, made by the A. F. of L. members nearly a year ago, to permit wages to keep up with the rising productivity in our economy, has not been carried out. Thus, while the wages of workers have been held down by regulation, the prices of necessities workers must buy to maintain an adequate living have been climbing month-by-month to ever higher peaks.

The American Federation of Labor has given its support to the wage stabilization program as an integral part of a comprehensive anti-inflation program. Wage stabilization would be both ineffective and unjust in the absence of vigorous price, rent and credit controls. It would be untenable to continue to permit wages to be rigidly controlled while prices and rents remain virtually unchecked. The American Federation of Labor cannot continue to participate in and support the wage stabilization program unless adequate and fully effective controls on prices and rents are restored.

We express our warmest commendation to the A. F. of L. members and staff of the Wage Stabilization Board for a statesmanlike job they have so well done in the interest of all Americans. We also extend our thanks to the labor officers in the Office of Price Stabilization for devoted public service. Throughout this work, our representatives have contributed much to the effectiveness of economic stability despite all difficulties inherent in the one-sided stabilization law.

(National War Labor Board) (also see: Little Steel Formula)—(1946, p. 110) The National War Labor Board established by Executive Order 9017 on January 12, 1942, terminated its activities on December 3, 1945. The wage stabilization functions of the board were transferred to the National Wage Stabilization Board by Executive Order 9672 on December 31, 1945.

Since our last report to the 1944 Convention in New Orleans, Louisiana, and extending to December 31, 1945, the National War Labor Board was confronted with many complex problems. The records will reveal that most of the board's decisions were made with a practical and realistic understanding of the problems involved. During this period the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor members directed their attention to two major problems:

(1) The loosening of wage controls to compete with the rising living costs;

(2) The restoration of collective bargaining between Labor and employers.

(Pp. 171, 216, 486) This section of the report of the Executive Council contains details of wartime developments in wage rates and workers' incomes. These facts show how governmental controls have warped the wage structure and prevented a proportional increase in wage rates to compensate for increases in output per manhour. Controls exercised by OPA, Civilian Production Administration, and the Wage Stabilization Board still impede collective bargaining—the accepted procedure for adjusting wage rates in accord with economic conditions, output per man, cooperation with management by which workers assume proportionate responsibility for eliminating wastes and proposing economies.

Prices have been raised by OPA because of foreign as well as domestic conditions, while wage rates have been curbed. As a result, serious unbalance is developing between output of consumer goods and consumer purchasing power. Workers' families are feeling the pinch of rising prices and less flexible earnings. This situation would be serious even if workers and management were free to make the best possible arrangements through collective bargaining, but it is more dangerous when government prohibits payment of increases which management accepts as equitable and practical under present conditions.

Wartime controls are steadily developing into hindrances to reconversion and normal progress with production to serve normal needs.

We therefore urge:

(1) Immediate lifting of price controls, except rents.

(2) Dissolution of the Wage Stabilization Board.

(4) Return to collective bargaining based on workers' contribution to production and capacity of the employer to pay.

(4) The development of union-management cooperation plans with joint responsibility for improving production and reducing wastes that unnecessarily increase costs together with the development of records to show workers' contribution to production and workers' production achievements.

(5) The expansion of union-management machinery through joint agreement upon management techniques which would otherwise definitely restrict the field of collective bargaining.

There are industries and occupations where it is impractical or impossible to measure the individual's production, as in the case of so-called white collar workers for whom the cost of living is of vital importance.

We urge reaffirmation of these present wage policies.

High wages are the distinctively American policy.

Increased productivity and increased output per manhour are essential to continuous increases in our standards of living and provide resources for paying higher wages.

Industries and business undertakings which cannot pay high wages are enterprises self-convicted of inefficiency and wastes. Business enterprises that can pay high wages and do not are either short-sighted as to future prosperity or else unwilling to shoulder the full costs of maximum prosperity. . . .

During this period of reconversion and reconstruction, progress and pros-

perity depend upon getting our production facilities into operation at a capacity to supply needs here at home and in the war-devastated areas. Adequate supplies are the surest economic check on inflation. Our unions must exercise good judgment and discretion to secure our gains at the least cost to ourselves and the community.

Our unions must be courageous, farsighted and insistent upon wage rates that compensate for services given. The wage earners of the United States are production partners in our great and prosperous industries and we offer industries the priceless co-operation of the nation's tool makers and tool users, who have the know-how that is production skill and who know how to get the most out of the materials of production. Our wage rates must increase proportionately as the productive power we control enables us to increase output. Only high national income will sustain an economy that utilizes the newest in technical progress. High national income is impossible unless producing workers, the largest national group, have high wage rates.

(Emergency) — (1950, pp. 21, 51, 440) Res. 5, 34, and 83: The report of the convention Committee on Resolutions, considering these resolutions, was unanimously adopted by the convention as follows:

Each of these resolutions is concerned with the proper economic policies that this country should adopt as a result of the current defense program.

This committee has reviewed in detail each of the three resolutions and has been impressed with the careful manner in which they have been prepared. The committee indorses the spirit and object of each of them.

However, the problems raised by the defense program reach far beyond the specific points covered by these

three resolutions. For this reason, the committee does not recommend adoption of any particular resolution, but instead proposes that the following statement of policy be adopted by this convention:

On August 10, 1950, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor meeting in Chicago, Illinois, issued a statement on domestic economic policies. The events of the past six weeks only serve to emphasize the validity of the recommendations enunciated in that statement.

There can no longer be any doubt concerning the danger facing the free world or the necessity for developing as rapidly as possible an adequate defense program. The plain facts are that to prevent further Communist aggression, this nation must be ready to face an extended period—5, 10, or even 20 years—during which a substantial portion of our productive efforts must be devoted to defense purposes.

So long as the actual shooting is confined to Korea, the situation does not require complete, all-out mobilization. It does require a condition of semi-mobilization which from the viewpoint of the economy may prove just as difficult to control and manage.

To carry through the defense program successfully will require all the nation's resources and energies. All groups in our society, Labor, management, farmers, and investors must work together in the common task and share equally in the sacrifices that will be necessary.

To the fullest extent possible, we must rely upon the voluntary action of individuals and groups to accomplish this task. There will be certain problems, however, which previous experience clearly indicates cannot be solved by voluntary action alone. We must be prepared to act promptly and decisively when the need for positive controls is shown.

Positive controls will be necessary to avoid the greatest danger of the defense program, the danger of inflation. In accelerating our defense program in 1950, we will meet this problem more quickly than we did in 1940. Our economy is already operating at close to its full capacity. Industrial production is at a postwar peak. More workers are employed today than ever before in the nation's history. Unemployment has dropped sharply since the spring of this year.

The battle against inflation is as important to the enemy as the battle for Seoul or Taegu. Failure to stem an inflationary spiral will give the Kremlin a victory of the greatest magnitude.

Since the August Executive Council statement was issued, Congress has enacted and the President has signed the Defense Production Act. The new tax bill is almost ready for the President's signature. It is a particularly appropriate time, therefore, to work out an effective program which will allow our economy to absorb the new defense production without the danger of inflation.

In our view such a program must include the following:

Prices

Prices of key commodities have been rising steadily since the Korean invasion. Although the actual rise in the cost of living, index has been moderate, prices of basic commodities have risen 25% and wholesale prices of food over 10%. It is only a matter of time before these are translated into substantial increases in the retail prices of all commodities.

We reaffirm the recommendation of the Executive Council that price controls be imposed as soon as possible. To the extent that it is practicable, prices should be fixed at a level not higher than that prevailing during the month of June.

Price control on every single commodity is not needed at the present time. What is needed is selective price control on key commodities. The Defense Production Act includes a confusing provision apparently prohibiting such selective price controls unless they are accompanied by a cumbersome and inequitable system of wage stabilization. However, we feel that the Act through its exception clause does give the President authority for selective price controls and we urge him to use it.

Wages

While wages have risen sharply since the Korean invasion, wages have remained relatively stable. The simple fact that wage rates have changed only at infrequent intervals when collective bargaining agreements are negotiated explains why wages are bound to fall behind prices in any inflationary spiral.

Although some form of wage stabilization may well be inevitable, it would be contrary to sound economic policies as well as extremely unjust to freeze wages at this time. Before any wage stabilization measures are undertaken, collective bargaining must be allowed to bring wages to a pre-invasion parity with prices.

The form of any wage stabilization program is particularly important. We emphatically reject any rigid formulas which would tie changes in wages with changes in the cost of living. There must always be room for wage changes to correct interplant and inter-industry inequities and for wage increases based on increased productivity.

Controls Over Scarce Materials and Goods

The Defense Production Act gives the President sufficient authority to control the limited supplies of scarce raw materials. We urge him to act promptly to prevent nonessential

goods or unscrupulous manufacturers from obtaining materials necessary for defense purposes. Positive steps must be taken to insure additional plant capacity for critical materials.

We note that consumer credit regulations have once more been issued and that restrictive credit regulations have been imposed on the purchase of new homes. Necessary as these regulations may be, we wish to call attention to the fact that their effects are felt most severely upon families of low income and limited financial resources. Instead of relying on these indirect tools of credit restrictions which only serve to penalize those least able to pay it would be far better to emphasize more positive restrictions, cutbacks in production, strict allocations of scarce materials and an effective tax program to limit the use of scarce materials and reduce inflationary pressures.

Manpower

Because unemployment is at a low level, it is likely that manpower problems will arise far more quickly than during the 1940's. The country must plan for this development and make the necessary arrangements to meet this situation.

A program for the most efficient use of manpower must be worked out based on voluntary agreements between unions, management, and the government. There is absolutely no need for national service legislation or for any other type of compulsory manpower controls. The use of force in directing Labor can only prove self-defeating and would wreck the defense effort.

It is important to point out the intimate connection between manpower and production controls. If we allow nonessential plants and services to continue to operate, the workers thus utilized cannot be employed in defense industries. An effectively func-

tioning and ably administered program of production controls can go a long way toward solving any manpower difficulties that may arise.

Administration of the Program

No program is any better than its administration. We urge the President to appoint administrators who will command the respect of all groups affected by his decisions.

For this program to be successful will require very close cooperation between the civilian and military authorities. The first step in this cooperation is for the military to outline clearly and realistically the requirements in men and material for their defense needs. This is absolutely essential if the civilian part of the economy is to function effectively.

This program is neither simple nor easy. There is no painless way to stop inflation. We are convinced that the American people realize this, and are quite willing to undergo any necessary sacrifices to keep alive the forces of freedom and liberty throughout the world.

(Wages and Prices, Wartime)—(1950, p. 288) The E.C. reported on the effect of the Korean War and new military requirements on our economy, and the growing need for controls over prices, with its potential for inflation. Increases in living costs would inevitably bring demands for higher wages.

The Federation took the position that price controls of some sort were necessary. Price controls would automatically place a ceiling under which wages would be negotiated, and wages would be accommodated to this ceiling through the normal processes of collective bargaining. This would make it possible to adjust inequities in wages and to increase wages proportionately with rising productivity. We saw no need for wage controls, which have a deterrent effect by tak-

ing away from workers the incentive to cooperate in increasing productivity. If any further controls over wages should be needed, such controls should be so flexible so as to permit (1) adjustment of wage inequities including adjustments for rising living costs and (2) upward revisions as productivity rises.

As we look to the future, your Executive Council recognizes that all-out preparedness is essential to meet the Communist menace. If we value our freedom, our country must be prepared to play its full part and, because we have the world's greatest production facilities, to take the greatest responsibility in the action of the free world to combat Communist military aggression in other parts of the globe. Our country has sought peace. We have pared our military machine to the bone. We are now caught with inadequate weapons while the threat of Communist armed aggression grows in a number of places far distant from our country. We must immediately rebuild our military strength, help our allies to rearm and prepare to transport weapons over great distances. This must be the first call on our production facilities and we must turn to the task all the manpower and resources needed for it.

Federation members may be counted on to do their full part. We emphasize the fact, however, that voluntary measures, not rigid government regimentation, achieve the greatest efficiency and productive results. This was fully proved in the last war. Whatever controls are necessary for the civilian economy should be safeguarded against regimentation and administered in close cooperation with citizens' boards representing Labor, management, farmers and other civilian groups, so that the nation's great citizens' organizations may be mobilized for all-out voluntary effort and initiative. Such volun-

tary effort is the main reliance of a free people.

(P. 458) This section of the report emphasizes the need for proportionate consumer buying power to sustain maximum production and employment. We commend this section to unions planning strategy for wage increases. High profits and increases in productivity constitute opportunity for increases without inflation.

The effects of defense production now make precautions against inflation an important policy under our present voluntary controls. However, workers and other fixed income persons, have already had their incomes deflated for which there must be adjustment in order not to force lowering of their standards of living. Whatever eventuality there is no just reason for not increasing pay when workers increase output per manhour. Just increases are pay for output—not inflationary in any sense.

We urge unions to act wisely and with awareness of the effects of their policies upon themselves, their industries, and civilian and defense production in order to maintain voluntary controls and escape the regimentation of mandatory control.

(1951, p. 11) In his keynote speech to the convention the President of the A. F. of L. declared:

"You are upset. You are feeling deeply the effects of rising prices, uncontrolled rising prices, and it is a subject that I know this convention will consider and act upon.

"During the past year, we fought hard to persuade Congress to pass an effective price control law. Because the original Act scheduled to expire June 30, 1951, was inadequate, American Federation of Labor officials made very specific recommendations to Congress indicating the ways in which the law should be strengthened. We emphasized that the new Defense

Production Act should include the following changes:

"1. More effective price controls over foods, including a food subsidy program similar to that in effect during World War II.

"2. A strengthened rent control program, authorizing rent controls where needed over all types of dwelling units and permitting the recontrol of areas previously decontrolled.

"3. More effective enforcement of price control, including the authority to license business requested by the President.

"4. Greater control over the quality of the products coming under price control.

"At the same time, we urged Congress to stand firm and refuse to yield to any special interest groups seeking special exemptions or amendments.

"Did the Congressmen and Senators take our advice? All of you know that they did not. Instead, a coalition of reactionary Republicans from the North and Democrats from the South joined together in rejecting our suggestions and inserting in the law instead a number of highly objectionable features.

"There are three of these that deserve special attention:

"1. The Capehart Amendment. This is a specific cost-plus amendment which can mean only one thing—higher prices to American consumers. It makes the Office of Price Stabilization not an agency to control or hold down prices, but an agency to make certain that any increases in costs are passed along to the consumer as rapidly as possible.

"2. The Herlong Amendment. This does for retailers and wholesalers what the Capehart Amendment does for manufacturers. By this amendment, retailers are assured that they

will receive the highest prices possible.

"3. The Butler-Hope Amendment. This is the new provision in the law that prevents the OPS from establishing any quotas on the slaughter of livestock. This constitutes an open invitation to black marketeers to operate in the meat business in the same way that they did during World War II.

"The President recently asked Congress to repeal these three amendments. The American Federation of Labor has supported the President's request. There is some question whether Congress will act upon the President's request at this session. Many Senators and Congressmen are saying that because inflationary pressures are not as strong as they have been, this entire question need not be discussed at this session of Congress, but should be postponed until next January.

"The position of the American Federation of Labor on this issue is very clear. Congress cannot avoid its responsibility. Postponing this issue until next January would constitute an admission by Congress that it is unwilling to face the basic economic facts confronting the nation. With the defense program now moving into high gear, it would be an unwarranted gamble with the wages of American workers and the pocket-books of American consumers to expect that inflation will remain quiet until next January. Congress should face this issue realistically and repeal these vicious amendments to the Defense Production Act.

"It will be the purpose of this convention to call upon Congress in a voice that must be heard, that they must act and protect the consumers of America before Congress adjourns."

(P. 161) The Executive Council reported to the convention on developments in connection with wage and

price controls and the imposition of wage and price "freezes" contained in a general order and four subsequent classifications and amendments. General Wage Regulation No. 6, setting forth a wage formula, limiting general wage increases to 10 per cent above wage levels in effect in appropriate units on January 15, 1950, was adopted over the dissent of the Labor members of the board. Following the adoption of this regulation the Labor members resigned from the board in protest against the inequities involved in the wage formula and as part of a general protest on the part of the United Labor Policy Committee against current mobilization policies. In a dissenting opinion, the Labor members registered their specific objections to the regulation. Concerning the application of the regulation, the Labor members observed:

"... The Labor members of the board have repeatedly urged that the board move promptly to establish machinery for handling labor disputes. These urgent requests have been completely ignored. . . .

"This is a fundamental issue. No Wage Stabilization Board can hope to set a wage policy and then remain aloof from the controversies which might develop over its application or interpretation. . . ."

On the question of hardships and inequities, the Labor members noted that:

With the application of a rigid arbitrary formula for the adjustment of wage and salary levels, it becomes all the more important for the board to apply policies which are sufficiently flexible to situations where the formula is clearly inapplicable.

... the board majority has utterly ignored the mandate embodied in the Defense Production Act, wherein it is stated that wage stabilization should provide for such adjustments as are deemed necessary to prevent

or correct hardships or inequities. We deem it of the gravest importance that the board majority rejected the proposal by the Labor members that this language of the Defense Production Act be incorporated in the wage policy.

On February 7, Economic Stabilization Administrator Johnston approved Regulation No. 6, thereby placing it into effect. At the same time, in a letter to Cyrus Ching, he "requested" the board to reconvene and to draw up new regulations to revise and modify the terms of Regulation No. 6—even though the board had, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist.

The principal modifications recommended by Johnston were: the validation of existing agreements providing for future adjustments in wages in recognition of increased productivity or to compensate for increases in living costs; the removal of health, welfare and retirement plans from the 10% wage allowance; and provision for the adjustment of hardships and inequities, on a case by case basis.

On February 28, the United Labor Policy Committee voted unanimously in favor of the withdrawal of all Labor representatives serving in other posts in the various mobilization agencies. In a statement setting forth the grounds for this action, the committee dealt with the wage stabilization question as follows:

... Wages and salaries of all Americans are now bound under the most rigid controls in the history of our country.

Wage Order Number 6 has been given the force of law by Mr. Johnston's signature. Yet, even as he did so, he admitted that this order requires fundamental revision and improvement to correct some of the grave inequities apparent on its face.

Mr. Johnston's suggestions for correcting these grave injustices are in-

adequate . . . Mr. Johnston's recommendations freeze injustice by denying less privileged workers the right to obtain through collective bargaining the benefits enjoyed in substantial segments of industry.

Labor's representatives cannot in good conscience return to the Wage Stabilization Board which voted Order No. 6. . . .

We have, however, publicly stated, and we now reiterate, that we are prepared to participate in a reconstituted tripartite wage stabilization and disputes board which would administer a fair and equitable wage policy.

(Exemption for Southeastern States from Freeze)—(1951, p. 277) Res. 11:

Whereas—It is impossible to keep workers from migrating to higher wage-rate areas and so that we might service the various defense plants under construction in the southeastern states, and

Whereas—The cost of living in the southeastern states is on a par with the northern states, and on several commodities, they are much higher, and

Whereas—The wage rates in several southeastern states are below the national average for building tradesmen, and

Whereas—The Wage Stabilization Board has promised to make concessions in substandard wage areas, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in San Francisco, California, request the Wage Stabilization Board to remove the wage freeze from the southeastern states until such time as their wage rates equal the national average.

(Protest Against Regulation of Service Industries) (P. 286) Res. 31 protested against certain policies and regulations of the Wage Stabilization Board affecting hotel and restaurant

workers in particular, and called upon the A. F. of L. to work toward the following outlined program:

1. The attaining of immediate consideration to determine wherein the existing regulations are inappropriate to all service industries, with specific reference to the hotel and restaurant industry.

2. The adoption of appropriate regulations to provide equal treatment to the lower paid employees in the service industries.

3. The establishment of wage rate inequity procedures on an area basis within the jurisdiction of Regional Wage Stabilization Boards.

(1952, p. 478) Incorporated in the special report of the convention Committee on Industrial Relations was the following:

We condemn inflation which necessitates continued struggle of the trade unions to catch up with the rise in the cost of living. We are on record as trade unionists representing the consuming public of modest means—hence, our interest to keep prices down.

We assert, in no uncertain manner, that the enormous rise in the cost of living is not due to the wage increases obtained by trade unions at any time—particularly since the outbreak of hostilities in Korea.

We denounce the action of reactionaries to maintain wage controls while lifting the curbs on price and rent controls. We hereby draw to the attention of all Labor and the consuming public of America that reactionaries in the House of Congress have guaranteed the profits to employers and have left Labor without similar guarantees and protection.

Overtime (also see: Walsh-Healey Act)—(1944, pp. 231, 592) The convention unanimously approved the action of the E.C. in working to have Executive Order 9240 rescinded at the

earliest possible date. This order called for the payment of double time for the seventh day worked in any regularly scheduled work week and for time and one-half for work performed on six holidays enumerated in the order. Time and one-half for the sixth day is not required by the order, but is permitted where called for by collective bargaining agreement, or by laws requiring overtime payment for work in excess of eight hours a day or 40 per week. Executive Order 9248 amended the previous order (9240) and authorized certain exemptions by the Secretary of Labor "when necessary to further the prosecution of the war."

Numerous complaints have been received from unions whose membership is employed in various phases of war production regarding the inequitable operation of this order and its arbitrary interpretations by the office of the Secretary of Labor. After reviewing the entire experience of the operation of the order and the extent to which it has upset customs and practices prevailing in the industry as well as standards established by collective bargaining, we conclude that the operation of the order has served to impede, rather than further, the prosecution of the war and that it has failed to serve effectively the purposes for which it was designed. We therefore recommend that Executive Order 9240 be rescinded at the earliest possible date.

(1948, p. 126) The entire problem of overtime-on-overtime arises from the decision handed down by the United States Supreme Court in the Longshore cases. The basic question in these Longshore cases was whether the "overtime" rates set forth in the contract between the East Coast Longshore industry and the International Longshoremen's Association constituted an "overtime" payment under the Fair Labor Standards Act. This issue came before the court in a

suit for back pay filed by individuals against their employers. The ILA did not support the suit contending that the employees have received their full wages under the contract.

Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, employees who work overtime are entitled to an hourly rate equal to 1½ times their "regular rate of pay."

The ILA contract states that any work performed between five p.m. and eight a.m. on week days, after 12 noon on Saturdays, and all work on Sundays and holidays shall be paid at stated "overtime" rate of time and one-half, the regular rate.

The question before the court was whether these rates were true "overtime" rates, within the meaning of the law, or whether these premium payments were merely part of the "regular rate" on which overtime was to be paid. The court decision held that the premium rates paid to longshoremen for work outside of specified daytime hours may not be considered part of the overtime pay required by the Fair Labor Standards Act for work beyond 40 hours per week but must be included in the regular rate of pay on which such overtime is based.

The court decision in favor of the employees immediately created a certain amount of confusion among unions and management, since they did not know to what extent the decision should be applied to their particular collective bargaining situation. Although this decision will have relatively little effect throughout industry, there is considerable danger that anti-Labor elements will attempt to use it as an excuse to tear down the standards which have been maintained for many years under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

At the present time, management's interests are supporting the Goodwin-Wiley bills (H.R. 6534 and S. 2728) which were introduced in the closing

days of the 80th Congress. These bills purport to restore the conditions which existed before the Supreme Court's "Overtime on Overtime" decision, but, would actually go much further and establish conditions under which unscrupulous employers might evade the basic requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

(P. 397) Under this caption the Executive Council has outlined the effects of a decision of the Supreme Court on this question, raised under the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the efforts of the International Longshoremen's Association to have the Act amended so that they might again deal with their employers in the same manner as previous to the enactment.

There are also resolutions introduced by the International Longshoremen's Association, and one resolution introduced by the delegate from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor dealing specifically with the paper makers under that Act. There is also a memorandum addressed to President Green from the legislative agent of the A. F. of L. and referred to this committee.

In this a specific recommendation is made, as follows: "We therefore propose that the American Federation of Labor adopt the following policy with regard to the overtime pay legislation:

1. Oppose the Goodwin-Wiley Bill.
2. Support the proposal of the wage and hour administrator with an additional amendment which would be specifically aimed at restoring the overtime pay practices in the longshore industry which prevailed prior to the Supreme Court decision."

Your committee notes that the American Federation of Labor's legislative agent, in a report to the Executive Council, has made a recommendation on this subject. We concur in these recommendations and urge that the subject be referred to the

Executive Council to work out the details after consultation with interested parties.

(1949, p. 229) H.R. 858 and companion bill S. 336 were introduced designed to amend Section 7 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 in order to correct a situation which had developed in connection with the so-called "clock overtime" or "overtime on overtime" issue.

In the hearings before the House Committee on Education and Labor, issues were raised as to:

1. Whether the bill should be made retroactive to protect employers against existing claims for so-called "overtime on overtime" and
2. Whether the bill should be broadened to include industry generally instead of being restricted to the longshore and stevedore industries.

The American Federation of Labor in its testimony before the committee opposed both of these amendments and offered an amendment to extend its application to the building and construction industry. This amendment was proposed at the request of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. The committee heard extensive testimony on all of these points and reported out H.R. 858 as originally introduced with the amendment proposed by the American Federation of Labor.

The bill as reported would have the effect of furnishing a partial definition of "regular rate" of pay, in that the following extra compensation would not be deemed a part of the regular rate of pay for the purpose of computing statutory overtime and would be credited toward overtime payments required by the law:

1. Premium rate for work on Saturday, Sunday, or holidays, or on the sixth or seventh day of the workweek, where the premium rate

is not less than one and one-half the rate established in good faith for like work performed during non-overtime hours on other days.

2. Premium rates for work outside the basic, normal, or regular workday (not exceeding eight hours) or work week (not exceeding 40 hours) established in good faith by contract or agreement where the premium rate is not less than one and one-half times the rate established in good faith by contract or agreement for like work performed during such workday or workweek.

The bill applied only to future claims and was limited to the longshore, stevedoring, building and construction industries.

In other words, the bill validated past overtime practices under collective bargaining or other agreements, thus avoiding the payment of overtime on overtime for the future. The bill passed the House by a vote of 230 to 7 on February 21.

It was then sent to the Senate and referred to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. In the hearings before the Senate Committee the same issues were raised as to:

1. Whether the bill should be made retroactive to protect employers against existing claims for so-called "overtime on overtime."

2. Whether the bill should be broadened to include industries generally, instead of being restricted to the longshore, stevedoring, building, and construction industries.

The American Federation of Labor and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers filed a statement with the committee in support of H.R. 858, as amended and passed by the House. The International Longshoremen's Association testified before the committee in support of the same bill but did not take any position with respect to the retroactive

feature proposed by the employers. The government executive departments either supported the proposal for retroactive relief or failed to register any opposition thereto. No serious objection was made to the proposal that the bill be broadened to include industry generally.

After hearing extensive testimony on all of these points, the committee amended the bill so as to validate past overtime practices on the collective bargaining or other agreements, thus avoiding the payment of "overtime on overtime" for the past as well as for the future. It also amended the bill to be made general in its application. On May 23, H.R. 858, as amended by the Senate Labor Committee, was passed by the Senate without a single objection.

H.R. 858, as amended, was then sent to the House and referred to the House Committee on Education and Labor. The committee adopted the Senate amendment by a vote of 14 to 11. The House accepted the committee's action and President Truman affixed his signature on July 20, 1949 (Public 177—81st Congress).

(P. 475) The American Federation of Labor and various international unions supported this bill and it was largely through their efforts that the bill became law on July 20, 1949.

The result of this legislation is that problems of overtime pay for Saturday, Sunday, holidays and certain other occasions can now be completely settled through collective bargaining rather than by recourse to the law or the courts.

(Bacon-Davis Act)—(1949, pp. 49, 387) Res. 39 requested support for amendment of the Bacon-Davis Act whereby overtime rates would be paid for all time over 40 hours per week, with double time for holidays, on all future government contracts in the Caribbean area. Convention referred

subject to E.C. for study and appropriate action.

Payment and Collection—(1955, p. 85) The prompt payment of wages has long been recognized by the American Federation of Labor as being vitally important to the wage earner of the United States. When a wage earner is not paid regularly or when wages are withheld for long periods of time, privation and dire need sometimes result. These circumstances force the worker into debt under the most unfavorable conditions. He often may be required to obtain a loan at exorbitant interest rates in order to keep up with ordinary living expenses, especially today with the high cost of living.

Forty-six (46) states now have wage payment and collection laws; only Delaware, Florida, and the District of Columbia are without such a law. It is shameful that the nation's capital should lag so far behind in basic practice long accepted by the country as a whole. . . . For many years the A. F. of L. has supported the enactment of this legislation in the District of Columbia. We can see no reason why the District of Columbia should lag behind these states in the protection of labor standards. Since Congress is the legislative body for the District of Columbia, it is the responsibility of Congress to protect the labor standards of the workers in the District of Columbia.

Readjustment, Post-War—(1942, p. 597) The convention approved the purpose of Res. 111, and referred it to the Post-War Problems Committee of the A. F. of L.:

Whereas—The war effort of our country has dislocated the ordinary economic life of the nation by diverting the channels of trade and industry from peacetime commodity production to essential war production, and

Whereas—According to Selective

Service Director Brig. Gen. Hershey the year 1943 will find some ten to thirteen million men in the armed forces of the U.S.A., and

Whereas—At the end of the war these millions of men, along with an equal or greater number of workers now engaged in war work will be released to seek civil employment which will not be available due to the curtailment of civilian consumption during the war and the time lapse necessary to change our war production back to commodity production, and

Whereas—This huge surplus of Labor at such a time of economic dislocation would depress wage levels and imperil working conditions and create a situation that would have serious consequences to Labor and the trade union movement unless steps are taken to bring about an orderly control of this dangerous condition, and

Whereas—Some plan that will maintain the living standard of the workers and assist the restoration of normalcy should come from the labor movement of this country, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor at its 1942 Convention work for the enactment of a law that will procure an adequate readjustment wage paid by the Federal Government to all workers discharged from the armed forces or displaced from war production until they can be reabsorbed into economic life.

(Maintaining Purchasing Power)—(1944, pp. 84, 538) Res. 128:

Whereas—The maintenance of adequate purchasing power is one of the factors essential to post-war full employment, the lowering of taxes, the paying off of the national debt, and the safeguarding of existing savings and other equities; and

Whereas—When the war ends, in whole or in part, hours of Labor are

due to ultimately revert to the 40-hour week; therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 64th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself in approval of a wage policy being established for increases in the hourly wage to make up for the loss in total earnings due to the shortening of the hours of Labor, so that weekly earnings under current wage schedules will be maintained and where necessary improved.

Substitutes for Wages—(1950, pp. 330, 498) Res. 113 called for an amendment to existing law so that federal employees and employees of corporations whose stock is owned wholly or in part by the U.S. Government, substituting in higher grade positions, will receive the standard wage rates of the position regardless of the length of time occupied. This resolution concerned primarily mechanics employed in the Government Navy Yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal which at the time were prohibited from receiving proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions.

Supervisory Substitutes—(1951, pp. 304, 513) Res. 75:

Whereas—Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government Navy Yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions, and

Whereas—This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken, and

Whereas—In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law, so that federal employees and employees of corporations whose stock is owned wholly or in part by the United States Government, substituting in higher grade positions will receive standard wage rates of the position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Wartime—(1942, p. 118) War production is greatly affected by wage policy, for if war workers feel that their wage policy is not fair and just, morale will be undermined by discontent. Also, wages must be adequate to support a health and decency living standard if workers are to maintain the vigor and fortitude necessary to sustain production at peak levels through the war years.

Wage policy in wartime requires first, therefore, that workers be treated fairly and justly in comparison with other groups in American society. If the income of farmers and business men is permitted to increase, then similarly workers' wages must be permitted to increase. If workers are required to sacrifice wage gains they would secure in normal times, then equal sacrifice must be required of other groups.

Second, every effort must be made to level up the wages of lower income groups. This has a double purpose; to provide an adequate living standard and to prevent wage inequalities in different plants from causing pirating or migration of workers from one plant to another.

The President's anti-inflation program of April 27 called for equality of sacrifice on the part of all groups. It should be noted that per capita income of farmers this year is expected to reach an all-time peak. Salaries of business executives in many corporations have increased markedly since

1940. It is only just that workers continue to receive upward adjustments of wages and it is in fact essential if we are to maintain our place in American society.

Profits of industrial corporations before taxes appear to have been substantially higher in the first half of 1942 than in 1941. *Standard Statistics* quotes, on the basis of 40 companies, an increase of 32 per cent in net income before taxes. Wages are paid out of income before taxes. Since the first half-year included the changeover of many companies from civilian to war production, with its consequent heavy expenses, the expectation is that profits before taxes will be higher in the final half of 1942 than in the first half. The following point is also made by *Standard Statistics*: "With taxes taking the lion's share of operating profits, corporate earning power would be affected only moderately by sizeable wage rises." . . .

Many corporations are well able to raise workers' wages, and it is possible to lift thousands of substandard workers to an adequate living standard. Such progress can only be made when private industry earns enough to increase wages. It is vital that the increased corporation earnings of today should flow in proper proportion to workers. If this means that a small portion of industry's earnings flow to workers in the form of higher wages instead of flowing to Government in the form of taxes, these facts must be recognized: (1) The added morale and productive effort which will come as a result of these wage increases means far more to the Government than the small amount by which taxes might be increased if wages were not raised. (2) Much of the wage increase will go to the Government in bond purchases and some in taxes on the higher income of individual workers. (3) Income taken by adequate

wage increases this year will be only a minute proportion of the tax income the Government expects to receive from corporation income taxes, according to available estimates. In our democracy, where millions of Government dollars have been spent to relieve those without incomes, wage increases today can accomplish this purpose at a vital moment and at a relatively trifling cost. Unless more of the returns from war production go to wage earners they will go into new war fortunes and menace peacetime days.

Wage increases, given with full ability of companies to pay, are not in themselves inflationary. They would be inflationary only if workers spent them in such a way as to break price ceilings and force prices upward. Inflation is not caused by the income people receive. It can be caused by inflationary spending, but this is an entirely different matter and can be controlled by special measures. It is significant that even if wage increases this year equal last year's volume, they would amount to less than one-fifth of the entire increase in consumer spending power in 1942. Actually wage increases so far in 1942 have been much less than 1941.

. . . .

(P. 123) In summary we point out basic principles which should guide wage determination in wartime:

An adequate and equitable wage for workers is particularly vital in wartime because of its influence on morale and on the ability to maintain production. Therefore:

1. Wherever companies are able to pay wage increases, workers should share equitably in the wealth they help to create. Since 96 per cent of non-farm families are today receiving less than a minimum health and decency wage for a family of four, wage increases are important for the vast

majority of workers. To avoid inflation and lay up reserves for the post-war period, wage increases should go in part into increased social security payments and, except for substandard workers, wage increases should go into war bonds.

2. Where companies claim inability to pay wage increases and are paying substandard wages, the case should be examined on the basis of fact as to the company's financial condition. Negotiations should develop a means of raising wages through economies.

3. It is vital to raise substandard wages so that pay throughout industry will, as nearly as possible, equal the best. This will prevent workers leaving their jobs to find better pay elsewhere.

4. Wages must be adjusted through collective bargaining on the basis of facts as to the company's ability to pay, with recourse to mediation and arbitration if a satisfactory agreement cannot be reached at the conference table. This is the only democratic method of wage determination and the only method which permits of fair and just determination suited to the needs of each situation.

(P. 121) Wages during wartime in terms of purchasing power were considered by the convention. The E.C. Report pointed out that the worker has to bear many costs in wartime which greatly reduce his income. A typical worker who earned 68 cents an hour a year ago (May, 1941) has lost 10 cents of this wage by the increased cost of living, so that his wage today is worth only 58 cents. If he is investing 10 per cent in war bonds, this reduces his spending power to 51 cents. Indirect taxes and the anticipated increase in social security taxes reduce this further to approximately 45 cents. If one counts additional costs due to difficulties of housing and transportation; of families divided because one member has to live away

from home to get work in war plant; or where one member is in the armed forces; and add to this the curtailment of installment credit so that payments cannot be spread over a period of time; all these added costs mount up to a sizeable figure. It seems conservative to estimate that they will reduce the worker's spending power per hour of work below 40 cents an hour.

This does not take into account the exceptionally high rents and other costs which many war workers have to pay in war boom towns.

All the evidence we can secure points to the fact that average straight time wages in manufacturing have increased scarcely more than enough to compensate for the rise in living costs in the period from January, 1941, to date. Any real gains in workers' buying power have been due to overtime work and increased employment.

This fact is most significant, for it shows that in spite of substantial wage increases given in 1941 and the lesser gains made in 1942, workers have made little if any real permanent advance in income during the last year and a half. Unless living costs decline or straight time wage rates increase further, workers will be no better off when overtime ceases and employment declines after the war than they were in January, 1941.

(P. 518) Wage policies are important because they have repercussion on production as well as on workers' standards of living. Workers are not seeking to exploit the national emergency for their own profit but we maintain that adequate wages are necessary for sustained production ability and for that inner feeling of justice that results from a fair deal. The basic attack on stabilization lies in the costs written into contracts.

....

The determination of wage policies will be the responsibility of the Na-

tional War Labor Board under the recent order of the President setting up the Administration of Economic Stabilization. We urge the Federation members of this Board to go into the problems of wage rates and living standards preliminary to setting standards and making awards and that the Federation provide them with the necessary technical assistance.

Wagner Act, Proposed Amendments In Re Raiding—(1951, p. 283) Res. 24: In order to meet the problems arising out of raiding tactics of the CIO unions, it was proposed:

In view of this situation, and the dangerous consequences arising from such raiding attacks against legally certified A. F. of L. unions, the American Federation of Labor recommends the following amendments to the Wagner Act, when re-enacted by Congress:

1. Require valid proof of a 51% majority by a petitioner against an existing certified union, before allowing NLRB to call an election at an organized mill, through:

- (a) A showing of representation of 51% of the workers in the mill through valid signed membership cards; and

- (b) Rigid examination by the Board of proof presented by the petitioning union, through checks of cards against the payrolls of the company and signatures of the workers, before the Board is permitted to call an election.

2. Require the union petitioning for an election in an organized mill, on a claim of 51% representation, to put up a bond that it represents a majority; which bond shall be forfeited, if it fails to win the election, and be split in a fair ratio between the government and the raided union.

This resolution calls for an amendment of the Wagner Act, when the Taft-Hartley Act is repealed and the Wagner Act is re-enacted. Obviously

the proposal is premature. Action taken now would be merely a guess and at best tentative. Your committee believes convention determination should be withheld until consideration is given by Congress to the re-enactment of the Wagner Act.

Wake Island, Et Al., Internees (see: Civilian Internees)

Walsh-Healey Act (also see: Wage and Hour Administration; Housing, 1946; Fair Labor Standards; Wages, Prevailing; Rate in Defense Construction)

(1926, p. 217) The A. F. of L. directs that legislation be introduced in the Congress of the U.S. wherein the necessary laws shall be amended to provide that on all contracts, or work done on behalf of the United States of America, American labor (citizens of the United States) shall be given the preference, and that the hours of labor and rates of wages of the employes so engaged shall conform with the prevailing scale of wages, hours and working conditions in that community and no contractor or agent of the United States Government shall hire alien labor when citizens are available.

(1930, pp. 104, 256) The bill providing that Government contracts should be awarded those contractors who submitted bids considered as most advantageous and satisfactory to the Government, was supported but was not brought to a vote. The present law provides that contracts should be awarded to the lowest "responsible" bidder. A "responsible" bidder is one who can give a bond. Any contractor who secures a Government contract has no difficulty in securing a bond. This permits contractors who employ handy men at very low wages to erect some of the most important structures erected for the Government.

(1934, p. 401) The U.S. Government has awarded contracts to pri-

vate business and commercial concerns for manufacture, construction or service without any provision or requirement as to the wages to be paid to the employes engaged on this work. The E.C. is directed to take such action as may be necessary for the enactment of legislation making it mandatory that such employes receive the prevailing rates of wages prescribed by the various trade unions in the various industries.

(1935, pp. 137, 450) One of the most important bills introduced in Congress and passed by the Senate failed of passage in the House. This bill which was introduced by Senator Walsh provides that all persons who sell to the government or enter into any contractual relations with it shall conform to conditions contained in the specifications. The bill aims to eliminate sweat shops, the "kick-back" contractors and subcontractors and will compel every person who sells to the government to agree to and observe fair labor conditions.

These provisions must be incorporated in all contracts for construction and for the sale of articles, materials, supplies, equipment, or services including contracts for loans or grants made to the federal government. This measure is designed to establish and maintain fair wages on purchases, loans or grants where federal funds are involved directly or indirectly. According to the report of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor the proposed law would end the paradoxical and unfair situation in which the government on one hand urges private employers to maintain and uphold fair wage standards and on the other award contracts for supplies and construction to the lowest bidder.

When the bill was considered by the Judiciary Committee of the House it was decided by a vote of 13 to 7 to postpone action until the next session of Congress. The leaders of the

National Manufacturers Association and the Southern Manufacturers Association sought to have the Committee reject the bill.

(1936, pp. 124, 595) S. 3055, passed by Congress and signed by the President, provided that after September 28, 1936, all specifications and contracts involving the purchase of \$10,000 or more of supplies, or loans or grants, will contain provisions that the prevailing rate of wages must be paid; employees must not work more than eight hours in any day or forty hours in any week, and boys under sixteen years of age and girls under eighteen years of age or convict labor, must not be employed. All work must be done in sanitary buildings and decent surroundings. Sweatshops and homework will be eliminated so far as these government contracts are concerned. Contracts can be canceled if any of these provisions are violated. Payments on contracts can be withheld when contractors engage in "kick-back" practices or other violations. Such payments shall be made to the Secretary of Labor who will return it to the defrauded workers.

The Comptroller General will prepare and distribute to every department making purchases a list of contractors who have violated any provision of the law and they will be debarred from further bidding for three years. The law makes it impossible for what are known as "bid brokers" to bid. Their plan is to submit low bids and then peddle the contracts to sub-contractors at prices that make the payment of decent wages impossible.

The law does not apply to construction work. The Davis-Bacon Act only applies to buildings. But there is much other construction work that does not come under that law. Every effort was made, but without success, to have the law cover all construction work.

The passage by Congress of the Walsh-Healey bill came only after persistent agitation. The Walsh bill passed the Senate in the first session of the 74th Congress. It was referred to the Judiciary Committee of the House where it slumbered for many months. March 2 Representative Healey introduced a bill having the same purpose as the bill passed by the Senate. No action was taken on this measure for some weeks. Representatives of the A. F. of L. were persistent in urging action. Members of the committee were interviewed and fourteen of the twenty-five pledged themselves to vote to report the bill favorably.

The sub-committee to which the bill was referred also was not entirely in favor of the measure. After much pressure the sub-committee reported to the full Judiciary Committee. The latter on April 30 voted to lay the bill on the table by a vote of eleven to seven. This aroused the representatives of Labor who immediately began a persistent attack on the members of the committee to reconsider their action.

During consideration in Congress of the measure, the President of the A. F. of L. several times called upon affiliated organizations throughout the country to appeal to their respective members of Congress to vote for the measure. This agitation was kept up until June 2, when the Judiciary Committee voted to report the Healey Bill favorably to the House. The bill was reported to the House favorably June 5 and was placed on the calendar. As the days passed it was apparent that plans were being laid to see that the bill would not be passed. Strenuous efforts were made by the legislative representatives in Washington to have the measure considered. Representatives of the A. F. of L. took the matter up with Speaker Bankhead and through his influence the bill was

passed. Stringent penalties are provided for violations of the law.

Prior to the passage of the bill by the House of Representatives and after it reached the White House, the Navy Department and shipping interests entered strenuous objections. Representatives of every chiseling contractor furnishing supplies to the government also urged the President to refuse to sign the measure. However, the first act of President Roosevelt on his return to Washington, June 30, was to approve the measure.

While the law does not cover all contracts made with the government, it is believed that the benefits obtained will be so great that further amendments will be made in the future to include all construction work and reduce the amount of contracts from \$10,000 to a lower figure. The bill had the approval of the President of the U.S. who gave every aid in its passage.

(P. 595) The enactment of the Walsh-Healey bill establishes the principle that those who enjoy the benefits of substantial contracts from the Federal Government, must assure to their employes the privilege of working conditions of at least a minimum American standard.

The effective administration of this Act has been delayed by the lack of a suitable appropriation.

The Department of Labor is urged to provide for the appointment of accredited workers' representatives to serve on the staff or advisory committees of the Department and of each of its regional offices, so that the working people may have a voice in the administration of this Act enacted in their behalf.

(1937, pp. 154, 503) The A. F. of L. has kept in close touch with the administration of the Walsh-Healey Law, to make sure that the wage earners will derive maximum bene-

fits from this legislation. The Federation is determined to make every effort in the next session of Congress to strengthen the terms of this Act and to extend the scope of its application.

(1938, pp. 151, 454) The application of prevailing wage standards has been further expanded under the Walsh-Healey Act during the past year. Since the inception of the Act, minimum wage determinations have been made by the Secretary of Labor in sixteen industries:

The lowest wage determination fixed by the Division was 32½ cents an hour in the South in Men's Underwear, and Dimension Granite; and the highest wage determination is for 67½ cents an hour in Men's Hat and Cap Industry.

Since the Act became effective, 9,754 contracts from 11,402 sources subject to the Act were awarded for the purchase of commodities needed by the Government. They were valued at approximately one-half billion dollars (\$549,180,355.03).

In the majority of inspections violations that have been found in the field have been rectified through instructions of the Division of Public Contracts. There have been eighty-six legal hearings for alleged violations and fifty-seven of these were settled without an appeal. Restitutions in the amount of \$69,393 have been received from employers by the Public Contracts Division and distributed to employees.

The 8-hour day and the 40-hour week with an overtime rate of time and one-half for all hours in excess of all daily and weekly limits set by the law, constitute the standards already set by the Act for all those subject to the jurisdiction of the Act. Only minimum wages call for administrative determination.

To furnish a basis for minimum

wage determinations, the Research Section of the Division of Public Contracts surveyed sixty-four industries or groups of related industries during the past year. In these studies Machinery and Allied Products, Electrical Machinery, Apparatus and Supplies, and other industrial groups, each with a number of large divisions, have been considered as single units.

Wage determinations have been scheduled for nineteen industries. Panel conferences and hearings have been held for thirty-one other industries. The Public Contracts Board has proposed wage determinations for seventeen of these industries, which are being currently studied. During the next two months panels and conferences are scheduled for thirty-three industries.

It is estimated that over 2,000,000 workers have been directly affected and almost 28 per cent of the total number of manufacturing employees in the United States have received the benefits of the Act.

(P. 161) Amendments to the Walsh-Healey Government Contracts Act were introduced in both houses of Congress which would have been of the greatest benefit to Labor if adopted. The present law does not apply to contracts under \$10,000. An amendment reduced this to \$2,000.

Furthermore, they provided that any violators of the law would be prohibited from getting contracts for three years. When the Walsh-Healey Act was before Congress it included vessels, but this was eliminated before passage of the bills. One of the amendments proposed in the bills was to include the word "vessels" including "floating equipment and services." This is similar to the amendment made to the Big Navy Bill and is very important.

No person under sixteen years of age shall be employed nor under eighteen in hazardous employment.

Subcontractors shall be liable to the United States for violations or breach of contracts. Violations shall be penalized at the rate of \$10 a day for each minor or convict employed in violation of the Act. The "kick-back" of wages is prohibited. If any employees receive less than the legal wages due them or less than the overtime rate the U.S. shall have the right to recover for the employees the sum they should receive. For the second violation, double the amount will be charged, and for any subsequent offense, triple the amount. In addition the U.S. shall have the right to cancel the contract and make open market purchases.

The bill passed the Senate but the House failed to consider it.

(1939, pp. 124, 412) S. 1032 introduced in the Senate by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts made certain beneficial amendments to the Walsh-Healey Government Contracts Act. It reduced the amount of contracts from \$10,000 to \$4,000 and included the following representations and stipulations: (a) That the contractor is the manufacturer of or a regular dealer in the supplies to be manufactured or used in the performance of the contract; (b) that all persons employed by the contractor in the manufacture or furnishing of the supplies required under the contract will be paid not less than the minimum wages as determined by the Secretary of Labor to be the prevailing minimum wages for persons employed on similar work or in the particular or similar industries or groups of industries currently operating in the locality in which the supplies are to be manufactured or furnished under said contract, such minimum wages as determined by the Secretary of Labor in no case to be less than the applicable minimum wages required to be paid by employers subject to section 6 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938

to employees in the particular industry or industries, or branches thereof, for which such minimum wages are being determined; (c) that all persons employed by the contractor in the manufacture or furnishing of the supplies required under the contract will be paid not less than such increased minimum wage; (d) that no person employed by the contractor shall be permitted to work in excess of eight hours in any one day or in excess of forty hours in any one week; (e) that no person under sixteen years of age and no convict labor will be employed by the contractor in the performance of the contract for supplies, and that no person under eighteen years of age will be employed in any occupation or industry which the Secretary of Labor has determined to be hazardous or injurious to the health of such persons; (f) that no part of the contract for supplies will be performed in any plants, factories, buildings or surroundings or under working conditions which are unsanitary or hazardous or dangerous to the health or safety of the employees.

All persons who shall be found by the appropriate court to have interfered with or coerced their employees in the exercise of their rights to self-organization to bargain collectively with representatives of their own choosing or engage in concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection shall be contained in a list to be distributed by the Comptroller General to all agencies of the U.S. Unless the Secretary of Labor otherwise recommends no contract shall be awarded to such persons or firms until three years have elapsed from the date the Secretary of Labor determines such breach to have occurred. In exercising his power to make reasonable variations and tolerances from minimum wage determinations, the Secretary of Labor shall take into account the prevailing practices estab-

lished by collective bargaining in any industry which is the subject matter of such determination.

The bill passed the Senate but no action was taken in the House. February 24, 1939, the Senate Committee on Military Affairs incorporated in the National Defense Act the following proviso:

"Provided, that for the purpose of this Act educational orders shall not be considered as contracts for public work or works or for the manufacture or furnishing of materials, supplies, articles and equipment to carry out the provision of this Act."

This meant that airplanes purchased to be distributed among colleges and schools for the training of pilots could be made by cheap labor. Protest was immediately made to the chairman of the committee. It was pointed out that if the airplanes were built by cheap labor there would be no telling how many accidents would occur because of incompetent workmanship. The provision was stricken from the bill.

(P. 173) The Walsh-Healey Act has been in operation for three years. Its two major requirements are (1) the maximum work-week of 40 hours with the payment of time and one-half for all hours worked in excess of that maximum, and (2) the payment of prevailing minimum wages, as determined by the Secretary of Labor. These requirements apply to all those employed in manufacture or furnishing of materials and supplies for the Federal Government under contracts valued at more than \$10,000.

Procedures enabling the Secretary of Labor to determine what constitutes the prevailing minimum wage in a given industry represent the major administrative function under the Act. The determination of prevailing minimum wages usually begins with an informal conference held by the Administrator of the Division of Public

Contracts and attended by representatives of employers and organized labor in that industry. The object of the informal conference is to get all interested parties to agree to the definition of the industry and on the method of securing factual evidence on the wage conditions prevailing in the industry. The matter is then referred to a board composed of three members and known as the Public Contracts Board. This board holds public hearings at which wage evidence is submitted for the record by government fact-finding agencies, by labor and by employers. The Public Contracts Board considers the evidence presented at the hearing and transmits its findings and recommendations to the Secretary of Labor. The Secretary considers these recommendations together with any objections that may be offered by the parties concerned. When a final decision is issued by the Secretary of Labor, it becomes unlawful for an employer engaged on government contract work to pay less than the prevailing minimum wage prescribed by the Secretary for the industry in the locality.

Since the inception of the Act, which went into effect on September 28, 1936, to July 1, 1939, some 14,700 government contracts valued at \$1,001,134,142 have been made subject to the Walsh-Healey Act. Of these, 6,396 government contracts valued at \$528,392,756 have been awarded under the Act in the last fiscal year ending July 1, 1939.

During that year the Public Contracts Board has held 24 informal panel conferences and conducted 19 public hearings for the purpose of recommending prevailing minimum wages in specific industries. In the same period the Board made its recommendations to the Secretary of Labor as to what the prevailing minimum wage should be in 19 industries.

In closing its annual report on the operation of the Walsh-Healey Act,

the Executive Council stated: The experience of the past year further emphasized the need for more expeditious and more aggressive enforcement policy if the standards of the Public Contracts Act are to become fully effective."

(1940, pp.138-141, 553) Labor standards on work done in the manufacture of goods to be supplied to the Federal Government under contract have assumed foremost importance to Labor with the launching of the vast defense production program in the summer of 1940.

The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, which provides for the maintenance of maximum hours and minimum wages on work done on materials and equipment contracted for by the Federal Government, has been in effect since June 30, 1936. The added experience of the past year in the administration of the basic standards required by the Act has served to strengthen and improve the machinery which translates the objectives embodied in this law by Congress into practical operating requirements in industry.

The requirements of the Walsh-Healey Act are simple. They call for a basic work-week of 40 hours and a basic work-day of 8 hours and for payment of overtime at the rate of time and one-half for all work done in excess of these hours. In addition, the most important provision of the Act requires payment in each industry of not less than the wage determined by the Secretary of Labor to be prevailing in that industry. The Act also prohibits employment of boys under 16, girls under 18, and of all convict labor. Conditions of safety, sanitation and health are also prescribed by the Act.

The Walsh-Healey Act calls for the observance of these requirements in the performance of government contracts for the manufacture or furnish-

ing of materials, supplies, articles or equipment amounting to more than \$10,000. The requirements of the Act apply, in addition, to contracts for the construction or equipping of naval vessels contracted for after June 30, 1938.

The standards of the Act are stated in, and made a part of, each government contract covered by its provisions. When a government contract covered by the Act is awarded, the contractor agrees to observe these standards in the same way as he agrees to observe the standards of the contract regarding the quality, quantity and character of the product furnished. Failure on the part of a contractor to maintain the labor standards is a breach of his contract in the same way as his failure to meet the manufacturing specifications laid down by the Government.

The most vital provision of the Act is the one which calls for the payment of "not less than the minimum wages as determined by the Secretary of Labor to be the prevailing minimum wages for persons employed on similar work or in the particular or similar industries or groups of industries currently operating in the locality" in which the materials or equipment are to be manufactured under contract. The requirement to pay a minimum wage does not apply to an industry until a determination has been made by the Secretary of Labor of what constitutes the prevailing minimum wage. The process of determination of what the prevailing minimum wage is for a given industry is, therefore, all important. The necessary fact-finding and study of evidence, on the basis of which a prevailing minimum wage is recommended to the Secretary for determination, is done by the Public Contracts Board which conducts public hearings in each industry in which a determination is pending.

During the year ending June 30, 1940, the Public Contracts Board held

eight regular hearings and one rehearing for the purpose of recommending prevailing minimum wages in specific industries. Between July 1, 1939, and June 30, 1940, final determinations of prevailing minimum wages were made in four industries, cement, paper and pulp, small arms ammunition and explosives, and fertilizer manufacturing.

Since the beginning of operation of the Act, prevailing minimum wages have been determined for 31 industries. It is estimated that these industries employ a total of nearly 1,500,000 workers.

The prevailing minimum wages fixed by the Secretary of Labor under the terms of the Act have ranged from a low 25 cents per hour for workers employed in the southernmost region of the fertilizer industry to a high of 70 cents per hour for workers employed in the cement industry in the State of Washington.

Three of the four wage determinations made during the past year provide for regional differentials, whereas only six of the twenty-seven previous determinations allowed for a differential on a regional basis. In all appearances before the Public Contracts Board representatives of the American Federation of Labor have sought to establish a single determination for each industry under consideration. We are of the opinion that labor representatives should continue to urge upon the Public Contracts Board a broad interpretation of the requirements of the Act in order to prevent the undermining of the wage structure by setting up geographical wage differentials.

None of the wage determinations made during the past year permitted any sub-minimum rates for learners or handicapped workers. In six of the previous determinations employment of learners and handicapped persons was permitted at less than the minimum rates.

Since the Act went into effect on June 30, 1936, the Federal Government has awarded subject to its terms 27,258 contracts in an amount totaling \$2,157,324,159. Of this total 9,065 contracts valued at \$761,434,486 were awarded during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941. During July and August, 1940, 3,517 contracts amounting to \$400,066,776 were awarded under the terms of the Act.

During the four years in which the Act has been in operation the Division of Public Contracts of the U.S. Department of Labor, which has supervised the enforcement of its minimum wage and maximum hour provisions, was able to effect the collection and recovery of a total of \$345,046 in the form of restitutions to workers receiving less than the specified minimum wages. The wages so recovered as the result of enforcement procedure were distributed among 41,082 workers.

In addition the Division of Public Contracts has rendered formal decisions finding breaches of contract and violations of the Act. These decisions called for the payment of \$103,093 in liquidated damages as well as for the payment of an additional \$86,000 on the basis of investigations conducted by the Division.

Despite substantial improvement in the enforcement procedure under the Act, there is still an urgent need for a more rapid procedure in the handling of complaints and a stricter policy of enforcement. The broader coverage of the Act resulting from the operation of the national defense program calls for an increase in the inspection and enforcement staff of the Division and an improvement in the administrative procedures to insure unimpaired maintenance of the standards set up under the Act.

It is important to note that the Public Contracts Act makes available to the Federal Government a significant

measure of protection under the national defense program in that it requires that the contract be let only to manufacturers of the commodities needed or to regular dealers in these commodities. This safeguards the Government as well as Labor from awards of contracts for materials and equipment to irresponsible bidders who do not maintain a regular establishment for the production or sale of the materials required by the Government. Thus bid-brokers, fly-by-night traders and other irresponsible bidders purchasing materials from unscrupulous or unfair employers are barred from participation in defense contracts. This safeguard also affords protection to fair-minded employers, whose cost and wage standards cannot be undermined by competition of employers paying sub-standard wages and engaging in unfair competitive practices.

Repeated attempts have been made to rescind the application of the Act to contracts for defense materials on the ground that the application of maximum hours and the operation of enforcement procedures serves to hamper and delay the defense program. Since the provisions of the Act do not place a rigid maximum restriction upon the hours of work permitted but merely call for the payment of the overtime rate of time and one-half for excessive hours, the argument of the opponents of the Act is without validity. The experience of the past four years has shown, moreover, that while the enforcement of the basic standards of the Act has in no instance served to delay production schedules, the application of these standards has given the Federal Government much needed assurance of improved quality in production and increased efficiency resulting from the application of these standards.

We strongly recommend that the officers of the American Federation of

Labor continue their unremitting effort to secure full and unimpaired application of the standards laid down in the Walsh-Healey Act to all phases of defense production. . . .

(P. 553) This law (Walsh-Healey Act) in effect since June, 1936, has been more important with the decline in relief production and expansion of defense production. We note that prevailing minimum rates have been determined for thirty-one industries and the regional variations have been asked and granted in a number of industries. We approve the position of the American Federation of Labor in opposing such regional differentiations and recommend continued efforts to maintain the protection afforded workers and industries by the provision of this law which outlaws irresponsible bidders and prohibits the employment of girls under 18 and boys under 16 years of age, together with convict labor.

Our intention has been called to a ruling of the Comptroller General which if continued would place many millions of dollars worth of manufactured goods outside the operation of the law. As a result of the Comptroller General's ruling the Cessna Aircraft Company has obtained exemption from the provisions of the Public Contracts Act on the ground that the manufacture of aircraft engines does not come under the law.

The ruling is of such grave importance that your committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take up this question so that the ruling relative to the manufacture of aircraft engines and other commodities placed on order, be set aside.

With this recommendation your committee moves approval of the Council's report.

(Amendments)—(1940, pp. 432-3) A number of resolutions were submitted to the 1940 convention seeking

amendment of the Walsh-Healey Act to prohibit awarding of contracts by the United States Government or its Departments or Agencies to business concerns which have been found to have denied their employees the right to organize and to bargain collectively. The convention approved Resolution 91 as follows:

Whereas—The right of workers to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing is now the law of the land, and

Whereas—Certain large corporations who bid on government contracts have flagrantly and wilfully violated the law by employing coercion and intimidation and even by resorting to violence to impede or prevent workers from exercising their rights granted to them under the law, and

Whereas—It is intolerable that such employers who have wilfully and deliberately violated the law of the land shall be enabled to make profits on government contracts, and

Whereas—The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act has already established the policy of granting government contracts only to employers who have complied with conditions as to wages and hours established under the Act, Therefore be it

Resolved—That this Convention goes on record in favor of extending the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act to prohibit the granting of government contracts to concerns which have been found by a recognized government agency to have violated the federal statute guaranteeing workers the right to organize and bargain collectively, and that every effort be made to bring about the enactment of an amendment which will embody this change.

(Pp. 80, 405) Convention directed that efforts be continued to secure amendment to extend its provisions to apply to purchases of \$4,000 or over instead of the \$10,000.

(1942, p. 68) E.C. called attention to increasing importance of Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act since the beginning of the war. The annual report said in part:

With the Federal Government rapidly becoming the chief buyer, and often the sole buyer of goods produced by American industry, the maintenance of basic labor standards on all production for Government contracts, and the operation of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act which prescribes these standards, have become of foremost importance to Labor. . . .

Although substantial upward changes in the wage structure occurred in all industries producing for the Government to fill war contracts, the pace of prevailing wage determination was greatly slowed down during the past year. . . .

It was further pointed out that under the impact of war conditions, strong pressure developed to lower the standards of the Act. Heaviest pressure of all was directed toward the elimination of premium overtime rates. An amendment to the Act recommended to Congress by the Secretary of Labor became law on May 13, 1942, permitting overtime work at straight pay, but only by agreement in each case between management and unions certified as *bona fide* by the National Labor Relations Board. A parallel exemption was cited in an amendment to the Wage and Hour Law which permits overtime pay at straight time provided employment is limited to 1 thousand hours of work during any period of 26 consecutive weeks, or, on an annual basis limited to not more than 2,080 hours during any period of 52 consecutive weeks.

Difficulties of enforcement were related briefly by the E.C. in its report despite the fact that there had been an almost 50 percent increase in the field staff due to the unparalleled in-

crease in the volume of government contracts.

The merger of inspection activities of the Division of Public Contracts with the Wage and Hour Division was reported. While commending the limited merger of the two branches of Government, the E.C. made the following statement in its report: "We have no doubt that further coordination and consolidation of field work and informational services is highly desirable. We are unalterably opposed, however, to the complete merger of the Division of Public Contracts with the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor.

"The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, administered by the Wage and Hour Division, has been enacted to establish a floor for wages, to protect workers against sub-standard conditions of employment, and to safeguard them against the evils of the sweatshop. The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, on the other hand, merely expresses the right of the Federal Government to prescribe basic labor standards and to require that such standards be maintained in the manufacture of all materials and equipment it purchases. While the Wage and Hour Law sets wage standards which are absolute minimum standards, the Walsh-Healey Act requires the maintenance of wage standards prevailing in the industry. We reiterate our view that the determination, administration and enforcement of the prevailing wage standards under the Public Contracts Act need to be strengthened, and that they should be maintained separate and apart from the administration of the minimum wage standards through the wholly unrelated machinery prescribed by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

"To this end also the Executive Council recommends that the Administrator of the Public Contracts Act and the Secretary of Labor be called

upon to reconstitute the Public Contracts Board, which is responsible for determination of prevailing minimum wages, in order that the work of the Board be expedited and its position be strengthened to effectuate fully the application of prevailing minimum wages on Government contracts as required by the statute. We further recommend standardization of administrative procedures to afford full notice and opportunity to be heard to workers concerned in the case of all actions pertaining to or affecting labor standards established under the Act."

(P. 546) The convention unanimously adopted the recommendations of the convention committee considering the section of the Executive Council's Report on LABOR STANDARDS ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS, as follows:

(1) That the Executive Council make every effort to have adequate funds appropriated to enable this agency to do effective administrative work. By the end of this year 50 per cent of all production will be for war purposes, to which the Public Contracts Act will be applicable. As the report points out, in the fiscal year 1940-41 government contracts were let at the rate of \$423,000,000 monthly while for 1941-42 it increased to \$1,320,000,000 monthly. The administration of the Public Contracts Act is of basic importance to workers for under it the Government prescribes and enforces basic labor standards. Under the Act, prevailing minimum rates are determined and enforced. The determination of prevailing minimum wages is a different process from the fixing of minimum wages under Fair Labor Standards so that there is need to retain the distinctive machinery provided under the law—the Public Contracts Board. This Board was abolished in recent administrative consolidation. Unless prevailing wage

determinations are kept currently they fail to record wages in effect and may be costly to workers.

(2) Our second recommendation is that the Board be reconstituted. The Executive Council reports that minimum wage determinations were made in only three industries during the past year. As the year has been marked by substantial upward changes it is important that the machinery of this administration reflect changes promptly and effectively.

(3) Our third recommendation is that the Executive Council bring pressure to bear on the Division to keep wage determinations current.

We note with concern relaxation of age standards at which boys and girls may be employed in industry and urge that boys and girls be allowed to stay in school until 18 unless the need for industrial manpower becomes more urgent. The right of youth for opportunity for adequate preparation for the responsibilities of maturity, should be denied only as a last resort. Furthermore, such relaxation of necessary basic standards should be for the emergency only with provision for automatic return to normal standards at the end of the emergency.

(4) We recommend that all relaxation of fundamental labor standards should be specifically limited to the emergency.

(5) We recommend that efforts be made to have necessary safeguards provided for the use of prison labor in war production.

The amendment to law permitting a work week of more than 40 hours at straight time in limited employment of 1,000 hours in 26 weeks or 2,080 in 52 weeks provided there is an agreement in each case between management and a union certified as *bona fide* by the National Labor Relations Board was in the interests of administrative simplicity but unfor-

tunately it simplified at the lower level.

Most unfortunate was the order amending administrative regulation to permit the use of prison labor on war production without provision for standard hours and wages with deductions for costs maintenance so as to remove conditions of unfair competition.

(1943, p. 57) While the enforcement of the prevailing minimum wage, overtime, and other provisions of the Public Contracts Act continued to gain in importance during the past year, labor standards on government contracts were given but secondary attention by the combined Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division. With the efforts of the Division concentrated on the operations of the Wage and Hour Law, no attempt was made to keep current the application of the labor standards on government contracts required by the statute. Compliance with the standards previously established, however, was continued, although on a diminished scale, through the combined staff of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division. Of the 7,900 cases inspected, 2,600 establishments were found in violation. Enforcement of the standards was based both on complaints received by the Division and on-spot checks conducted by the inspection staff. By July 1, 1943, the Division still had a backlog of 12,283 unadjusted complaints.

In the course of the year, a number of complaints of violation have been received by the American Federation of Labor from unions whose membership was employed on government contracts. In many instances employees had difficulty in ascertaining whether or not they were covered by the Act where the employer refused to divulge this information on the ground that it was secret. Inasmuch as the Wage and Hour and Pub-

lic Contracts Division has discontinued publication of government contracts subject to the Act, it often proved difficult to determine whether a violation did in fact exist. Since a large majority of war contractors, through newspaper and magazine advertising, outdoor advertising, and signs displayed on the plants, publicize the fact that they are engaged in war work, it is felt that the refusal of employers to inform employees of their status under the Act is without justification. The Administrator has been urged to provide a requirement in the regulations that notices be posted in all plants covered by the Public Contracts Act specifically stating the applicable labor provisions. We concur in this recommendation, and urge that steps be taken to make sure of its early adoption. We also recommend that the Administrator of the Public Contracts Act be strongly urged to revive and fully extend the operation of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act to the end that minimum labor standards required by the statute be given full application on all government contracts.

(P. 562) Res. 80, relating to problems of the building trades workers in re prevailing wages, was unanimously adopted as follows:

Whereas—The Building Trades Workers, members of the A. F. of L., have been indispensable in the construction of plants for the manufacture of implements of war absolutely necessary for the successful prosecution of the war for the preservation of our democratic institutions for this and future generations, and

Whereas—Upon the completion of these plants, when production and assembly lines are in operation, the management of said plants refuse to pay the prevailing rate of wages to Building Trades Mechanics for work vitally necessary in the operation of said plants, and

Whereas—The prevailing rate of wages is usually recognized as the basic wage scale by private enterprise, the war production plants, mostly under government supervision ought to do likewise, and

Whereas—The continuation of payment of wages below the prevailing wage scale tends to tear down conditions obtained through years of bitter struggle and to lower the American standard of living, therefore be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor exert its influence in an endeavor to have all plants operating under government contract recognize the prevailing rate of wages for the Building Trades Mechanics.

Your Committee concurs with the objects of this resolution to stabilize and unify the wage structure of building trades and metal trades mechanics and laborers by requiring the payment of prevailing rate of wages for them in all plants operating under government contract.

(1944, p. 155) It is to be regretted that the Public Contracts Act was permitted to remain dormant during this crucial period of public contract activity and that no determinations of prevailing minimum wages were made during this time. We again urge that minimum labor standards required by statute be given full application on all government contracts and that provision be made for prominent posting of such standards in every establishment covered, to make sure that the workers are fully informed of their rights.

(P. 587) The following recommendation of the convention committee was unanimously adopted:

We fully endorse the recommendations of the Executive Council that determination of prevailing minimum wages be revived, that such prevailing minimum wage standards be made fully applicable on all government contracts and that all labor stand-

ards required by the Walsh-Healey Act be prominently posted in every covered establishment to inform the workers concerned of their rights under the law. Federal government will continue to be a large purchaser of materials and equipment for military operations and for lend-lease, relief and other programs. Labor standards prescribed by the Act must be applied and enforced in the production and handling of goods on all such purchases. To make the prevailing wage requirements effective, current and up-to-date determinations should be made and the Public Contracts Board should be reconstituted for that purpose. Specific assurance should be given that all relaxation in standards agreed to by labor and now in effect would automatically terminate as soon as the conditions justifying such relaxations no longer prevail and in no event would extend beyond the duration of the war emergency. We also urge that effective safeguards be promptly established against the use of prison labor on work contracted by the federal government.

With these recommendations, we ask that this portion of the Executive Council's report be approved.

(P. 426) Res. 78, unanimously approved:

Whereas—There has been for the past several years loans from the government financed under the FHA Act to persons and real estate firms for building of homes and business property, and

Whereas—This money is in a large measure supplied directly or indirectly by members of organized labor, and

Whereas—It is hardly possible for an A. F. of L. craftsman to get work on these houses because of non-union contractors and real estate firms building with non-union labor at a rate of pay below the prevailing standard of wages, and

Whereas—The above mentioned system tends to lower and keep down the living standards all over the country, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council endeavor to have passed by the next Congress of the United States an amendment to the FHA Act causing the prevailing wage to be specified in all cases where the government insures money for the purpose of constructing or repairing by individuals, real estate firms or contractors.

(1946, pp. 153, 606) The report of the Executive Council indicates that in the course of the wartime years, when the volume of government contracts and government purchases was at its peak, the prevailing wage requirements of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act were rendered ineffective because no new prevailing wage determinations were made throughout the war period. We heartily concur in the Executive Council's recommendation that prevailing minimum wage standards be newly determined in the light of changing conditions and that periodic redeterminations be required to bring the wage standards specified by the Act in conformity with the prevailing levels of minimum wages in every industry affected. We recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor take prompt steps to secure the effectuation of the Public Contracts Act in full force, terminating all relaxations of standards agreed to during the war. We also recommend renewed action to safeguard wage standards against impairment through the use of prison labor on work contracted by the Federal Government.

With these recommendations, your committee recommends the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

(1947, p. 649) Res. 37 was referred to the Executive Council to take up

with the affiliated and affected organizations, so that the most effective way of securing the results desired can be agreed upon. The resolution follows:

Whereas—The United States Government, in the employment of skilled labor, is following a policy wherein there is no central authority; and in many cases, members of the skilled trades are asked to work for the Federal Government at a rate less than the prevailing rate in the communities where such people are employed, therefore, be it.

Resolved—That it is the consensus of this convention that the United States Government in the employment of skilled mechanics should pay not less than the prevailing rate in the community where they are employed; and that there should be some central authority such as the United States Civil Service Commission or some other commission charged with the responsibility of determining what is the prevailing rate and seeing that such prevailing rate is met by the United States Government wherever skilled mechanics are employed.

(1948, p. 183) The most significant development in the administration of the Public Contracts Act during the past year has been the inauguration of a program designed to increase the minimum wage rates applicable to all employees working on government contracts. This action has long been urged by the American Federation of Labor and was undertaken only after specific requests for action had been made not only by the Federation, but also by numerous affiliated unions. The importance of this program to revise these industry wage determinations, most of which were made before the war, is highlighted by the fact that on June 30, 1948, over \$2 billion in government contracts was subject to the Public Contracts Act.

The first public hearing under this new program on January 21 con-

cerned the suit and coat branch of the uniform and clothing industry. As a result of this hearing, the minimum wage for all workers in the industry employed on government contracts was raised from 65 to 85 cents an hour for production workers and from 40 to 65 cents an hour for so-called auxiliary workers. Although this is the only new determination that has been made by the Secretary of Labor, hearings have been held in other branches of the uniform and clothing industry, in the hat and cap industry, and in the textile industry, in all of which American Federation of Labor international unions have participated. In addition, arrangements are being made to hold hearings in the glove, flint glass, and furniture industries, which will involve A. F. of L. international unions. The research staff of the Federation has been cooperating with the particular international unions concerned with these industries in order to assist them in presenting the most effective case possible for an increased minimum wage.

The importance of this new program transcends the significance of the enforcement work under the existing wage determinations which has been proceeding under the same handicaps as the enforcement work under the Fair Labor Standards Act. During this fiscal year, a total of 1,559 establishments operating under the Public Contracts Act were inspected. Of these 593, or 38 percent, were in violation of the overtime, minimum wage, or child labor provisions of the Act, the majority of which concerned the overtime provisions. Because of the significance of the new program, we urge the Department of Labor to hasten its completion, even at the cost, if necessary, of reducing enforcement standards below existing levels.

(Wage and Hour Administration)—
(p. 452) This section of the E.C. report summarizes the administrative

problems besetting the Labor Department's Wage and Hour Division in administering during the past year the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act.

The report brings out the manner in which the inspection work of the division has been hampered by inadequate funds. It is to be hoped that the new Congress will remedy this defect so that the division can effectively enforce the statute.

Probably the most significant development during the past year has been the program inaugurated by the division of raising the minimum wage rates under the Public Contracts Act. Several new minimums have already been set in industries in which the A. F. of L. affiliates have been interested. This action not only sets higher wage rates in particular industries but also lends support to the efforts of the A. F. of L. to raise the general minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act. We urge the division to continue this policy until all wage determinations under the Public Contracts Act have been brought up to date.

(1949, p. 165) In its report on Labor Standards on Government Contracts, the Executive Council closed with the following:

The importance of this program is difficult to overestimate. In view of the number and value of government contracts, it is exceedingly important that these contracts are not being utilized as the means for subsidizing those business firms which fail to maintain minimum labor standards. We urge the Department of Labor to accelerate this program so that during the coming year all minimum rates under the Walsh-Healey Act will be brought up to date with the prevailing wage practices throughout American industry.

(P. 464) Now that the minimum rate under the Wage and Hour Law

is being raised to 75 cents this committee feels that it is particularly important that the Wage and Hour Division of the Labor Department be given sufficient funds to conduct an effective enforcement campaign. There is no value in an increased minimum wage which cannot be effectively enforced for lack of sufficient funds and personnel.

The report pointed out that the Department of Labor, to supplement its activities under the Fair Labor Standards Act, is also revising the wage determinations under the Public Contracts Law. A number of American Federation of Labor unions have been instrumental in raising the wage determinations affecting industries under their jurisdiction. We urge the Labor Department to continue its efforts to revise these Walsh-Healey minimum rates as liberally as possible so that within the coming year all the out-of-date minimum rates will have been revised.

(1952, p. 446) The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act requiring adherence to minimum standards is particularly important at this time when government contracts play such a large part in the economy. An all-out drive has been launched by the reactionary forces to destroy the effectiveness of this legislation. The attempt to do so at the end of the last session of Congress by amendments to the Defense Production Act, which would have virtually repealed this law, were successfully foiled by our determined opposition. We were successful in warding off all but the minor weakening amendments offered and should be ready to forestall a renewed attack in the coming Congress.

We note with deep satisfaction that the Secretary of Labor has denied the exemption of the cannery workers from the protection of the Public Contracts Act. We commend the Secre-

tary of Labor for his forthright action whereby he responded to the appeal of the American Federation of Labor and reversed his previous decision granting such exemption.

Unreasonable limitation of funds made available by Congress to the Department of Labor has prevented the making of the necessary determinations of prevailing minimum wages required by the Public Contracts Act. We insist that the Department of Labor be given sufficient funds to enable it to administer properly and effectively these protective standards whose maintenance Congress has directed by law. We ask that our affiliates take the necessary steps to assure adequate representation at hearings held by the department to determine the prevailing minimum wages and otherwise assist in the effectuation of the labor standards under the Walsh-Healey Act.

With these comments and recommendations, your committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

(Amendments Opposed)—(1954, pp. 383, 472) Res. 31:

Whereas—The passage of the Walsh-Healey Act in 1936, providing for the setting of wages at prevailing rates in the manufacture of goods under government contract, was a milestone in Labor's progress, and

Whereas—This Act served notice that federal funds would not be used to undermine existing wage standards which are particularly important in an industrial economy in which government expenditures account for a significant portion of the national product, and

Whereas—The effectiveness of the Act has been seriously impaired since our last convention as a result of the adoption, in 1952, of the Fulbright Amendment which provides, among other things, for judicial review of all wage determinations made by the De-

partment of Labor under the Public Contracts Act and specifies that any interested person can request a court review of any legal question connected with a determination, with the result that employers are encouraged to delay enforcement by challenging, in the courts, either the amount of the determination or its application on a nationwide basis, and

Whereas—In February, 1953, a minimum wage determination of \$1.00 an hour was made under the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act for the cotton, silk and textile industry, and immediately the legality of a nationwide rather than a regional, determination was challenged with the result that today more than a year later the case is still in the courts and the effect of the wage determination has thus been nullified, and

Whereas—The same thing happened recently in the woolen and worsted industry wherein a \$1.20 an hour minimum wage determination, originally proposed over 14 months ago by the late Secretary of Labor, was finally approved in April, 1954, only to be contested in the courts, and

Whereas—There is real danger that reactionary forces, emboldened by this success, will attempt further to weaken the Act by trying to revive previous proposals which would require the determination of prevailing wage standards on the minimum in a "city, town, village or other civil subdivision" and permit the exemption of a standard-type product sold in the open market, and

Whereas—The reactionary forces of the country, through the National Association of Manufacturers and Chambers of Commerce, now seek to obstruct further the operation of the Act by denying adequate funds for its enforcement, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, urge the immediate repeal of

the Fulbright Amendment and oppose all further amendments to the Walsh-Healey Act which would restrict its operation or subvert its objectives.

(Amendments)—(P. 496) The convention approved the following committee recommendations for needed amendments to the Walsh-Healey Act:

1. Full and unchallengeable authority should be restored to the Secretary of Labor to issue minimum wage determinations on an industry-wide basis.

2. The provisions in the law restricting and impairing the effectiveness of minimum labor standards, established by the Secretary of Labor, added to the law by the Fulbright Amendment of 1951, should be repealed.

3. The statutory workweek under this Act should be amended to conform to our recommendation for a 35-hour workweek under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

War (also see: World Peace; War Production; War Labor Board; War Production Board; Post-War; European War; Defense, Labor Policy; Combined Labor War Board; Hawaii, Labor and War; Maritime Legislation; Aid to Britain; Communism; Manpower Commission)

(1940, pp. 201-206) A forthright statement of the implications to Labor involved in the war in Europe was presented to the convention. In tracing the background of the actual war itself, attention was directed to the fact that "the revolutionary movement to displace social and economic organization began in Russia led by a small group of Communists who believed that revolutionary ends justified force and included ethical standards and religious institutions in the social order they hoped to destroy. They denied tolerance to any opposing point of view. Such a revolution of destruction has no common ground

with a democratic nation and makes impossible any basis for international relations and confidence. Under a democracy tolerance of individual belief grows from realization of the value of human life and assurance of equal opportunity to all." The part played by Great Britain in the opening months of the war was set forth in Report of the E.C. which said in part:

The full force of the revolution of destruction has been turned against Great Britain in the Battle of Britain. The fate of this last democratic nation of Europe is of importance to every other democratic country throughout the world. If Great Britain wins the Battle of Britain, democracy wins. If Great Britain is defeated, then America and democracy are increasingly menaced and our peaceful pursuit of life is seriously threatened. The threat of war will be brought nearer to our homeland as well as to our homes.

So long as Great Britain successfully resists the attack being made upon her, as she is now doing, we in America can feel reasonably safe. The Atlantic Ocean and Great Britain stand as a barrier of protection to America.

It is quite logical and sound, therefore, that we in America would manifest a deep interest in the Battle of Britain. She stands as the last outpost in the Old World in defense of democracy and the democratic form of government. Figuratively speaking, she stands as the first line of defense against totalitarian aggression in the Western Hemisphere. We hope and pray Great Britain will win. Our sympathies go out to her people, the men and women who make up the British Trade Union Congress, and to all who are fighting a heroic battle against tremendous odds. We favor the extension of all help and assistance possible to Great Britain

in her hour of need, on the part of our government, short of war itself."

(P. 202) . . . Whichever way the Battle of Britain may be decided, the democratic countries of the New World must be prepared to defend the New World against invasion and conquest. The U.S. has a responsibility in this crisis not only for defense but for leading in the development of machinery for international cooperation and the marketing of agricultural and industrial output in support of democratic ideals . . .

(P. 526) In acting on the report of the E.C. on the subject of "War in Europe," the convention adopted the following:

The report indicates that whichever way the Battle of Britain may be decided, will depend the rebirth or the death of trade unionism in the Old World.

The Executive Council indicates that the Western Hemisphere, with its existing trade union movement, cannot escape from the results of the savage, brutal, unjustified warfare now desolating Europe.

The report further makes it manifest that our trade union movement cannot escape from the consequences, and that it is essential that we should give every possible activity to the defense of our borders, including the Western Hemisphere, so that a free trade union movement may continue to function within our hemisphere, and serve as an energizing power to assist in reorganizing the trade union movement after the present war is terminated.

In addition your committee calls attention to the fact that as we meet in convention in New Orleans, hundreds of thousands of trade unionists in Europe who, but a few months ago, depended for their protection upon their trade unions, are now prisoners of war, compelled to work as such

under the brutal administration of the Axis powers.

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's Report, special consideration is given to the subject of defense.

Your committee joins with the Executive Council in expressing the fervent hope and prayer that Great Britain will win, recognizing with the Council that she stands as the last outpost in the Old World in the defense of democracy and the democratic form of government. Our sympathies go out to her people, the men and women who make up the British Trades Union Congress, and to all who are fighting a heroic battle against tremendous odds.

We join in the recommendation of the Executive Council in favoring the extension of all help and assistance possible to Great Britain in her hour of need on the part of our government short of war itself. We concur with this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

(Effects of the War on Free Trade Unions in Europe)—(P. 204) In a detailed report on the possible effects of the war in Europe, the E.C. pointed out that the preceding year witnessed "the constantly increasing destruction of free trade unions in Continental Europe by the successful aggression of Germany, Russia and Italy against their smaller and weaker neighbors. Although there is no detailed information available about the fate of free trade unions in these conquered countries we know that they cannot exist for long in the lands ruled by the Nazi, Communist and Fascist dictators. We know that the destruction of a free labor movement is an inevitable corollary of a ruthless, aggressive war economy."

Since free trade unions the world over have been opposed to militarism and territorial aggression, the Nazi Party first suppressed the trade un-

ions and Labor within Germany itself. . . . Freedom of association and assembly was abolished and hours of work were greatly lengthened.

The report briefly covered developments in the trade union field in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Luxembourg, Holland, Belgium, France, Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania. The methods followed in each country were after a pattern. . . . The free trade union headquarters are surrounded and occupied, their bank funds and liquid assets seized. Union leaders are arrested on trumped-up charges, placed in concentration camps and many of them executed. With their leaders arrested and reduced to silence, their publications suspended, and their headquarters confiscated by the enemy, the workers are without defense. For them social legislation and individual rights have ceased to be a reality. Established law gives way to "the authority of occupation" which regulates according to its will hours of work, wages, prices, food rations and the curfew. To the bitterness of defeat is added in full measure the humiliation of slavery. . . .

(P. 526) The convention to which the above report of the E.C. was referred, submitted a statement which was unanimously adopted in which it was stated, in part:

Reference is made to the effects of the war upon the trade union movement of Europe, and the destruction of that movement in all countries where the Axis powers have secured control. . . .

Whichever way the Battle of Britain may be decided, will depend the rebirth or the death of trade unionism in the Old World. . . .

The Western Hemisphere, with its existing trade union movement, cannot escape from the results of the savage, brutal, unjustified warfare now desolating Europe.

The report further makes it manifest that our trade union movement cannot escape from the consequences, and that it is essential that we should give every possible activity to the defense of our borders, including the Western Hemisphere, so that a free trade union movement may continue to function within our hemisphere, and serve as an energizing power to assist in reorganizing the trade union movement after the present war is terminated.

(Labor Policy) (A. F. of L.)—(1942, p. 180) The shock of Pearl Harbor was quickly followed by a message from President Roosevelt to Congress, and a declaration of war. President Green immediately called the Executive Council to meet in special session. That meeting, held December 15, 1941, adopted the following declaration:

At a specially called meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, a careful appraisal of the situation which was created by the recent infamous and treacherous action of the Japanese Government was made. Each member in attendance at the meeting was moved by feelings of righteous indignation and a determination to compel the Government of Japan to pay in full measure for the dastardly attack made upon our Government on the morning of December 7, 1941.

The attack made by the Japanese Government was, in our opinion, part of a plan previously agreed upon by the Axis powers. The secrecy, trickery and treachery employed by the Japanese Government in launching it is characteristic of action heretofore taken by the totalitarian nations.

The declaration of war made against the United States by Hitler and Mussolini was a logical sequence to the understanding which prevailed among the Axis powers.

Now our nation is involved in war.

We face these realities and facts with a solemn and unchangeable determination that Japan and her allies must be defeated at any cost. Neither time, circumstances, difficulties or disappointments must interfere with the achievement of this purpose.

The devastating tyranny which threatens freedom in all lands has now struck at our symbols of freedom and liberty. The seriousness of this danger was made clear and convincing when the Axis group launched a sudden and deadly assault upon our fortifications and our dependencies at the moment when their peace envoys were conferring with representatives of our government. Good faith, honest dealing, frankness, honesty and integrity are words that were never included in the Japanese code of procedure. They know not the meaning of these terms because only trickery, deception, dishonesty and treachery influence and inspire them in actions which they take.

The blow struck at Pearl Harbor and our islands in the Pacific has resounded throughout our nation as a call to service. Nothing that has ever happened has served better to unite all classes of people in America, both in spirit and in purpose.

We are now at war—not only against Japan but against all the Axis powers. No group of our people can indulge in speculation as to what the future course of our nation must be. We have been forced to make a momentous decision. We have chosen our course and there can be no turning back. We must drive through, crush, defeat and subdue our enemies—those who have declared war against us. The preservation of our common heritage, of our freedom, liberty and democracy—all those things which are as precious as life itself—is at stake. Our free institutions must be preserved. Our liberties must be protected. In the race

between totalitarianism and freedom, democracy must win.

The call of the hour is for service and sacrifice. Labor has much at stake, perhaps more than any other group which is included in our social, national and political life. It is thoroughly conscious of the issues which hang in the balance. Speaking, as we do, out of an understanding of the heart and mind of Labor, we can assure the nation that Labor is ready and willing to render exalted service. The value of that service will compare with the kind rendered by our heroes in the air, on the battlefields and on the high seas.

The first line of war service is in the factories, the mills, the mines and the transportation system of the nation. These workers serving in the important field of production and transportation must not falter in their devotion and service to our nation. They must measure up to the high standard of excellency established by the skill, genius, training and service of American Labor. Success in the air, on the battlefields or on the high seas is impossible without an adequate supply of war material of all kinds. The instrumentalities of war must be produced by the workers of our nation. They must be supplied to the army and navy in full measure.

The Executive Council profoundly declares that no worker must ever shirk his duty or withhold from the government a full measure of service. Our pledge to give, to work and to sacrifice will be redeemed just in proportion as our workers give their all, constantly, continuously and without interruption to the people of our own nation and to the cause of democracy throughout the world.

In this crucial hour, fraught with grave consequences, the Executive Council calls upon the members of the American Federation of Labor to reach new heights of production and

to exemplify in daily service their devotion to our government and their determination to defeat tyranny, despotism and treachery throughout the world. We must place Americanism above and beyond every other consideration.

It is the considered opinion of the Executive Council that this objective can be reached through full and complete compliance with the following stipulations:

1. That a "no strike" policy shall be applied in all war and defense material production industries. This means that all workers employed in war and defense material industries should voluntarily relinquish the exercise of the right to strike during the continuation of the existing state of war except where mediation, conciliation or arbitration is refused by employers.
2. That a national agency similar to the War Labor Board which functioned during the World War be created by executive order for the purpose of dealing promptly with grievances, differences and complaints which may arise between employers and employees. Existing labor stabilization agreements or understandings and their administration shall in no way be interfered with or be impaired.
3. That through the utilization of such agency, mediation, conciliation and voluntary arbitration be substituted for strikes and lockouts in all war and defense production industries.
4. That the mediation and conciliation service of the government be strengthened and, if necessary, increased so that it may be made quickly available for use in the settlement of grievances and disputes which may arise.

5. That due regard for the health, safety, and welfare of workers must be accorded them if and when they are called upon to work overtime or in plants which may be placed upon a double shift or continuous working time basis. In all such situations the standard 40-hour workweek shall be maintained and protected as a basis for wages paid and the standard rule for overtime pay religiously observed.

No one can adequately appraise the value of the service or the extent of said service which the membership of the American Federation of Labor is in a position to render to the government. We offer it freely and without reservation. No citizen of the republic shall give less. This character of service has been given by the members of the American Federation of Labor during the period since the national emergency was declared.

Liberty, freedom and democracy are principles which are very near and dear to the heart of every working man and woman. They understand and know, without a shadow of doubt, that if tyranny and totalitarianism win, free democratic trade unions, democracy and freedom pass out. Life under regimentation, as it exists among laboring people of totalitarian nations, would mean very little to American workers who from the birth of the Republic to the present time have been permitted to enjoy liberty, freedom and democracy. We cherish fondly within our hearts and lives these priceless blessings guaranteed under the Bill of Rights adopted 150 years ago today. In order to protect them and to defend them we offer our service and our lives to our government.

This special session of the Executive Council was followed by a conference with the officers of all international and national unions on De-

cember 16, 1941. That conference adopted the following declaration of policy:

We, the officers of the American Federation of Labor and of national and international unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, assembled this 16th day of December, 1941, have carefully, thoughtfully and patriotically considered the war emergency into which our nation and its people have been plunged and as well the declaration of principles and of policies submitted by the Executive Council and as adopted and approved by it yesterday, December 15, 1941.

We, unhesitatingly and unequivocally, place ourselves in full accord with the principles, policies and procedures outlined by the Executive Council.

As citizens, as workers, as trade unionists of a free land, we declare the overshadowing issue in the present crisis is the safeguarding of the priceless heritage of freedom, of liberty and the preservation of democracy. The United States is now at war with the Axis powers testing whether democracy will endure or tyranny and despotism will triumph—whether men and races will be free or be enslaved.

The issue is squarely and starkly set before the American people, whether the forces of Hitlerism and of despotism, both in the East and the West, or the forces of democracy and freedom are to survive. We dare not, we must not, delude ourselves. This is a life and death struggle. We are, in very truth, fighting for survival of all we hold dear. Everything that we have, our possessions, our resources, our manpower—must be coordinated, not only to defeat the world conspiracy to enslave all peoples to the dream and will of a few irresponsible despots but to insure our liberties, to restore the freedom

of all peoples of the world and to lay the foundations for a real and enduring peace among the nations of the world.

Labor's stake in this struggle is clear, definite and fundamental. Wherever despotism and dictatorship threaten free governments the very foundations of the labor movement are challenged. Labor dare not blind itself to the significance of this crucial hour. Labor cannot remain silent in the face of the existing danger, not only to itself but to everything to which the free trade union movement is devoted—aye, the very right of organization and of freedom of the individual.

In this crisis the American Federation of Labor, representing more than 5,000,000 wage earners, with federated branches in every state, with hundreds of central labor bodies in many of our cities and with thousands upon thousands of local unions spread throughout the land, hereby reaffirms its loyalty to the principles underlying our government and pledges to the President of the United States, to the Congress and to the people of America its undivided support for the most vigorous and rigorous prosecution of this war until final victory is ours.

We declare that in this crisis the one fundamental need is for unity of action. Disunity means destruction. The successful prosecution of the war requires that all of the energies of all our people, regardless of race, color or creed, be concentrated to a common purpose. We, therefore, call upon management of American industries and the leaders of government to join in a program of cooperative action to make our nation not only the mighty arsenal of world democracy but as well a source of hope, of encouragement and of assurance to the enslaved peoples everywhere. We call upon industry

to share with us the added responsibilities entailed in maintaining peaceful and cooperative relations. We urge that the leaders of industry join with us in keeping the fires of industry burning and alive and help keep secure the pillars of freedom and of democracy.

We regret sincerely and are deeply concerned with the destructive rivalry in organization that has beset the American labor field for the past few years. We hold all such rivalries and jurisdictional conflicts have no place in an emergency such as faces America and the world today. We, therefore, renew our offer for unity in the labor movement and for the common defense of our nation against mortal danger. We hope our call to this end may not be in vain.

We too call upon the National Labor Relations Board to desist from the formulation or enforcement of any policy, procedure or decision that may create dissention or intensify existing differences and conflicts in the household of organized labor.

We likewise urge that those in governmental position of authority in this moment of national peril forego their unjustified attacks upon trade union organizations and their legitimate functions.

We declare that the right of wage earners to collective bargaining and to function freely and fully in the legitimate sphere designed for them is a fundamental condition which gives opportunity for economic freedom and social advancement. These rights and opportunities must not be impaired. While we reject repressive Labor legislation and insist upon the preservation of the essential democratic right of workers to cease work collectively as a last and final resort, we nevertheless pledge ourselves to forego the exercise of this right during the war emergency and to prefer submission of pending differences with

employers to approved facilities and processes for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration. We most heartily endorse the "no-strike" policy voluntarily assumed by all divisions and character of Labor as announced by the Executive Council. Labor needs no restrictions upon the right to strike, when to cease production is to strike at the very heart of the nation. Labor will produce, and produce without interruption.

We commend the Executive Council for its recommendation that there be created a War Labor Board similar to that which functioned so successfully during the last World War. We believe the general principles then enunciated for the guidance of this board should be made the policy of this hour, namely, that neither Labor nor Management should take advantage of such an agency to prosecute either's advantages at the expense of the other's, that industrial relations be preserved and that every stoppage of work essential to adequate national defense be avoided and averted. In this regard we hold that the work and service of all our people are inextricably interwoven and involved whether engaged directly in war or defense work or whether applied to the necessities, safety, comfort or convenience of our civilian population. Total war today is no longer confined to the military forces of the land but embraces as well the civilian population—young and old, men, women and children alike.

Experience has demonstrated that protective labor legislation and hour standards are for the purpose of conserving workers in order to make possible sustained maximum producing power. They are the safeguards to national well being. In war emergencies there may be temporary need for abolishing some standards or for modifying special standards for special industries. All such modifications and changes, however, should be the

result of proven need and should be approved in advance by representatives of the workers. The same is true of protective Labor and employment standards established through collective bargaining and trade union agreements.

To assure an uninterrupted flow of production and the maximum of defense effort, organized labor should be accorded by government adequate and effective representation of its own choosing in all defense planning and execution. The validity of such participation by Labor in all our emergency efforts and undertakings is fully justified and its efficiency is demonstrated beyond peradventure of doubt in the experience of the British Government policy. Then, too, our experience in the last World War confirms the soundness of this policy. American organized labor is anxious to contribute all its efforts in all directions for the achievement of our country's impregnable defense and for a speedy and complete victory for the forces of humanity over brutality, of freedom and democracy over tyranny and despotism.

In addition to calling upon untiring and uninterrupted activities of our members to produce an overabundance of the supplies and equipment essential to a total war and in providing adequately for necessities and comforts of our civilian population, we are mindful that many of our members, and members of their families, have been and will be called to the military services of our land. We pledge to them every possible aid and a full measure of devotion. It shall be our purpose not alone to sustain the military forces of our land but as well to safeguard the interests of our civilian population and hold secure the liberties and freedom of all our people in this greatest of all emergencies.

We further pledge ourselves to bring these declarations of policies and procedures to the attention of

our respective local unions and general membership with direction that the principles and practices herein declared for and made imperative by the necessities of the occasion be fully and immediately complied with without hesitation or equivocation.

Inspired by these ideals of humanity, of liberty and justice and as herein declared a fundamental national policy, we call upon the working men and women of all America—indeed upon all lovers of humanity and of freedom—to unite in unanimous support of the President of our nation, and its allies, for the prosecution of total war and for the perpetuity and preservation of democracy here and throughout the world.

(P. 25) In the Introduction to its annual report, the Executive Council made the following direct statement of Labor support for the government in the war effort:

In the year since our last convention our country has entered the World War as a combatant, after formally declaring war on the Axis nations. Fateful as this step was of heavy sacrifices, Labor as well as other groups stands squarely behind the administration in support of the action taken. The issues involved in this war are the very heart of democratic institutions and the democratic way of life. We realize that technical progress has conquered space so that distances, oceans and other geographical barriers afford no security against military invasion. Economic interdependence of industrial states has reached such a degree that no modern state can maintain isolation from the others without hampering its development and progress.

From the first the United States has been hampered by the consequences of the surprise attack which destroyed practically all our aircraft equipment in Hawaii and the Philippines. The loss of Wake and Guam

and the reverses in Malay and the East Indies cut off our rubber supply and other essential imports. Roused by these disasters, we set about our main responsibilities — production of the necessary equipment and supplies, organization of manpower upon a military basis and maintenance of the will to win.

The organized labor movement, like every other national institution, must for the duration of the war devote its resources and its energies to war problems and war needs. In refocusing our efforts and our purposes, we cannot forget or discard those more enduring rights and institutions that give meaning and value to our nation and to the whole New World. We and the other nations of the Western Hemisphere have conquered a continent and built civilizations which have as their guiding purpose to provide free opportunity for our citizens. This guiding purpose in war time seeks to afford each citizen the right to share in the struggle with equality of sacrifice.

The American Federation of Labor has served our country in the First World War and has the precedents of that service to guide us in serving in this struggle, which is an even greater menace to the principles of individual freedom. Upon the outbreak of hostilities, the American Federation of Labor pledged cooperation and has sought to serve in every possible way. Our report for the current year, therefore, reflects the extent to which we have converted to a war footing. Undertakings and objectives important for human welfare cannot be advanced when our national institutions themselves are in peril. We, therefore, are holding many such commitments in reserve until the war is won, and are putting our energies in leadership which will enable our unions to help maintain community war undertakings on a democratic basis, so

that every group of citizens shall have a right to participate and to serve.

In view of our great national need and peril, we preface our report with the policy that only fundamentals should have consideration and action at the present time.

(From Defense to War)—(P. 179)
With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941, the people of the United States dropped any semblance of neutrality in the war initiated by the new despotisms and our nation was unified in support of war. War plans had to be expanded and speeded up. Men were trained for military service and our war production program took on huge proportions. The United States prepared to become the munitions factory for free countries in addition to supplying our own war needs, which include responsibility for the protection of South American countries. Our entrance into the war brought us into a position of world leadership. We are a young nation to take on the responsibilities of the most powerful country in the world. World leadership implies not only responsibility on the part of our government but of every organized group of citizens—Labor, employers, farmers, transportation and communication executives, etc. Each group, by its thinking, the procedures used in dealing with its problems and the spirit with which it carries out its responsibilities, will help determine not only the outcome of the war but the situation and forces out of which peace must be made. Peace can begin only where the war leaves off, and for that ultimate purpose the spirit and institutions of human freedom expressed by the principles of democracy should be maintained active and dependable. This purpose has guided the American Federation of Labor in its formulation of and insistence upon rep-

resentation in the formulation of war Labor policies and in its relations with governmental war agencies.

The first official war act of the A. F. of L. was the formulation of policies for the guidance of all affiliated unions.

(P. 514) We recommend hearty approval of the prompt action of President Green in calling a meeting of the Executive Council and a joint conference with national and international representatives upon our country's declaration of war upon the Axis countries. American wage earners place their loyalty to this country above all else, so it was fitting that union representatives early pledge their support and cooperation as the government might need it. Endorsement of Federation leadership came promptly and in formal resolution, verbal declaration and in solid, effective cooperation to carry out the administration's war production program.

The declarations adopted by the Executive Council and the Emergency Federation Conference were printed and widely distributed throughout the country, serving to unify all groups for service and making the next steps plain to all.

After mobilizing Labor's support in defense of our country, President Green was called upon to designate six representatives to meet with six other Labor representatives and 12 representatives of industry to formulate a Joint Labor-Management War Program and to implement it by nominating representatives to constitute a National War Labor Board.

We recommend that the leadership of Federation executives in these particulars be approved and heartily commended.

(Roosevelt, President Franklin D., Message)—(P. 347):

The White House

Washington, D. C.

Dear President Green:

Your invitation to attend the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor is always a welcome one, but because of pressing duties here I must deny myself the privilege of being with you.

Will you, however, express to the officers, delegates and members of the American Federation of Labor assembled at this, its 62nd Annual Convention, my cordial appreciation of all they have done to further the war effort? Our production record speaks for itself and for the working people; it is splendid. Everywhere during my recent inspection of war activities, I found the workers doing all that was laid out for them and more. At every turn they gave assurance that they can take whatever it takes to win this war. They are not afraid of hard, continuous, precise and dangerous work. They are walking up to it as their duty and part in the war. They are proud of it.

The various groups which comprise the Federation will, I hope, make available at this time their most statesmanlike leadership. Officers and delegates of the trade union movement, consecrated to preserve the freedom of humanity, can serve today the whole people of this country, as well as the loyal membership.

With best wishes for a convention whose words and actions will contribute to that unity of purpose so essential in this hour when civilization itself is at stake and with warm congratulations, believe me.

Sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

(Labor Pledge of Cooperation)—(1942, p. 268) Labor has an important function to serve. The Executive Orders recently issued limiting the field of collective bargaining; our pledge to forego our right to strike;

proposals to stabilize wages by legislation instead of agreement; and finally, the proposed National Service Law by which employment in war industries will be controlled; begin to reveal the sacrifices and discipline that are our part of the war. It is our purpose to parallel these sacrifices with agreements for the maximum of security that can be obtained. If workers must accept positions and employment as directed, then the U.S. Government should accept responsibility for making that employment as safe and as healthful as possible and should provide equal compensation for all unemployed citizens, adequate and equal opportunities for rehabilitation and for the protection of dependents. Wage earners serving in war production or in civilian upkeep should be protected against fear of want and dependency after they have spent themselves in service. Those citizens in the armed service should be assured equal protection.

The months immediately ahead will bring sacrifices and burdens, but we must be prepared to go through with determination and conviction. Freedom in personal living is at stake, without which life loses opportunity. The issue is worth what we have in material substances as well as personal sacrifice.

We call upon all wage earners to prepare to stay in the battle till victory is won.

(P. 592) The following resolution, No. 95, was unanimously adopted:

Whereas—Our nation and the other united nations are waging a war against the aggression of the Axis powers, and which war was commenced by a treacherous and dastardly sneak attack at Pearl Harbor at a time when our President was attempting to maintain this country at peace, and

Whereas—The members of organized labor believe as trade unionists,

that in order to maintain free labor and free government, we must dedicate "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor" in this hour of our nation's peril, and

Whereas—We are in this fight to a finish and we are determined to wage relentless warfare until our enemies are decisively defeated and in so doing, there can be no compromise with the hateful forces who oppose us and no bartering with their leaders, and only unconditional surrender can be accepted, and if necessary, our unconquerable troops must fight their way into Berlin and Tokyo to enforce it, and neither the appeasers at home nor the aggressors abroad should be permitted to place us in a position of wasting our sacrifice and our efforts through compromise or surrender of our principles, therefore, be it

Resolved—By the American Federation of Labor, in its 62nd Annual Convention, assembled at Toronto, Canada, October 5, 1942, that we pledge our united strength to our Commander-in-Chief, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and to our gallant armed forces of the army, navy, marines and air service, to achieve a smashing and final victory for free men and women everywhere.

(War Administration Agencies)—(P. 547) After considering the various sections of the report of the Executive Council dealing with war administration agencies, your committee feels that our national war effort is seriously hampered by lack of delegation to final authority to one responsible head and by the absence of a top coordinating board to make final decisions on inter-agency matters and the review of the results of the war administration as a whole and to measure them against needs. We recommend these steps as essential to that end:

(1) Centralization and definite delegation of responsibility for all pro-

curement to the Chairman of the War Production Board who shall in reality be the Administrator of War Supplies for the Armed Forces. Centralization of procurement is necessary for planning contract policies, planning production and scheduling and planning materials and flow of production.

(2) Control over all manpower in the Chairman of the Manpower Commission with an end to recruitment by the Army and the Navy.

(3) That the Secretary of Agriculture be made Food Administrator.

(4) That all rationing be administered by the Director of Economic Stabilization.

(5) That the Director of the Small Industries Corporation be given status and authority if necessary to enable him to conserve these small industries and undertakings which are the backbone of our American economy. Under the centralization of procurement provided by our first recommendation the director should have authority to allocate contracts or sub-contracts, to small companies so that their production facilities might be best utilized in the war effort. This agency should also participate in the concentration program for which controlling policies should make labor policies a fundamental consideration.

(Relaxation of Standards)—(1943, p. 376) On pages 86-87 the E.C. pointed out the dangers posed by the reactionary trend in state legislatures, mainly in the guise of war emergency measures. On page 376, however, the convention proceedings sounded a warning as follows:

Under the guise of the war time emergency there is a grave tendency to suspend or lower the protective labor standards.

We must be vigilant to oppose any such relaxation and press for permanent legislation raising standards. Where such laws already exist they should be protected zealously.

(Labor Representation, War Boards) —(Pp. 116, 384) Labor is gratified at the progress made during the past year to further and strengthen direct Labor participation in war administration. In a number of key government agencies Labor has not yet been accorded a status commensurate with Labor's interest in and contribution to the war effort. Advance consultation on pending policies and direct participation in the formulation of administrative procedures are essential to assure effective and democratic participation by wage earners in carrying out the extraordinary services they are called upon to perform.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council secure information from all affiliated labor unions of the representatives designated by them to serve on war agencies of the government nationally and locally so that a complete report on Labor representation secured by the American Federation of Labor may be rendered to the next convention.

Your committee recommends further that all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested to furnish as promptly as possible a complete list of the A. F. of L. members serving in the armed forces to the end that a complete roster of Labor's participation in the service to the nation and in the war may be made available.

Your committee wishes to make a special commendation of the services rendered and the high statesmanship shown by A. F. of L. representatives in war agencies of the government whose efforts have made an outstanding contribution to democratic administration of national affairs in time of war.

(War Service, Labor) (also see: Manpower; Combined Labor War Board; War Bonds; Defense) — (P. 116) More than a million members

of our unions are in the armed services and union representatives throughout the length and breadth of the territories served by our flag are cooperating in production and by serving on local war boards. We take sacrifice and changes as a matter of course and interpose objections only when principles are at stake. At the national level we can report some progress in acceptance of the principle of Labor cooperation through representatives of their own choosing as on the Combined War Labor Board, National War Labor Board, the Office of Price Administration, the War Production Board and the War Manpower Commission. In the WLB Labor representatives are an integral part of the board. In the OPA, our Labor representatives are able to make proposals and express dissent and seem to be gaining influence as the agency is now seeking more Labor representatives at the local level; in the WMC, there is Labor representation at every level but the War Manpower Administration has not definitely accepted the national management-Labor committee as a policy committee, or made effective regulations that regional and area management-Labor committees must be consulted in advance of initiating projects. In the WPB, the Federation is represented on the Management-Labor Council at the top level and at last has a representative at the top administrative level, Joseph Keenan, Vice-Chairman in charge of the Office of Labor Production. As Labor representation is provided in the industry divisions, we shall be able to contribute in proportion. Labor, of course, constitutes the combined War Labor Board which has opportunity to advise the President. We have a group of union representatives cooperating with the Treasury Department on war bonds and savings.

(P. 384) The Executive Council reports on the services rendered by the

American Federation of Labor representatives and representatives of our unions in providing Labor representation on government agencies engaged in war administration and in the formulation of war policies of our government.

Labor is gratified at the progress made during the past year to further and strengthen direct Labor participation in war administration. In a number of key government agencies Labor has not yet been accorded a status commensurate with Labor's interest in and contribution to the war effort. Advance consultation on pending policies and direct participation in the formulation of administrative procedures are essential to assure effective and democratic participation by wage earners in carrying out the extraordinary services they are called upon to perform.

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Your committee wishes to make a special commendation of the services rendered by Joseph Keenan as Vice-Chairman of the War Production Board in charge of the Office of Labor Production. Equal commendation must also be made of the high statesman-

ship shown by A. F. of L. representatives in other war agencies of the government whose efforts have made an outstanding contribution to democratic administration of national affairs in time of war.

(A. F. of L. Attitude) (also see: Post-War)—(1951, p. 84) The American Federation of Labor has long abhorred war and all that it involves in human loss and material destruction. We, therefore, condemned the unwarranted full-scale invasion of the Republic of Korea by the Communist armed forces of the so-called People's Democratic Republic of Korea abetted and now aided by the Chinese Communist regime and encouraged and supported by Communist Russia. We are in complete sympathy and accord with the Security Council of the UN in declaring this invasion a breach of the peace and pledge every assistance to the UN in bringing to a successful and victorious close the war now in progress and forced upon the free nations of the world.

Developments since the Korean war have tested existing machinery of the United Nations. Unfortunate differences in the United Nations among various countries over policy in pressing military action against aggression to success and victory have raised problems of great significance. Some of the more important of these problems have grown out of our constitutional provision that treaties become the law of the land upon ratification of the Senate. Already one state law has been declared unconstitutional because of a United Nations proposal ratified by Congress.

The right to declare war by the Executive Branch of government without consent of Congress, the sending of drafted citizens to serve under UN command, where political decisions rest with the UN and the extent to which the United Nations actions and decisions may limit determination of

our own foreign policy, these and similar problems have arisen and require our careful study in order to determine policies, changes or amendments that may be required and be effected to increase the efficiency of the United Nations and, at the same time, avoid infringing upon our constitutional provisions and safeguards. The Executive Council is fully alert to these and like problems.

War and Defense Bonds (also see: Taxation, Tax Credits on Bond Purchases)—(1941, pp. 256, 548) The convention unanimously adopted a resolution providing that the American Federation of Labor endorses and applauds the voluntary principle upon which the program of defense saving is based, and its approval is especially extended to voluntary pay-roll allotment plans, as sponsored by individual unions and entered into freely by their members in accordance with sound trade union principles.

(1942, p. 599) The convention approved the following committee report on the subject of purchase of war bonds by workers and unions:

The jointly conducted war savings campaign of the Treasury Department and the American Federation of Labor received various comments in the report of the Executive Council and has also been the subject of several resolutions which have been referred to the Resolutions Committee and upon which appropriate comment has been made.

The committee therefore wishes to recommend to the convention the following action:

1. It is recommended that the convention renew its indorsement of the present campaign to secure the investment of not less than 10% of income of all wage earners, as indicated in Resolution No. 85.

2. It is recommended that the convention indorse and commend the policy of the Treasury Department in

placing this campaign entirely upon a voluntary basis. Success of the voluntary principle of operation constitutes a splendid example of the superiority of democratic methods over those of compulsion. It is therefore recommended that the convention oppose the substitution of compulsory savings for the present voluntary system.

3. That the pledge made in behalf of the Executive Council by President Green for the purchase of one billion dollars in bonds by members of the American Federation of Labor during 1942 be indorsed. The fact that response by the affiliates and members of the American Federation of Labor has been so enthusiastic as to warrant the prediction of an investment of more than this amount is worthy of commendation. It is recommended that this pledge be renewed for the year 1943.

4. For purposes of expanding and continuing this campaign it is recommended that the convention indorse the payroll allotment plan advocated by the Treasury Department and supported by the American Federation of Labor.

The committee calls attention of the convention to the highly gratifying fact that there is not on record a single instance of a union which has failed to respond to this campaign for the inauguration of systematic savings.

5. It has been found that the success of these payroll allotment plans depends upon the institution of joint labor-management committees. Experience has also demonstrated that where such complete and cordial co-operation does not exist payroll allotment plans are seriously handicapped. The success of this mutual approach to a patriotic problem constitutes a valuable contribution to sane and cordial labor relations. It is believed that its effect is beginning

to appear in extending such relations into other areas of labor-management mutual interest.

6. It is worthy of special comment that the Treasury Department has recognized these fundamental facts to such an extent as to have organized in 12 Federal Reserve Districts a series of labor-management meetings to which were invited representatives of Labor and of management in various fields and industries for the purpose of demonstrating the mechanics of their joint operations. It is felt that these labor-management meetings constitute a valuable contribution and should be held wherever practical.

7. The collection of information concerning the contributions made by the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and members is subject of a special comment in Resolution No. 73 (Record of Bond Purchases by Unions) which the committee has recommended be indorsed by the convention. In connection with the comment upon this resolution the committee has recommended that the American Federation of Labor and the Treasury Department be requested to set in motion machinery for the systematic collection of such information.

At the same time the committee recommends that the importance to the encouragement and expansion of this campaign of proper credit to the splendid efforts of the American Federation of Labor be called to the attention of the Treasury Department, and that the Treasury Department be urged to see that its national and local publicity agencies include equal credit to the union with management in all establishments which have achieved the goals of the present campaign of at least 90% participation by wage earners to the extent of at least 10% of income.

In conclusion the committee desires to call attention to the fact that no

portion of the war program appeals more completely to motive of patriotism and enlightened self-interest than does the war savings program. The purchase of bonds constitutes one of the most simple and effective safeguards against inflation. It provides a financial backlog for families which will not only safeguard them during any post-war readjustment but will, at the same time, provide buying power whereby the wheels of industry may be kept moving and employment provided during this post-war adjustment period.

The committee desires in the light of these facts to pay compliment to the splendid manner in which the membership of the American Federation of Labor has rallied to this highly important portion of the war program. It heartily urges the continuation of these same activities. In this connection special emphasis should be placed upon the policies of Labor and management cooperation which has been advocated in the joint program of the American Federation of Labor and the Treasury Department.

(1943, pp. 159-60, 385-386) The convention received a comprehensive report on support of the A. F. of L. to the War Bond Campaign, and unanimously adopted the following recommendations:

... that national and international unions be asked to furnish the American Federation of Labor with complete reports on purchases of war bonds made by local unions as well as national and international unions. ... Labor must see that adequate information is available so that Labor receives due credit for purchases made as a part of already heavy sacrifices on the part of Labor.

The convention endorsed the fine work already performed by the large number of our unions and urged the entire membership of the A. F. of L.

to increase their contributions and intensify their zeal.

Further, in the report the record made by the A. F. of L. was pointed out in the purchase of war bonds which deserves to rank with the remarkable record established by organized labor in war production.

(P. 159) The record made by the American Federation of Labor in the purchase of war bonds deserves to rank with the remarkable record made by organized labor in war production.

From its inauguration the organized labor movement has endorsed and supported the voluntary war bond campaign. At the Seattle Convention a pledge was made that members of the American Federation of Labor would invest at least one billion dollars in war bonds during the ensuing year. This pledge was more than fulfilled. It was renewed at the Toronto Convention and partially collected statistics indicate that already this pledge has been fulfilled and exceeded. The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly endorsed the voluntary payroll savings plan which is, in simplest form, an agreement between workers and management that a certain amount of money, determined by the worker himself, shall be deducted from his wages on each pay period and applied to the purchase of bonds.

Information has come from the Labor Section of the War Finance Division that no instance has occurred of a refusal by a union to wholeheartedly endorse and promote this plan. This is supported by the records of the Labor Section, War Finance Division, which show the existence as of July 1 of 182,895 payroll savings plans under joint labor-management committees in that number of industrial establishments. A recent letter from President Roosevelt to Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau

contains the further evidence of this success, as follows:

I am proud of the fact that 27,000,000 patriotic Americans are regularly investing more than \$420,000,000 a month to help pay the cost of the war. And, since all of this money comes from wages and salaries—nearly 90 per cent from people earning less than \$5,000 and the bulk of it from those working in war plants—I do not hesitate to say that the payroll savings plan is the greatest single factor we now have in protecting ourselves against inflationary spending.

Statistical authorities of the Treasury Department estimate that at least \$300,000,000 per month of the total of \$420,000,000 per month is invested by members of organized labor. This is especially gratifying in that experiences of the Treasury Department have demonstrated that such campaigns do not reach success unless continuously promoted by the union, or unions, in each plant. The enthusiasm with which members of the American Federation of Labor have responded is further evidenced by the fact that this campaign has been conducted with a minimum expense and effort on the part of the Treasury Department.

The American Federation of Labor on July 1 announced a drive in cooperation with the Labor Section of the War Finance Division of the Treasury whereby all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor were urged to underwrite the purchase of some specific article of war material. Every international organization so far approached has enthusiastically responded. Recognition of this campaign was extended to the sponsoring organizations by appropriate ceremonies on Labor Day. The campaign will be continued as a permanent part of the joint cooperation of the American

Federation of Labor with the War Finance Division of the Treasury.

(P. 385) The statement contained in the Executive Council's report on the leading part played by Labor in helping finance the war is amply supported by facts. The American Federation of Labor has established an outstanding record of intensive cooperation and notable initiative in backing the American fighters in their battle for victory. The American Federation of Labor was the first to suggest voluntary payroll deductions based upon a payroll savings plan, and to set a definite quota for its members. The pledges made in the Seattle and Toronto conventions and the quotas set have been more than fulfilled. This success is due to the concerted effort by the American Federation of Labor unions to carry on war bond campaigns through organized trade union channels. An important additional contribution has been yielded by the special campaigns sponsored and promoted by unions to underwrite or guarantee sufficient amounts of bonds to purchase specific articles of war materiel.

It is a matter of special importance to organized labor to be able to render a complete account of the contribution made by our unions toward the financing of the war. To this end, your committee recommends that national and international unions be asked to furnish the American Federation of Labor with complete reports on purchases of war bonds made by local unions as well as national and international unions. The purchase of war bonds on the large scale in which it has been made has been a matter of hardship to a great many workers whose resources have been severely taxed by war conditions. Labor must see that adequate information is available so that Labor receives due credit for purchases made as a part of already heavy sacrifices on the part of Labor.

Your committee recommends that this convention endorse the fine work already performed by the large number of our unions, and urges our entire membership to increase their contributions and intensify their zeal.

(1944, p. 255) In a report under this title the Executive Council outlined the role of the A. F. of L. in the campaign conducted by the U.S. Treasury Department for the sale of war bonds. The report stated, in part:

As soon as the United States Treasury Department announced, in April, 1941, its plans for asking the American people to finance a substantial part of the cost of national defense by the purchase of Defense Savings Bonds, the American Federation of Labor accepted this plan with great enthusiasm and became one of its original supporters. . . .

At about the time of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Federation itself was ready to initiate the greatest single financial commitment ever undertaken by a private organization, the pledge that its members would purchase one billion dollars of War Bonds during 1942.

This famous pledge was a great patriotic stimulant to the entire Treasury program for financing the war. It meant that war finance would not be committed to the hands of the banks and great corporations, but that the workers of America would individually have their share in participating in and directing the finance policy of the nation. . . .

(P. 438) The following report of the convention committee was unanimously adopted:

The report of the Executive Council setting forth the magnificent participation of our members in the War Bond Campaign is highly gratifying. From our limited and incomplete returns we see that our members have invested well over a billion dollars in

war bonds. In addition to these purchases made by individual members, local and state bodies and all of the national and international organizations have purchased millions of dollars of bonds.

In cooperation with the Labor Section of the War Finance Division of the Treasury Department, bond selling rallies have been conducted by unions in all parts of the country. Our members have set up the machinery for sales within their own organizations and have then sold the bonds. Our unions have also set up machinery for pay roll deductions and have obtained signed authorizations from our members for pay roll deductions.

Your committee commends the report of the Executive Council on this subject and would recommend that the American Federation of Labor urge all nationals and internationals as well as city central bodies to seek to establish some sort of machinery through which to record the bond purchases made by our membership, so that we may see how far above the billion dollar mark we shall now go.

We further recommend that all A. F. of L. publications be asked to carry an appeal to our members urging them to retain the bonds which they have purchased, pointing out that in so doing they render a double service to our nation and to ourselves.

In conclusion your committee recommends that we renew our firm stand in opposition to compulsory savings.

The result of the voluntary plan of the Treasury Department demonstrates that a compulsory savings plan is not only unnecessary but actually harmful and would result in a reduction of purchases of war bonds, while our present method has proved highly successful.

(1951, pp. 282, 558) Res. 22 called attention to the threat posed by infla-

tion to the savings of workers and proposed:

That the American Federation of Labor urge the government to act responsibly, toward the millions of American working men who own bonds and who are urged to buy bonds, by an anti-inflation program that will make the U.S. Defense Bond a real security rather than a hazard to the future of the bond purchaser. . . .

This resolution calls attention to the difficulties and problems experienced by workers and their families in their attempts to buy U.S. Defense Bonds.

The resolution emphasizes how the forces of inflation have progressively diminished the value of the dollar and along with this, the value of the savings bonds workers have purchased.

The resolution urges the government to develop an anti-inflation program that will make the Defense Bond "a real security," rather than a "hazard" to the bondholder.

In approving this resolution, this committee wants to point out the gravity of the condition now prevailing with respect to the sale of these Defense Savings Bonds. Ever since the end of World War II more savings bonds of the types which workers normally purchased (\$25 and \$50) have been turned into the banks each month than have been sold to new purchasers. The simple but basic fact is that U.S. Defense Savings Bonds, in their present form, do not constitute a sufficiently attractive investment to workers and families with moderate incomes.

During recent months this situation has been aggravated by the fact that interest rates on all other types of government securities have been rising. It seems strange that the benefits of these higher interest rates are given to banks and insurance com-

panies but denied to the purchasers of savings bonds.

There are a number of specific steps which the Treasury Department can and must take to make the U.S. Savings Bond a genuinely attractive investment for families of moderate income.

Recently, President Green has suggested that the interest rate on these bonds be raised. We strongly support this request. We also suggest that the Treasury Department, by establishing bonds with varying maturity dates, can go a long way toward devising a bond program which would appeal to the many different types of families with moderate incomes.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently supported the Defense Bond campaigns of the Treasury Department. The present bond campaign is of particular importance because a large volume of savings is so necessary to combat inflation. It is in the interest of making this campaign more successful that these recommendations are made.

War Communications (Board) — (1942, p. 208) On September 24, 1940, President Roosevelt issued an Executive Order creating the Defense Communications Board for the purpose of determining, coordinating, and preparing plans for the most efficient control and use of the nation's communication facilities in time of national emergency. . . .

The board is now known as the Board of War Communications. Immediately under the board are four major committees, consisting of the Coordinating Committee, the Labor Advisory Committee, the Industry Advisory Committee and the Law Committee. . . .

Much of the work following the selection of a Labor Advisory Committee has been carried on by a group of technical committees which blanket the whole communications field. The

Labor Advisory Committee requested and secured representation on all technical committees which were not purely governmental in character...

Since the United States entered the war, the participation of Labor representatives in the work of the Board of War Communications has steadily increased. On January 7, 1942, the first joint meeting of the Industry and Labor Advisory Committees was held in Washington. As a result of the joint reports at this meeting on the problem of fully mobilizing the manpower of the communications industry to meet the war emergency, and as a result of the joint committee's inquiry into labor shortages, training programs and related issues, the board directed the Labor and Industry Advisory Committees to set up sub-committees to work together in the formulation of a program to submit to the board.

A series of meetings have been held between the committees and with the Executive Director of the War Manpower Commission, and there is every indication that the representative role that Labor has been given in the work of this vital war agency will be a major factor in the more effective gearing of the communications resources of the nation, both human and material, into the war effort.

(P. 509) We recommend approval of the excellent report of organization and plans for operation of the agencies concerned with war communications. This is a field of essential service which makes this progress doubly commendable.

War Displacement Benefits (see: Unemployment Compensation)

War Fund, National—(1943, p. 574)

The opening of the annual convention of the Federation this year coincides with the launching of the nation-wide campaign of the National

War Fund, which is seeking \$125,000,000 from the American people to assure the continuation of vital war relief services at home and abroad. These war-related services are performed by the USO, War Prisoners' Aid, United Seamen's Service, the American Committee for the Care of European Children, the British, Chinese and Russian war relief societies, as well as the other war relief agencies of the United Nations.

Every member of the Federation, we are certain, understands that the actuating motive of the National War Fund is the humanitarian impulse of every man and woman of this country to render aid and succour to the hapless and suffering peoples of the world. It is universally conceded that working people, and particularly members of the American Federation of Labor have always been in the forefront in responding generously and without stint to every worthy appeal for aid in the hour of distress.

It was therefore natural that the Labor League for Human Rights and its United Nations Relief Committee, the relief arm of the American Federation of Labor, should be among the founders of the National War Fund. The Federation's representatives have helped to create this great organization and today sit in its councils, nationally and in each state and in each local community, sharing in the establishment of its policies and lending of its vast reserves of energy, volunteer manpower, initiative and enthusiasm in the execution of its program.

A new recognition of the important role organized labor can perform in this field, and with it a new responsibility has devolved upon the unions of the Federation. It is generally recognized that the active sponsorship by our unions of a worthy appeal has increased the interest and the generous support of such causes manifold.

It is noteworthy that the structure of the National War Fund is federalistic and parallels in many ways the democratic structure of the Federation. The success of the National War Fund, therefore, depends in great measure upon the loyal support of the people in each local community. In urging all affiliates of the Federation to render all possible aid to their respective community and war chests, through which the National War Fund operates locally, the Federation is confident that its members will contribute overwhelmingly to the success of this great voluntary enterprise.

Since our entry into the war, the Federation has mobilized its entire membership for service on the three major fronts of this global conflict. To recount again Labor's contributions on the production front is at this time unnecessary. Two million members of the American organized labor movement are in the armed services of their country on all the fighting fronts. On the third front—that of morale and relief—Labor's contribution is equally impressive.

There is no need to stress once again the strong bonds which exist between the members of the Federation and our armed forces. Our unions have always eagerly offered their services of skills and crafts, and their open-handed contributions of money to ever improve the recreational facilities and social centers in each community that serve the men and women of our fighting forces.

The strong fraternal bond with our brothers and sisters of the trade union movements in other countries has always been characteristic of the Federation. As a consequence, our hearts go out to the victims of Nazi, Fascist and Japanese savagery.

We welcome the opportunity to render all possible voluntary assistance to the peoples of the United Na-

tions and particularly to our armed forces which is offered to us through participation in the National War Fund. Without the loss of time on the job, members of the Federation through their contributions to their respective community war chests, stand with their brothers on every fighting front and help relieve to some extent the tragic conditions of the peoples of the United Nations.

A further consequence of the program of the Labor League for Human Rights and its United Nations Relief Committee is the development of a new confidence and understanding between Labor and management and between Labor and the rest of the community. This new Labor-community relationship is proof that the democratic way is still the best way. It proves that Hitler and the other totalitarians can never understand—that a democratic people can do voluntarily what totalitarians believe can be accomplished only through force; that they can sink their mutual differences and unite unconquerably in their devotion to a great cause.

The American Red Cross—the only major war service organization outside the National War Fund—also looks to the American people for the fulfillment of its mission of mercy. The Federation through the Labor League for Human Rights has accepted an equal responsibility to support the American Red Cross with its contributions of skills and crafts as well as with its financial contributions.

Representation and participation by the Federation's unions on the executive and deliberative bodies of the American Red Cross, nationally and in each local community, is likewise gradually developing. The successful culmination of this development will assure the most effective mobilization of our vast memberships in the work of this great organization.

This work of healing and of mercy will not end with the war. Side by side with other groups in the American community, the American Federation of Labor, through the Labor League for Human Rights, will help to ease the hard transition from war to peace to the end that human rights everywhere may be preserved and extended.

Your committee recommends that this convention call upon all of its affiliates throughout the country to participate actively in the program.

War Labor Board, National (also see: *Wages in Wartime*)—(1942, p. 187) The National War Labor Board was established on January 12, 1942. This board is composed of four representatives of Labor, including two from the American Federation of Labor, and two from the Congress of Industrial Organizations; four representatives of industry; and four representatives of the public. Provision was also made for alternate members.

Under the Executive Order, this 12-man board has power to "finally determine" all disputes that affect war production. The Executive Order was drafted following a conference of representatives of Labor and Industry called by the President of the United States within a few days after Pearl Harbor, at which the following three-point agreement was reached on December 23, 1941:

1. There shall be no strikes or lockouts.
2. All disputes shall be settled by peaceful means.
3. The President shall set up a proper War Labor Board to handle these disputes. . . .

(P. 189) Shortly after the establishment of the board, it became apparent that some special machinery had to be worked out for the settlement of intra-union disputes between the American Federation of Labor

and the C.I.O. A formula for settling all such disputes, for the duration of the war, was worked out in conferences between President William Green of the Federation and the President of the C.I.O. Under the formula it was agreed that all disputes which were jurisdictional or intra-union in character would be referred to the Labor members for settlement. If the Labor members failed to agree, the issue is submitted to President Green and President Murray who appoint a committee which attempts to compose the differences.

One of the most important principles considered by the board involves its settlement of issues dealing with union security. Board decisions on this issue have generally been in the form of an order for a maintenance of union membership. These maintenance orders, which have varied from case to case, have usually provided that all union members in good standing two weeks after the board order must remain members for the duration of the contract to hold their employment.

Another important task before the National War Labor Board is to stabilize wages in accordance with the seven-point stabilization message of President Roosevelt. In dealing with this problem and with wages, the board has repeatedly rejected all efforts to freeze wages at existing levels. The board has insisted that inequalities which would perpetuate existing injustices be ironed out before wages can be stabilized. In a series of decisions the board has raised wages to remove inequalities between workers doing the same job within a plant, between workers in different plants within the same industry and between workers doing comparable work in the same area.

The officers and members of the American Federation of Labor have given the National War Labor Board their whole-hearted cooperation. The

Federation has demonstrated to the nation that its no-strike pledge, backed by democratic representation of workers on a Government body to deal with the problem, has resulted in the minimum of interruptions in the production of the implements of war. Man-days lost through strikes have been reduced to the point where they now constitute well under one-tenth of one per cent of the time worked on war production. This is a record which the American Federation of Labor has chalked up since Pearl Harbor, and which is unequalled in the history of any democratic nation in the world.

(P. 545) This board is one war agency which conforms to the basic principle of organization which the Federation wholeheartedly approves—equal representation for Labor, management, and the public.

We recommend approval of the organization and its procedure for work. This board has in effect become Labor's supreme court and the final authority upon all labor wage agreements. This means that the board will, during the war, decide wage policies for all workers. We have not agreed with all decisions up to date but the remedy for that lies in informed aggressive representation and presentation of cases.

We recommend that the Federation together with its representatives on the board have all decisions carefully studied and underlying principles compiled so that we may anticipate trends and direct decisions along constructive lines. If separate decisions accumulate to develop economic policies, we may be completely enmeshed in conflicting or regressive policies and thus unnecessarily handicapped for the emergency and perhaps for years afterward.

Your committee urges that the Executive Council instruct Federation representatives on the board to give

adequate time to its responsibilities and that a group of carefully chosen alternates and substitutes be developed equal to representing the Federation in matters coming before the board.

We recommend further that this tripartite board be made the top authority on all wage policies and issues arising under the Anti-Inflation Act and the President's Executive Order. We have reached the period when war authority must be delegated to an authority with responsibility for final "yes" or "no". Coordination will not get the same result as stream-lined authority. If we voluntarily delegate that authority with assurance of the right of representation we have adequately preserved the principles of democracy.

(P. 585) Res. 75:

Whereas—The National War Labor Board has of late adopted a policy granting only maintenance of union membership, even though the union shop which has been proven the best guarantee against industrial strike has been adopted in nearly every instance where Labor has been strong enough to demand and receive collective bargaining rights, and

Whereas—The union shop has acted as a stimulus to production, making it possible for it to discipline its members and establish peaceful procedures for the settlement of disputes, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor urges the National War Labor Board to abandon its above policy of granting only maintenance of union membership and to grant union shop protection to all workers who have chosen to better their economic position by joining a labor organization.

The premise upon which Resolution No. 75 is presented is not entirely correct.

Your committee is in thorough sympathy with the objectives sought, and for this reason recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

(History) — (1943, p. 502) On December 17, 1941, President Roosevelt called together representatives of Labor and Industry for the now historical "Industry-Labor Conference on War-Time Problems". In the course of the meeting, representatives of the American Federation of Labor proposed that for the duration of the war there should be no lock-outs and no strikes; that all disputes were to be settled peacefully through a labor board made up of an equal number of representatives of Labor, industry and the public. This suggestion was adopted unanimously by the participants in the conference. The A. F. of L. accepted fully its responsibility to maintain maximum production and voluntarily obligated itself to forego the use of the strike weapon for the duration of the war.

When this voluntary proposal of a peaceful method of settling labor disputes was presented to the Chief Executive, he embodied it into Executive Order No. 9017 and thereby created the National War Labor Board on January 12, 1942.

An all important fact to be emphasized is that the National War Labor Board was not originally the product of governmental action. The President simply implemented the wishes of Labor and Industry representatives who were aware of their responsibilities in time of war. The War Labor Board came into being with the consent of those whom it was to serve. Unfortunately, this democratic ideal has not been adhered to.

Wage Control: Executive Order 9250

The first departure from the principle of voluntary regulation occurred on October 2, 1942, when President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No.

9250 providing for the stabilizing of the national economy. Acting under authority vested in him by the amendment to the Emergency Price Control Act, the President directed the National War Labor Board to regulate wages.

Executive Order No. 9250 completely changed the nature of the War Labor Board. It now became another governmental war agency created by Executive Order and assigned a job to do. The unique quality of voluntary regulation was considerably altered; only the structure remained unchanged.

This alteration in the fundamental nature of the National War Labor Board can be most clearly demonstrated by describing the evolution of the Little Steel Formula.

The Little Steel Formula

Six months before the National War Labor Board was ordered to regulate wages, its members recognized the need for stabilizing wage rates if inflation were to be avoided. In the *International Harvester* case of April, 1942 the board indicated clearly that wage control was a necessity if the economic health of the nation was not to be impaired. The only aspect of this conclusion which was not unanimously accepted was the method by which stabilization was to be attained.

There were honest differences of opinion over what percentage of general wage increases were to be allowed to offset increases in the cost of living. When these opinions were expressed by votes of the board members, the majority defined 15% as the proper figure. The Labor members were in the minority. However, they accepted the decision of the majority because they fully recognized the great national emergency with which our country was confronted.

On March 23, 1943, the A. F. of L. members presented to the War Labor Board a formal petition requesting

reconsideration of the 15% allowance for correction of maladjustments. The majority of the board was forced to admit that the cost of living had risen well above 15% of what it had been in January, 1941. Nevertheless, the majority did not believe that the spread between wages and the cost of living was sufficiently large to merit increasing the 15% allowance. The net effect of the petition was the admission that if prices continued to rise, then the board would take positive action to remove any injustices.

The "Hold-the-Line Order"

(Executive Order No. 9328)

On April 8, 1943, Executive Order No. 9328 was issued by the President and a national wage policy was both created and enforced by government edict. The substitution of this government-sponsored wage policy for the voluntarily created Little Steel Formula came as a complete surprise to every member of the National War Labor Board. No longer was the wage policy of the board subject to determination by a majority of its members; from now on the Director of Economic Stabilization would control the War Labor Board's wage policy.

The new national wage policy was so unrealistic as to be completely unworkable. Led by the A. F. of L. members, the board issued a unanimous statement that it could not successfully regulate wages under the drastic provisions of Executive Order No. 9328. The board indicated clearly that genuine wage regulation not only limited wage increases but also maximized production. Under the provisions of the newly declared wage policy, production was sure to decline and the nation's war effort jeopardized.

Only after a month had been spent inducing Economic Stabilization Director Byrnes and the President to reconsider Executive Order No. 9328 was a "clarification" issued on May

12, 1943. Even then the provisions of the original Little Steel Formula were only partly restored.

Originally, and under Executive Order No. 9250, the Little Steel Formula had permitted modifications in wages to correct maladjustments, to eliminate inequalities, to eliminate sub-standards of living and to aid in the effective prosecution of the war. Executive Order No. 9328 restricted the basis of wage increases to the correction of maladjustments and the elimination of sub-standards. The "clarification" restored completely the "effective prosecution of the war" principle and substituted the ironing out of wage "inequities" for correction of wage inequalities.

The true significance of the May 12th modification of Executive Order No. 9328 becomes clear when the fact is realized that organized labor had obtained wage increases between January 1, 1941—before Pearl Harbor—and May, 1943, which equalled the 15% allowed under maladjustments; that relatively few A. F. of L. members were receiving sub-standard wages; that rarely did the War Labor Board grant increases on the basis of aiding in the prosecution of the war. In other words, wages of A. F. of L. members could now be increased only under the principle of "inequities" and this basis was so unjustly constructed as to mean essentially a wage freeze.

Wage Inequities and Wage Brackets

Determination of whether or not a wage inequity existed under Executive Order No. 9328 and the May 12th clarification is an involved process. The first step is the creation of a "wage bracket" or range of "sound and tested rates" for every job classification in a labor market. The minimum sound and tested rate is used to determine whether a contested wage rate was inequitable or not. Rates below this minimum may be increased

to the minimum. Wage rates above the minimum are frozen for the duration of the war.

The application of the wage bracket concept to the wage rates of A. F. of L. members effectively eliminates the possibility of wage increases for the future. When wage brackets are set up the minimum rate is in most instances a non-union rate. Union rates are within the bracket and cannot be changed. Even worse, organization of workers is effectively hobbled since the wage rates of newly organized employees cannot be raised above the minimum or non-union rate which represents the bottom of the wage bracket.

Finally, there have been numerous instances in which the definition of a job classification has threatened to destroy a working condition for which the American Federation of Labor has fought to attain for many years.

Government Hierarchies

Your committee submits that not only have the members of the American Federation of Labor suffered unjustly from the government imposed regulation of wages, but the National War Labor Board is steadily being subjected to an ever increasing number of other governmental agencies. The finality which characterized the decisions of the original voluntary War Labor Board has steadily been nibbled away.

Under Executive Order No. 9250 the effect of Labor Board wage decisions involving prices were subjected to the scrutiny of the Office of Price Administration and the Director of Economic Stabilization. Under Executive Order No. 9328, its wage decisions are only provisional until both Economic Stabilization Director Vinson and War Mobilization Director Byrnes have given their approval. In other words, the very essence of the tripartite War Labor Board has been denied. One or two men now regulate

wages which affect prices. While the number of such cases is, at present, small, the importance of those cases is not. Furthermore, the probability that the proportion of such cases will increase is great. Wage regulation bids fair to become wage freezing in an economy where the prices of other goods and services have not been successfully frozen.

The Smith-Connally Act

As though the treatment accorded the members of the American Federation of Labor by a governmentally dominated War Labor Board was not in itself sufficient to cause them to question the continued validity of the board, Congress has seen fit to further harass and badger A. F. of L. union men. The passage of the Smith-Connally Act was a new high point in anti-unionism in this country. No peace-time national labor legislation approaches this Act in its brazen effrontery. The Act boldly legalizes strikes and places at naught the record of the American Federation of Labor in settling disputes peacefully through the voluntarily created National War Labor Board.

Conclusion

Your committee is fully conscious of the need for wage regulation and for a definite program of fighting inflation, but it does not subscribe to that philosophy of government which assumes that the ends desired justify the means. Your committee does not believe that all governmental edicts purporting to fight inflation are equitable.

Nor do we believe that the national interest is well served when government-fixed wage formulas supplant wage policies hammered out by democratically organized bodies which have been voluntarily created. The Little Steel Formula represented the considered judgment of a majority of a democratically constituted board actively participating in the labor rela-

tions of the nation; they were genuine representatives of Labor, industry and the public on the board. Nevertheless, their contributions have been ignored and the judgment of one man now guides the wage policy of the nation. To a people accustomed to democratic principles this one-man rule is repugnant.

Your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor should formally request the President to initiate action which would restore the National War Labor Board to its former position; return to the board its power to adjudicate finally all labor disputes by democratic process; and remove from its back the ever increasing load of super agencies.

(P. 531) Secretary Meany made the following report for the representatives of the A. F. of L. on the National War Labor Board:

The reason we feel a report should be made to this convention, in addition to the report and action of the Resolutions Committee yesterday, is the fact that we feel there is possibly, in the minds of the delegates some mystery about the War Labor Board and there is possibly some lack of understanding as to just what the board's functions are. In addition, and this is of tremendous importance, we feel that Labor should know just what sort of a board is holding complete power over the economic welfare of 50,000,000 workers. We also feel that this convention should know just what sort of a board we got as the result of a bargain Labor made with our government and the representatives of industry in December of 1941.

We know what we bargained for. We feel now that you should know what we have. And it is also important to make this report so that the general public will know that Labor is aware of what is going on. If we didn't make some sort of a report we

might be accused of stupidity, because we didn't get what we bargained for, and the convention and the people represented by the delegates present should know this.

In December of 1941 we made a very simple agreement. Representatives of industry and Labor, with representatives of government, agreed that for the duration of the war, and in the interests of the national welfare, we would substitute peaceful methods in the settlement of labor disputes for the methods available to us under our free democracy. We would substitute a simple method by which men would weigh and estimate the merits of a dispute by a tri-partite system, arriving at a decision as to what was the proper disposition of the dispute. We agreed that this method would be substituted for strikes, lock-outs or any other method in which force was used.

For a short time after the War Labor Board was established, we had this simple method. Each dispute was settled on its merits. Since then we have gradually built up a complicated structure with 12 regional offices throughout the country and with almost complete governmental control over board action.

On the so-called voluntary wage agreements where there is no dispute, in the period of four months early this year, there were 34,000 cases of that type decided by the Regional Boards—not cases affecting 34,000 men but 34,000 cases. These are known as Form 10 cases. These are cases in which the employer and the employee had agreed as to what the wage and working conditions should be in a particular plant or in a particular industry.

Under the complicated set-up we have these cases begin or originate in the local Wage and Hour Office by filling out a form. The Wage and Hour Office then decides if the case

comes within the jurisdiction of the War Labor Board. The form is then sent to Washington and from there to a Regional Board. The Regional Board has final power to settle these disputes if there is no price relief or price ceiling involved.

If the Regional Board disapproves there is an appeal open to either the Regional or National Board. If the appeal goes to the National Board, it goes to a research department and then to an Appeals Committee and then to the National Board for final action. The procedure on dispute cases is for the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor to step in, see what they can do to adjudicate the dispute; failing that, to submit it to the War Labor Board and then it goes to the New Case Committee of the War Labor Board, and from the New Case Committee it goes to either a Regional Board, a special commission or a panel. If in turn it goes to the Regional Labor Board it may be disposed of through a hearing officer, a referee or a panel. At the present time the National War Labor Board, with its regional branches has 2300 employees throughout the country. Of these 872 are what are called technical men. We have a Wage Stabilization Division, a Disputes Division, a Legal Division, a Review and Analysis Division, a Research and Statistical Division, and so down the line.

All of this has tended to change the original set-up of this board. We are now in the hands of the technicians, as it were.

In addition, there has been a gradual breakdown on the part of the government in the original structure of the board. Instead of disputes being settled by the good judgment and reasoning of the members of the board, they are now settled by certain rules promulgated by Executive Order, Acts of Congress, and the administrative orders of certain departments of the

government. In other words, we do not have a free board. We have a government controlled board at every step of the way.

The board has not been allowed to do a good job. Back in June of 1942 the board promulgated what was known as the Little Steel Formula. Labor protested against this formula on the ground that it was too rigid and that we did not want to be bound by a set of rules that would perhaps prevent us from doing justice in a certain case. However, the board by a vote of eight to four, with the Labor members dissenting, promulgated the Little Steel Formula.

The Little Steel Formula in itself is based on what I would say is some reason, some justice. The theory of it is that the cost of living had gone out of balance with the wage structure of the country, and that therefore, the wage structure of the country should be allowed to rise sufficiently to balance off again with the cost of living. In May of 1942 that differential was 15%. Now that differential is well above 25%, so that if the Little Steel Formula is based on equity it should now be 25% instead of 15%.

However, the government has adopted not the formula but the 15% figure. In March of 1943 the American Federation of Labor representatives on the board moved for the readjustment of the Little Steel Formula as far as its figures were concerned, upward. The board decided against this move again by an eight to four vote, but in its decision, written, of course, by the public members of the board, the board stated that it had control of the formula; that the formula belonged to the board; that it was a decision arrived at by a democratic process, and that while they would not raise the Little Steel Formula at the time, it was stated definitely that if the cost of living continued to rise the formula

would have to be readjusted in justice to the wage earners of the country.

That was on the 23rd of March. On the 8th day of April we had the so-called hold-the-line order, and on that day and through that order the War Labor Board lost control of the Little Steel Formula. It had no right after April 8th to change the 15%, which it had notified the public on March 23rd it would change if necessary in order to preserve a balance between the cost of living and wages.

On April 8th the Little Steel Formula and the 15% embodied in that formula became the law of the land. The War Labor Board was stripped to a large extent of its power to readjust wages beyond the Little Steel Formula. The result of this was that the War Labor Board stopped in the middle of its wage stabilization program because it could not apply its reasoning and render its decisions on merit in certain industries where a partial job of stabilization had been achieved. It meant that the board had to readjust its philosophy, readjust its approach to these cases, and it meant that the board stopped working on the 8th of April.

For a period of five weeks the War Labor Board and its regional offices disposed of practically no cases. There was a complete breakdown of the machinery from one end of the country to the other in the midst of war, due to Executive Order 9328 which was issued on April 8th.

Subsequently, on May 12th, the Director of Economic Stabilization, Justice Byrnes, issued a modifying order restoring to the board some of its powers. However, that order is a makeshift. It provides for these so-called wage brackets which are now causing our people so much hardship.

There is no cure for the troubles that beset the War Labor Board except the cure recommended by your Resolutions Committee yesterday to

restore to the board its power to act, the power that it possessed when it was originally set up. Under the present machinery all we get on some of these cases is delay after delay.

I would just like to summarize one or two cases for you to show you just what the board is up against and just what the unions are up against who are trying to produce for the war effort, trying to keep their members on the job despite the delays and despite the provocation that comes from the employer's knowledge of the fact that his people will not strike and that they are hamstrung by the War Labor Board as presently functioning.

In June of 1942 the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, a member unit of the American Federation of Labor, signed an agreement with five packing houses in Louisville. This agreement covered everything except the one item upon which they could not agree. They could not agree upon wages. Collective bargaining had gone as far as it possibly could, but they could not agree upon wages because of the fact that the packers felt that they should get a higher price before they would pay higher wages. This case went to the War Labor Board September 24, 1942. It was given to a panel. That panel brought in its recommendations in April of 1943—recommendations which were made after volumes of testimony had been given before the panel and the panel had been advised by the hundreds of technicians and experts in research and analysis who are on the staff of the War Labor Board in Washington.

On July 4th, the panel submitted additional recommendations and on the 27th day of August, 1943, the National War Labor Board unanimously approved of a 10% wage increase for the people who have a starting rate of 45 cents for women and 60 cents for men—people definitely in the low wage group. Thus

we had a unanimous decision of the Board rendered on August 27, 1943, on a case that started on June 15, 1942, giving these men and women a 10% increase and a corresponding increase in piece work rates.

On September 16, 1943, 15 months—15 months mind you—after the case started, and a month after the War Labor Board had unanimously decided on this increase in wages as the result of 14 months of study in the case, Judge Vinson, Director of Economic Stabilization, denied the wage increase and nullified the decision of the War Labor Board. He was able to undo in a few weeks what the contestants themselves, the employers who sat on the panel, the employers and workers who sat on the War Labor Board, the entire staff of four or five hundred technical experts of the War Labor Board who had reached a unanimous decision after 14 months of study, and Judge Vinson threw it out after having it in his office two weeks. They are back where they started. This is the type of a governmentally controlled agency in which the destiny of the people you represent for the duration of the war, as far as wages and working conditions are concerned, rests. I submit to you that the present War Labor Board procedure, hemmed in as it is by government control, through administrative order, through Executive Order, through the whims of particular individuals, individuals who have charge of these various departments having supervision over the War Labor Board—I submit that the present condition and the present procedure is provocative of strikes. Under such procedure Labor's no-strike record becomes more important and more commendable than ever before. In addition to every other provocation which we have in these trying times, in which men desire direct and immediate action, we have this government

agency delaying cases month after month.

So I say to you here today that it is to Labor's eternal credit that it has built up a no-strike record such as we see in face of the conditions as they are in relation to government supervision of wages and conditions of employment.

Let me cite another case. This involves the Work-Glove industry.

A special commission was set up to study this industry. The War Production Board which is concerned with war production discovered that production was suffering due to a lack of cotton work gloves. A number of women have gone into these industries and we all know that men and women working around machine shops need these cotton work gloves. The War Production Board found that a serious situation existed. They came to the War Labor Board with representatives of industry and representatives of Labor and they asked that the War Labor Board give relief to this industry by a 10% increase that would enable the industry to keep going and meet the manpower conditions which prevail.

The War Labor Board—public members, employer members, and Labor members—with the complete backing of the War Production Board, which is charged with production for war, recommended a 10% increase for workers in 50-cent an hour class, in order to meet this manpower situation.

Despite that recommendation of the War Labor Board, unanimously arrived at, and despite the War Production Board's request that this relief be given in this industry, Economic Stabilization Director Vinson decided otherwise. He said that it just could not be done.

It causes us to wonder at times just whose team he is playing on when he denies the action of a governmental

agency concerned with war production for the purpose of increasing war production or preventing a decrease in war production.

The present procedure under which the War Labor Board operates with government control by these various agencies, to me, represents a complete violation of the agreement we made in December of 1941. We bargained for a board which would settle these disputes under the democratic process of majority rule, upon the merits of each particular case. We haven't such a board today.

So, in behalf of the Labor members on this board we want to go on record as favoring the report of the committee submitted to you yesterday, as the only method by which this board can be restored to its power to really give service to Labor and industry throughout this war effort.

We are fully in accord with the recommendation that this Federation request the President of the United States to restore the War Labor Board to its original powers which the representatives of Labor bargained for and thought they received in December of 1941.

We are thoroughly in accord with the recommendation of the committee that this Federation request the President of the United States to remove these super agencies from the back of the War Labor Board.

We are thoroughly in accord with the report of the committee in which they say, despite these handicaps, we have got to carry on and do nothing that will in any way impede our chances of victory.

We are also thoroughly in accord with the report of the committee that under no circumstances do we want a Labor Board for the settlement of industrial disputes that looks anything like this War Labor Board after the war is over.

(1946, p. 110) The E.C. reported on the activities of the National War Labor Board from its establishment until its activities were transferred to the National Wage Stabilization Board, and included in the report special efforts of the A. F. of L. representatives on the board, closing with the following statement:

(P. 114) On December 31, 1945, the President issued Executive Order 9672, terminating the activities of the National War Labor Board, and also establishing a National Wage Stabilization Board to carry out its remaining functions. Thus, nearly four years' activities of the National War Labor Board were completed without a single case left incomplete. Moreover during this period the board disposed of 415,000 voluntary wage applications, and 20,000 dispute cases involving more than 40,000,000 workers.

The outstanding characteristic of the board was its tripartite structure which represented a new development in American industry. While the board's full time staff consisted of only 2,613 employees at its peak, it enlisted on a per diem basis over 5,000 part-time Labor, industry, and public representatives on its regional boards, dispute panels, and commissions. The main contribution of these part-time Labor, industry and public representatives was that every part of the country became acquainted with the tripartite system of settling Labor and industry problems. This has been a worthwhile experiment both for Labor and management, especially for the contribution it gave to the successful prosecution of the war.

(P. 609) The National War Labor Board—as an agency of the Federal Government devoted to settling wartime labor disputes and stabilizing wartime wages—came to an end in December, 1945. The history of that board is a record of the self-discipline

which organized labor exercised during World War II.

Despite an unjust, inequitable policy of stabilizing wages without full regard for the other controls necessary to avoid inflation, the American Federation of Labor affiliates accepted the wage controls exercised by the Board. Despite directive orders in particular cases which were a flagrant violation of the principles of free collective bargaining, the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor did not challenge these decisions by striking during the war.

While the passing of the Board has restored a measure of free collective bargaining, the continuance of wage control by its successor—the National Wage Stabilization Board—is a strong curb upon free collective bargaining over wages. In short, the abolition of the National War Labor Board marks only one step in our progress toward economic freedom. While we are happy that the war which brought into being the War Labor Board has ended and that the Board itself has been terminated, we are still a measurable distance from our pre-war freedom. The National Wage Stabilization Board remains.

Wage Formula—(1943, p. 505) The convention declared that your Committee is fully conscious of the need for wage regulation and for a definite program of fighting inflation, but it does not subscribe to that philosophy of government which assumes that the ends desired justify the means. Your committee does not believe that all governmental edicts purporting to fight inflation are equitable.

Nor do we believe that the national interest is well served when government-fixed wage formulas supplant wage policies hammered out by democratically organized bodies which have been voluntarily created. The Little Steel Formula represented the considered judgment of a majority of a

democratically constituted Board actively participating in the labor relations of the nation; they were genuine representatives of labor, industry and the public on the Board. Nevertheless, their contributions have been ignored and the judgment of one man now guides the wage policy of the nation. To a people accustomed to democratic principles this one-man rule is repugnant.

Your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor should formally request the President to initiate action which would restore the National War Labor Board to its former position; return to the Board its power to adjudicate finally all labor disputes by democratic processes; and remove from its back the ever increasing load of super-agencies.

Finally, your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor should continue its efforts to guarantee that the nation shall be victorious in war. The A. F. of L. has always subscribed to the principle of voluntary arbitration of labor disputes. It cannot and will not, we are sure, after hostilities have ceased, agree to the continued existence in any form whatsoever of the National War Labor Board, and will not countenance domination by the Government in any form or character of its right to bargain collectively fully and freely.

(*Little Steel Formula*)—(1944, p. 232) Efforts of A. F. of L. members of the Board to formulate wage policies within the limits of sound wage stabilization are dealt with in a comprehensive report of the Executive Council under this title and several sub-heads. A number of resolutions were submitted to the convention dealing with the Little Steel Formula.

The convention unanimously adopted the report of its committee as follows:

(Pp. 508, 510) The National War Labor Board functions as a voluntary creation of government, management and labor, consisting of representatives of those most vitally concerned in maintaining wage policies most conducive to the war effort and least conducive to the causing of inflation. Its purpose is to formulate and prescribe wage policies and wage rates consistent with that purpose. Labor voluntarily suspended the use of the greatest and most sacred of its rights—the right to strike—and to that Board the workers of this country entrusted the most fundamental of their interests—the prescribing of wages and conditions of employment. This convention is deeply and legitimately concerned with that Board's activities—more so than those of any of the numerous other governmental agencies which deal with or affect labor.

Last year your committee had occasion to comment upon the fact that the democratically adjudicated wage policies of that Board, arrived at by representatives of all segments of the national life, had been superseded by government-fixed wage formulas which, by one-man edict, froze all wages at a prescribed and arbitrary level. This year your committee must bring to the attention of this convention an even more shocking spectacle of a refusal by a majority of that Board, consisting of its public and industry members, even to recommend specific action to those with power to alter or modify the existing situation, so that inequities and burdens irrefutably demonstrated to exist under the present wage freeze could at least in some measure be alleviated. But as pointed out by the Labor Members of the Board:

Yet the same public members, who on the one hand plead lack of information, are ready to make pertinent recommendations on wage

policies for the reconversion period. . . . The Board's inconsistency is astounding: For over two years now the Board has been handling cases and becoming fully informed of the effect of the Little Steel Formula and the relationship of wages to the cost of living. It has accumulated a mass of evidence on the subject. But the Board now says it is in no position to make any recommendations as a result of that experience and any changes in our economy which have taken place. The Board feels fully competent, however, to make recommendations on matters which have not yet occurred, matters on which it has no experience, heard no cases, and been in no position to make any more than a guess.

In the space of a little less than two years we have witnessed, first, the shackling, and then the abject surrender of a Board originally established by voluntary action of those segments of our national economy most vitally interested and affected as a body, to determine by democratic procedures the problems of wage adjustments of workers in time of war. The events leading up to that surrender, which took place only last month, are as follows:

Early in this year the American Federation of Labor, through its labor representatives on the War Labor Board, petitioned that Board to make specific recommendations to the President to make modifications or alterations of the "Little Steel" formula so as to permit the Board to make wage adjustments more closely in line with increases in cost of living. The basis of that petition, as was the basis of a similar petition presented almost a year before, was that the cost of living had in fact increased to a considerable extent beyond that contemplated under the "Little Steel" formula, so that workers everywhere

were suffering a considerable shrinkage in earnings as expressed in terms of purchasing power. In freezing wage levels, the government had promised to maintain the cost of living at a comparable level. This promise, in return for which the no-strike pledge had been given and under which it was agreed to submit all wage issues to the War Labor Board for final determination, was not maintained. Other segments of the national economy were allowed to benefit themselves at the primary expense of wage earners.

On March 15th the Board dismissed this petition without prejudice for reconsideration. A week later the petition was reinstated when the Board decided to accept jurisdiction over the demands of the United Steel Workers to grant workers in the steel industry an increase beyond the limits of the "Little Steel" formula. It is significant to note that the petition of the American Federation of Labor which was on behalf of all workers in all industries, regardless of affiliation or lack of affiliation, was considered only after the Board had decided to take jurisdiction over the Steel Workers' case involving but a comparatively small segment of the country's wage earners. Hearings were held on this petition during the summer. The Board convened in executive session on October 9th to determine whether to make recommendations to the President on the question of modifying the "Little Steel" formula. By this time it had before it the report of the special panel hearing which heard the A. F. of L. petition setting forth many facts indicating a considerable increase in the cost of living and numerous specific instances of the inequitable and arbitrary working of the "Little Steel" formula. It also had before it the Meany-Thomas report indicating an increase in the cost of living of 45

per cent, the Department of Labor's report indicating an increase in the cost of living of 25 per cent, and the report of the special committee of technical experts appointed by Chairman Davis of the War Labor Board which found that the cost of living had increased 30 per cent or double that contemplated under the "Little Steel" formula.

With this mass of evidence before it indicating the great increases in the cost of living, indicating the inequities of the "Little Steel" formula, and indicating that modification of the "Little Steel" formula need not have any inflationary effects, the Board, with labor members dissenting, refused to make any recommendations whatsoever to the President, and, instead, stated that it would present to the Economic Stabilization Director a report setting forth pertinent data regarding the relationship of wages to the cost of living. Thus, not only has the Board suffered its functions to be removed from it, but it has also surrendered even the right of protest. And this in the face of overwhelming evidence that its protest would be extremely well founded. Having at least the right to make recommendations, and knowing that these recommendations would bear great weight it has nevertheless refused to exercise that right—a far cry from the original conception of a Board voluntarily created for the purpose of itself deciding and formulating the wage policies of a nation in time of war, and to which Board organized labor and the workers of the nation had surrendered and entrusted their greatest rights. The characterization of this action of the Board by its labor members as "an inexcusable dereliction of duty" could well be supplemented by terming it also an unwarranted breach of faith.

In comparison with the action of the public and industry members of

the Board in refusing to make recommendations for modification of the "Little Steel" formula, the other criticisms to which the Board can rightfully be subjected fade into insignificance.

The injustices accomplished under the so-called wage bracket system, the interminable delays to which a participant in a dispute case is subjected, the taking of jurisdiction in issues not involved in the war effort, all are deserving of more extended comment.

Thus—at the end of the third year of governmental regulation of labor—your Committee submits that the workers of this nation find themselves enmeshed in laws of Congress, executive orders of the President, edicts of the Director of Economic Stabilization, and the directives of the National War Labor Board. Yet, despite this ever-growing bureaucratic interest in the well-being of workers, the American Federation of Labor has been unable to obtain acknowledgment from the Federal Government of the simple fact that the pre-war standard of living for workers is rapidly deteriorating.

In view of the foregoing your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor immediately after the adjournment of this convention appoint a representative committee to call upon the President of the United States at the earliest possibility and place before him the request that he issue an executive order which will realistically adjust the "Little Steel" formula with the increased cost of living and permit employers and employees to effectuate the newly established policy by voluntary agreement without submission to the National War Labor Board.

The resolutions dealing with this subject matter are as follows:

Resolution No. 33:

Whereas—The War Labor Board

has frozen wages by means of the Little Steel Formula whereby a bargaining unit of labor is limited to an increase of 15 per cent in its average straight time rates over the rates prevailing January, 1941, and

Whereas—The cost of living has increased 40 per cent or more since January, 1941, and

Whereas—Employees are justly entitled to increased wages which the employers can and will absorb without passing the increase to the consumer, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instruct its officers to request the National War Labor Board (1) to abrogate the Little Steel Formula as a limit to wage increases thereby permitting wage increases in keeping with the increased cost of living and (2) to promulgate an additional regulation making any increase in wages permissible when agreed upon between employer and employees and when assurances are furnished that such increase will not be passed along to the consumer.

Resolution No. 35:

Whereas—Labor has performed one of the most outstanding miracles of production ever witnessed in industrial history in supplying our Armed Forces with the planes, guns, ammunition, foodstuffs and materials of war, and

Whereas—The no-strike policy of organized labor has been rigidly followed, with the exception of sporadic unauthorized cessations of work, and

Whereas—When Labor pledged that it would remain at work during World War II, it did so with the understanding that wages and the cost of living would be "stabilized," with the resulting rules of wage stabilization, and

Whereas—Wages have been frozen by the Wage Stabilization rules and the cost of living has risen so that

the purchasing power of the worker has diminished, and

Whereas—The Bureau of Labor Statistics' latest available data indicates that the cost of living has increased 25.4 per cent over the January 1, 1941, level, and

Whereas—The Labor Members of the President's Committee on the Cost of Living have reported on January 25, 1944, that a realistic rise in the cost of living of 43.5 per cent has taken place over the base date of the Little Steel Formula, January 1, 1941, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor go on record as advocating an increase in the Little Steel Formula, or the liberalization of Wage Stabilization policies to permit the purchasing power of the workers to keep pace with the realistic increase in the cost of living, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor advocate automatic adjustments in wage rates of all workers, both organized and unorganized, without submission to the War Labor Board, and that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, Chairman of the War Labor Board, William Davis, Director of Wage Stabilization, Judge Vinson, and to members of the Regional War Labor Board.

Resolution No. 46:

Whereas—The International Typographical Union at its 1944 Convention made definite requests for a change in policy by the War Labor Board, and

Whereas—Those requests are fair and reasonable for such time as the War Labor Board may need to function, therefore, be it

Resolved—That they are hereby endorsed by the American Federation of Labor as requests to the War Labor Board as follows:

1. That the War Labor Board revert to the principle it established when it announced that a 15 percent increase in the cost of living warranted a 15 percent increase in wages.

2. That after reverting to that principle it discard the obsolete "Little Steel Formula" and set a new ceiling as of a more accurate reflection of the increased cost of living and in no case less than an amount equal to the proved increase in living costs.

3. That it recognize as approved any wage scale up to the increase in the cost of living and in cases of employers not directly charging wages against war materials that increases negotiated up to 50 percent stand as approved.

4. That it reestablish the dignity of the Board so it can function as reason and facts indicate rather than act as automatons at the voice of an alleged stabilizer dictating wages while at the same time unable to enforce or maintain ceiling prices on commodities; and at the same time knowingly ignore the plight of the working people who are kept from helping themselves.

5. That if members of the War Labor Board cannot act as above requested, they seriously consider resigning from the Board in protest against such an unfair and unreasonable method of distributing the burden of the war effort; that they admit failure to carry out the principle they originally announced and which the American people accepted.

In connection with consideration of the Executive Council's Report relative to the National War Labor Board, your Committee gave careful consideration to Resolutions Nos. 33, 35 and 46, all of them relative to the Little Steel Formula, and the necessity of its being guided by a policy which

would be in keeping with the maintenance of a real wage in our country. Inasmuch as the Committee has recommended that the officers of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee for the purpose of laying before the President of the United States the inequities and the injustice contained in the War Labor Board's policy in connection with the Little Steel Formula, we recommend that these three resolutions be referred to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to assist them in making an appropriate response to the President of the United States.

(1946, p. 110) On February 20, 1945, the Public Members submitted their report to the President through the Economic Stabilization Director. In their comments to the President, the A. F. of L. Members took issue with certain aspects of the Public Members' report. One of the strongest objections was directed to the analysis of the increases of wage allegedly received by the workers of this nation.

In their report, the Public Members substituted "adjusted straight time hourly earnings" for wage rates as the criteria for wage stabilization. Prior to the issuance of their report, the Public Members had refused to measure wages on the terms of "take-home" pay or gross earnings. Instead wages were regulated in the past by adjusting wage rates.

Under this specially devised formula, all types of wage increases were defined as cost of living adjustment. Despite the fact that the Board historically limited increases to offset the rise in the living cost to the Little Steel Formula or maladjustment principle, substandard wage increases as well as adjustments to correct interplant and intraplant inequities were all lumped together as cost-of-living increases. The wage analysis made

in the report indicated clearly that the Public Members had altered radically their method of measuring wage increases.

This shift of standards at that time was certainly no mere academic change of thinking. This change was the sole ground upon which the Public Members were able to rationalize their recommendations to the President that the Little Steel Formula should not be modified.

In the summary of their comments to the President, the A. F. of L. Members stated:

That the Public Members have adopted a new measure of wage stabilization; that this change was unannounced to their colleagues on the Board; and that the Public Members are not obliged to explain the bases of their recommendations against changing the Formula are all admissible facts. But the American Federation of Labor Members cannot explain to the workers of America the wage increases which they have only mathematically received. Nor can they explain that an increase to some individual workers fattens the pay envelopes of all workers. Furthermore, they cannot find a convincing answer to the question of why the measuring rod of wage increases was changed at all.

Last, but not least, there remains still another question which cannot be answered frankly. Why must the workers of the Nation be made to bear the brunt of supporting the entire anti-inflation program?

The seven-point program—as a whole—has not been successfully administered. Nevertheless, its deficiencies have been hidden from public view by the success attained in regulating wages. Whenever the program skids more than usual, the customary reaction of Director of Economic Stabilization has been to

turn the thumbscrews more vigorously upon wage earners.

Indeed, this behavior has occurred so regularly that a pattern has been established. Executive Order No. 9250 was drastically modified by Executive Order No. 9328. This hysterical outburst had to be toned down by the May 12, 1943, Directive. Now with no more rigid wage control possible, an attempt is being made to whittle down the benefits of vacations, night-shift differentials and other fringe adjustments.

The workers of this Nation call upon the Government to look elsewhere in its seven-point anti-inflation program for improvements. What has happened to the proposals to roll back prices of food and clothes? What plans are being to lessen the load of taxation borne by workers forced to live at a sub-standard level?

The American workers can find no convincing reply to the Public Members' Report to the President as to why our proposal for a realistic modification of the Little Steel Formula cannot be made at once. To the contrary, the very fact that they have had to devise a new formula to deny our appeal indicates the justice of our position.

Although the A. F. of L. Members of the Board were not entirely successful in breaking the Little Steel Formula until after V-J Day, their persistence along this line brought about additional elements of flexibility in the Board's wage stabilization policies, together with other "precedent making" decisions. Such benefits were later extended to industries generally throughout the country.

War Production (also see: Committee on Fair Employment Practices; Manpower; Foreign Workers; Furloughed Soldiers; Prisoners of War; War Production Board; Women and

Children in War Production; Prison Labor in Materiel Production; Union Management Cooperation (WPB))

(Labor Representation)—(1942, p. 582) Res. 74:

Whereas—The State is intervening more and more in economic matters and is exercising increasing influence on production, distribution, profits, prices, conditions of employment, wages and the standard of living of the workers in order to prosecute the war effort more effectively, and

Whereas—When the Government formulates or applies its various economic policies, it is to the interests of the Government to obtain the collaboration of the trade unions and thus be able to secure their technical assistance as well as benefit by their practical competence and experience, and

Whereas—In order to make possible such a desirable objective, the Government should have represented on all agencies set up to control, plan or direct the national economy, representatives of the trade unions, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor recommend to the federal and state governments that such representation be given to the trade unions, and be it further

Resolved—That this representation should be commensurate with and proportionate to the amount of representation given to management.

Your committee, in recommending the adoption of the resolution, believes it highly advisable to emphasize the necessity for direct labor representation on all Federal agencies having to do with the war effort—the question of production, distribution, profits, prices, conditions of employment, wages, and the standard of living.

Labor, because of its long, practical experience, is in a better position than

many others to bring practical consideration, in a realistic manner, to the official civilian groups dealing with various phases of the war effort. We now clearly recognize that had experienced trade unionists held membership on the Federal bodies establishing priorities, that much of the industrial dislocation which followed would not have worked as injuriously as it did. The same reference is justified to other civilian Federal agencies dealing with production problems, and those of manpower.

Your committee is convinced that had there been adequate labor representation, some of the mistakes of judgment and policy which have occurred, would have been avoided.

Your committee is convinced that if the full efficiency of our productive system is to be reached, that Labor, at the Federal council and planning table, must be better represented. We must have the invaluable contribution of the technically trained men upon the Federal bodies, but as no one can understand Labor as well as Labor itself, it is essential that theoretical knowledge of the problems should be balanced by the knowledge of those whose lifetime has been given to industrial problems, and in the relationship between management and labor.

(1944, p. 240) A special section of the E.C. Report to the 1944 convention briefly reviewed accomplishments in manpower and production. The closing paragraph pinpoints contribution made by working men and women in the production of war materiel:

The magnificent contribution of the working men and women of the United States is clearly reflected in the production record. In the year 1939 the total production of defense materials amounted to \$1,400,000,000. In that same year the total non-war goods production amounted to \$87,-

200,000,000. Four years later, 1943, the production of war goods amounted to \$81,300,000,000. That same year 1943, the non-war goods production amounted to \$105,200,000,000. This nation has succeeded in doing what no other country has done. It has managed to have bullets and butter. Moreover, that record production, aggregating \$186,500,000,000 in the year 1943, was achieved after drawing off from the potential manpower for production more than 10 million men.

(Pp. 238, 576) Progress in the production schedule for materiel of war and in meeting manpower requirements are covered in a special report of the E.C. It was pointed out, however, that a number of problems still remain to be solved.

The report of the convention committee and its recommendations were unanimously adopted, including the following:

The record set forth in the first section is an eloquent testimony to the production achievement of American labor. This section further indicates that the various phases of manpower requirements that have during the past months been critical, have, for the most part, been satisfactorily met. This points to the conclusion that though there remain certain critical manpower needs in relation to the war production program, they are not essentially different from those needs which have been satisfactorily met before and without recourse to compulsory labor legislation.

We are of the firm conviction that with the continued cooperation of organized labor and industrial management with government agencies, these problems too can be solved. We therefore recommend the renewed endorsement of the voluntary manpower program carried out under the provision for participation of labor and management on the National Manage-

ment-Labor Policy Committee in the War Manpower Commission and the regional and area war manpower committees.

A study of the record of the National Management-Labor Policy Committee indicates clearly the quality of the contribution made to the program of this important war agency by the President of the American Federation of Labor and his alternate. The representatives of the Federation have stood four-square for voluntary principles as the basis for our manpower program and have led the opposition to all efforts to substitute compulsion.

We recommend an expression of appreciation of the services of these representatives with instructions to continue their support of voluntary principles.

("No-Strike" Pledge Reaffirmed)—(1944, pp. 85, 539) Res. 133:

Whereas—We believe in the reaffirmation of wartime pledges, therefore, be it

Resolved—By this 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that we hereby reaffirm our determination to fulfill our pledges to the Government and to the people of the United States, and the members of our armed forces, that we will give every possible assistance in prosecuting the present war to a victorious conclusion. That we renew our "no strike" pledge, and reaffirm our determination to continue assisting in financing the war, and as soldiers in the army of production give full service in the production of the implements of war. But that we also insist upon the Government and upon industry, to respect our rights, preserve our agreements, and apply them in good faith, and that our "no-strike" pledge must not be used as a subterfuge to deprive us of long established rights and privileges.

(1947, pp. 12-16) In keynote address to the convention, President Green stated:

"I know that all of you have been moved deeply by charges that have been made by our enemies that labor, in extending organization among the unorganized workers of the nation, has lowered the efficiency and productivity of the workers of the land. That is not true. The American worker stands on a higher plane of productivity and efficiency than any American worker ever stood in all the history of our nation. Efficiency and service have been increased, and productivity has been broadened.

"So, on this auspicious occasion, I want to make answer in a definite way to many of these charges that have been made against the working men and women of the nation and declare to the American people and to the world through facts and figures, that the charges made against us have no foundation in fact.

"I have prepared some figures that I shall now present to you.

"When it became apparent that our nation would become involved in the war which was gradually engulfing practically the entire civilized world, the leaders of our nation realized that the responsibility for production of the materiel of war for all the allied nations would rest on America, and American workers. Our President called for all-out production and the organized wage-earners of our country responded as a man.

"Almost over night swamplands were converted into shipyards from which in record-breaking time poured the needed vessels with which to transport our men and supplies across the oceans. Aircraft factories sprang up in forests and from their assembly lines America's workers sent an almost never-ending stream of planes for use over seas and for defense of our homeland.

"But even before production could be started in many localities roads and bridges had to be built at an amazing speed which meant our construction workers had to leave their jobs and homes and take jobs at distant points. Whole towns and cities had to be built to take care of the workers who had accepted the call for service in America's army of production. Supply depots had to be constructed, homes built, hospitals provided, transportation furnished, sanitary facilities installed, before our factories could be started on their grueling task. But the result of all this is history. America's workers met the challenge and even exceeded the hopes of the most optimistic.

"Our farmlands became the breadbasket for our country and her Allies with even less manpower than before the war started. America's soldiers were the best fed in the world, the best clothed, the most adequately cared for and supplied with the finest materiel for modern warfare. Truly, America had two armies in action—our armed forces, and the army of production. And bear this in mind—that miracle of production was achieved by FREE enterprise and FREE labor working together toward a common objective and for the preservation of American ideals of life and liberty.

"The fighting war ceased over two years ago, but a war-torn, confused, and weary world is still turning to America and America's production workers for assistance in rehabilitating its economic life. Despite unprecedented domestic demand for the output of our industries, America is sharing her vast production with the rest of the world in unequalled amounts. We are now being called upon to meet the needs not only of our own people and our Allies, but those countries which were our enemies in the war.

"We have shown what can be accomplished by free men in a free economy. We know that there is almost no limit to the goods and services which can be produced when workers are free from repression and can give expression to their highest and most creative impulses. Under totalitarian regimes workers have been stripped of their freedom and are not supplied with even the basic necessities of life.

"With the close of the war, however, our production schedule continued to expand. The needs of peace and rehabilitation of the entire world created unprecedented demand for the products of American factories. Improved methods of production and technological advances in methods which were developed to meet a war-time need proved just as necessary after the fighting war ceased and the world was faced with an even greater problem of winning the peace."

War Production Board—(1942, p. 190) Immediately following Pearl Harbor, the Office of Production Management, the Government agency charged with responsibility for war production, undertook to speed conversion to war production and to increase the number of contracts under production. To locate responsibility definitely and to give authority proportionate to the responsibility, on January 16 the President replaced OPM with the War Production Board . . .

The Executive Order which established the War Production Board placed full authority and responsibility in the chairman, with the advice and assistance of the members of the Board, and provided that he shall:

1. Exercise general direction over the war procurement and production program.
2. Determine the policies, plans, procedures, and methods of the several Federal departments, establishments, and agencies in respect to

war procurement and production, including purchasing, contracting, specifications, and construction; and including conversion, requisitioning, plant expansion, and the financing thereof; and issue such directives in respect thereto as he may deem necessary or appropriate.

3. Perform the functions and exercise the powers vested in the Supply Priorities and Allocations Board by Executive Order No. 8875 of August 28, 1941.

4. Supervise the Office of Production Management in the performance of its responsibilities and duties, and direct such changes in its organization as he may deem necessary.

5. Report from time to time to the President on the progress of war procurement and production; and perform such other duties as the President may direct.

The Board began preparing orders to limit production in whole or in part by a prescribed time in consumer goods industries. Scarcities in raw materials and impossibility of increasing production facilities, made necessary priorities restricting supplies to firms engaged in war contracts and control over inventories in order to save materials and facilities for war needs.

The Chairman stated that conversion was the only straight, fast way to get ample war production. Conversion of the automobile industry was already in the process under instructions to end by February 1, 1942. Allocation of contracts took place in this industry alone. Industry committees for other industries—the refrigerator, domestic washing machines, radios, phonographs, stoves, furnaces and metal furniture—were asked to consult with WPB to determine conversion programs. As contracts had been negotiated with the War and Navy Departments, conversion in-

involved uncertainties for many firms and unemployment for many workers. Unfortunately Labor was not represented in industry committees. The Labor Division set up labor committees which, meeting separately from the industry committees, sometimes had a chance to consider limitation orders in advance of their date of effectiveness. In very rare instances joint committee meetings were arranged with administrators.

In two industries (stoves and agricultural implements) joint meetings with industry advisory committees have been held. In the case of the stove industry the labor advisory committee members sat in at the meeting of the industry advisory committee and contributed to the discussion of problems of employment, manpower, and other pertinent matters.

In the agricultural implement industry, four representatives from Labor and five from management were chosen to make their suggestions as to a constructive plan for readjusting the industry to the curtailed production necessitated by shortage of materials. The labor and industry committees each worked out separate programs then met jointly to discuss different points with the WPB officials.

These two developments represent the first steps toward accomplishing joint consideration by Labor and Industry of conversion problems. Labor has been attempting to bring this about for some time.

Opportunity for joint consideration of programs has not yet gone far enough and it is hoped that this constructive development may be carried further.

From the first the American Federation of Labor has maintained that procurement for total war involved such consequences to our whole economy and our employment structure, that methods of former years should

not be followed. We maintained that contracts should be allocated in the light of continuous inventories of plant equipment and facilities and their potential war production capacities, paralleled by inventories of work skills and work experience of the production staffs.

We maintained that the Federal Government had the responsibility for planning for the fullest use of plant facilities and workers in order to have maximum production of war equipment constantly available. Up to date, the War Production Administration has not fully achieved its purpose to reach a maximum in war production material or to convert remaining production facilities into consumer production. As a result there is a scarcity of steel, scarce metals are used unnecessarily for non-military purposes, synthetic rubber has been delayed, and manpower hours of production have been lost.

Procurement as usual has continued so that the great preponderance of primary contracts has gone to the largest corporations. Small companies find it practically impossible to get primary contracts and difficult to get sub-contracts. Business had taken pride in its ability to master executive difficulties, but the experience of private business in this field is not yet incorporated in the giant production undertaking which the Government initiated.

The Government has an additional responsibility for most efficient cost accounting, so that all payments on contracts shall be on a basis of exact information as established by cost and production accounting, and our nation spared unnecessarily high costs.

The American Federation of Labor was anxious to prevent the distress that would attend closing down small plants, and equilly to present a balance between small business and large enterprise in our

economy. A Division of Contract Distribution was established but it was separate and uncoordinated with procurement by the Army, Navy and Treasury, and hence ineffective. After considering the problems of small plants, Congress enacted legislation (approved June 11, 1942) directing the Chairman of the War Production Board to establish the Smaller War Plants Corporation with five directors to make loans or advances, to finance the acquisition of equipment facilities, machinery, materials, etc., to enter into contracts with the Government and to perform them through sub-contracts let to small business concerns. This agency should bring considerable relief to small companies. Labor believes and repeatedly urges that war procurement should be directly under civilian control, for we believe the military should not have control over civilian life.

The matters of basic management doubtless will be incorporated in practice before the war is ended. However, in spite of these undesirable overall managerial inefficiencies, our production concerns are turning out products and equipment in amazing quantities, continually breaking records and setting new standards. American workers and employers are genuinely patriotic and are working as never before because they realize the issues involved in this war. Our great system of private enterprise has demonstrated its capacity to rise to an emergency, and Management and Labor stand ready to see production through for the duration.

(Reorganization Recommended) — (1942, p. 545) This section of the Executive Council Report recounts the early difficulties in establishing relations with this agency whose authority and functions were indefinite and whose methods of operation provided no opportunity for Labor to participate jointly with management

in those determinations which so vitally concern its welfare.

Persistent insistence upon right to representation has, however, won some recognition until now labor organizations have nominated representatives for certain key positions.

Your committee believes that important service could be rendered in connection with the "Labor-management production drive" if the spirit and methods of union-management cooperation could be applied to the whole effort. As the Executive Council points out, where unions share this responsibility with management excellent results have followed.

We hope that the recent agreements reached with the chairman for the appointment of two vice-chairmen to his staff and for the creation of a War Production Drive Board consisting of two representatives of Labor and two of management, with an impartial chairman, will shortly be effectuated. These provisions will certainly afford opportunity for greatly increased service and participation.

Your committee also hopes that the issues of jurisdiction over war production as between the Army, Navy, Maritime Commission and War Production Board, will shortly be resolved into something like a Ministry of Supply. Centralizing authority over contracts in one agency is essential to that sort of production planning and scheduling which must precede manpower control. Shortages in manpower may develop shortly, but to set up controls before the material side of production has been organized and brought under control, would work serious and unnecessary hardships. Great Britain, Canada, and other countries longer in this war, have centralized control over war production outside of these agencies responsible for carrying on the military side of the war, and have set up over-all military-civilian boards of strategy

responsible for decisions between the military and the civilian.

Your committee recommends that the Federation urge early reorganization along lines of clear-cut definite allocation of authority and with an over-all board of strategy to decide over-all policies as directives to coordinate the operations of all war agencies.

(Definition of Defense Worker)—(P. 590) The convention concurred in Res. 90 protesting against the definition of war workers as established by the War Production Board as follows:

Whereas—It seems that the War Production Board has ruled that "Defense Workers" only are entitled to purchase or rent houses that are constructed under Federal Housing Authority regulations, and that the FHA officials claim they are powerless under this interpretation to OK the contract of sale on any such property unless the purchaser can qualify as a defense worker under the provisions of the rulings of said War Production Board, and

Whereas — The War Production Board has defined a "Defense Worker" as a member of the armed forces of the United States or a civilian in the employ of the armed forces or one who is directly engaged in producing munitions or materials for the armed forces of the United States, and

Whereas—This narrow and circumscribed definition of those who are eligible as potential purchasers or owners of property under the Federal Housing Authority program, excludes thousands of our members engaged in construction work on federal housing projects as well as those of a more permanent nature; such as hospitals, dry docks, training stations, and many other activities directly connected with the prosecution of the war effort, and

Whereas—a logical definition of the term "Defense Worker" should include many classifications of workers now concerned and employed directly on work for the purpose of winning the war. It is self-evident that the bus driver who enables a shipyard worker to get to work on time is no less a defense worker than said shipyard worker and the mechanic constructing housing or other facilities which enables the aircraft worker to be more comfortable and happy and therefore more efficient is no less a defense worker in a true sense of the term than the aircraft worker himself, and

Whereas—Representatives of many unions whose principal business it is to furnish workers for the war industry and to keep the jobs rolling are not eligible to rent or purchase homes under the rulings of the War Production Board as hereinbefore set forth, yet it is a self-evident fact that these said representatives are an important part of the defense machinery, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor go on record as protesting the rulings of the War Production Board and its definition of defense worker for the reason that it is discriminatory against many of our members and representatives, that it is unjust in its application and that we petition the War Production Board to change and modify the restrictive terms defining "Defense Worker" and so broaden the scope of that classification as to enable our members who are engaged in any phase of work for the prosecution of the business of winning the war, to qualify as defense workers and as such to be entitled to rent or purchase property through the machinery of the Federal Housing Administration with the approval of the War Production Board.

(Labor Production Division) — (P. 193) As reported to the 1941 Convention, the American Federation of Labor had far from satisfactory representation under the former Office of Production Management. After war was declared this situation became increasingly a hardship and an injustice. Conversion from civilian to war production was speeded up, and unemployment rose sharply in some communities so that they became distress areas. Workers have information which would have been helpful in planning industry orders. In addition, workers needed advance information to plan for their own welfare. The Federation struggled against heavy odds to secure representation for unions on labor advisory committees for industries and then struggled to bring about joint meetings between industry and labor advisory committees. The Labor Division had laid down the principle of proportional representation without definition of membership or requiring objective and comparable data as a basis for decisions. At no time were the functions and authority of labor advisory committees defined. In fact, the labor division of both the Office of Production Management and the War Production Board was never an integral part of the operations of the agency. The War Production Board was a step toward lodging authority for war production in one agency and under one executive. It was logical that the functions of the labor division should be reorganized according to the purposes and policy of the new administration. This was done when the Manpower Commission was created and the division became the Labor Production Division with the following responsibilities:

1. To bring to the Chairman of the War Production Board information and recommendations relating to the actual production

problems in which Labor is primarily involved.

2. To promote improved relations between Labor and Management in war industries.
2. To recommend War Production Board policies on Labor matters.
4. To organize labor advisory committees to represent Labor in War Production Board affairs.
5. To distribute war information among workers.
6. To promote stabilization of wages, hours, and working conditions in major war industries through established collective bargaining processes. . . .

The division created a Labor Policy Committee to help guide the decisions, with equal representation for workers and employers. This committee which meets weekly with the director and leading members of his staff, has guided the organization of the division, selection of its key personnel, and formulation of its policies. In addition, it has participated in consultations of the War Production Board as a whole.

To realize the stated objectives of the division, several branches have been established within it. These are the War Production Drive and the Wage Stabilization Branches, the Industry Branch Consultant Service and the Field Operations Section.

Within the War Production Drive Branch is the Industrial Relations Section, which organizes, assists, and services plant Labor-Management committees, and aids in settling labor disputes when requested to do so by the union involved.

The Wage Stabilization Branch, through its administration of the Shipbuilding Stabilization Agreement, has done much to promote stable labor conditions in the industry. Its scope now includes the holding of Labor-Management-Government conferences for the formulation of in-

dustry-wide stabilization agreements.

Labor representatives for seven of the WPB's 14 regional and subregional offices will be chosen from Federation ranks. The remaining seven offices will have A. F. of L. members as associate regional representatives. It will be the job of the regional labor representatives guided by a regional labor committee, to aid the workers in the production problems.

Within the last three weeks, as a result of conferences between representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. with the chairman, it was agreed that two Labor men should be appointed as vice-chairmen on his staff and that a War Production Drive Board should be set up consisting of an impartial chairman, two representatives of Labor and two of employers.

(Workers' Problems) — (P. 192)
When a consumer goods industry is curtailed and a portion of its plant converted to war work, special consideration should be given to the following points by the Labor representatives developing their suggestions for the curtailment problem:

1. Workers laid off by curtailment should be certified at once to the employment service.
2. If the loss of jobs is to be permanent for the duration of the war, every effort should be made to place these workers on other jobs as quickly as possible.
3. Cost of transportation to other war production centers, if this is necessary to secure work, is not to be borne by the worker alone. It is important that he have assistance when moving himself and his family to a new home. Little has been done as yet to provide for this important matter.
4. When a worker's family must liquidate their investments in one town in order to move to

another town where they can secure war employment, assistance should be given them in liquidating their investments so that unnecessary losses will not occur. In Great Britain the government assists workers in this way and pays part of the expenses of moving to a new locality.

(Union Management Cooperation)
—(P. 194) Union-management cooperation is a logical outgrowth of collective bargaining, and as such has been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor for many years. In companies where a satisfactory relationship exists between management and *bona fide* unions, union-management cooperation constructively carried out may have many advantages for the company and its workers.

Organized labor has welcomed the stimulus given to union-management cooperation by Donald Nelson in his request early in 1942 to employers and workers in war production, asking them to set up Labor-Management cooperative committees. Up to early August, more than 1,200 committees had been set up. In somewhat more than half the cases, as far as can be ascertained, workers are represented in these committees by *bona fide* trade unions.

In cases where Labor is represented through *bona fide* unions in the activities of the cooperative committee, important developments are in the making. The Labor Division of the War Production Board is following these developments carefully. As yet with the production drive in its early stages, it is not possible to reach definite conclusions.

It is clear, however, that through the joint committees representing Labor and Management in equal numbers and concerning themselves with various phases of production, an

agement cooperation is being worked out. This growth and development in joint consideration of plant problems is gradually building up a basic democratic structure which will last after the war. Management and unions are learning to work together in a new and constructive relationship.

To union members an immense new opportunity is open to contribute their thoughts and ideas to the betterment of production and the improvement of plant conditions. Members are seizing this opportunity eagerly, so much so that in some of the larger companies, employing several thousand workers, as many as five persons are kept busy full time considering the suggestions that union members have made.

Already these suggestions are making an important contribution in the betterment of production. A number of companies report striking progress in the quantity of production, saving of waste, and better plant procedure since the union-management cooperative committees have been instituted.

Unions have welcomed this development where it is properly carried out because it builds for greater union security and a more constructive relationship between unions and management.

The importance of the trade union as the agency to make Labor-Management cooperation possible and valuable in the war production effort has become very obvious. Through the unions, workers can make a creative contribution which cannot be given where no union organization exists. For this reason some unions have explained to workers that they can give a patriotic service by organizing a union so as to take part in the war production drive and so make their fullest possible contribution to the war production effort. The function of the union in taking responsibility to improve production is to suggest changes in procedure, adjust wage rates where

necessary, and handle a multiplicity of other details which cannot be replaced by any other agency. Through the union workers can give a whole-hearted creative contribution which would not be possible except through their own democratic organization which they themselves control.

A serious obstacle to progress exists where management refuses to see the value of the union-management cooperative committee. There are cases where management has refused to organize such committees. There are other cases where although the committee is organized, management refuses to give hearing to the suggestions made by workers, or to treat the committee seriously.

In many plants, on the other hand, top management officials sit on the cooperative committees and when this is the case, the committee becomes a vital and stimulating force in plant production. It is important for top management officials and top union officials to work together if the union-management cooperative committee is to give its greatest service.

The guarantee of piece rates is another important matter. Unless workers are assured by an agreement with the company that their piece rates will not be reduced when they speed production, there can be no possibility of a whole-hearted effort to increase output and improve efficiency. Unions have made this discovery and found that piece rates must be safeguarded.

Unions have also stated that a relationship of confidence and frank and open dealings between Management and Labor must exist, otherwise union-management cooperation cannot make any significant achievement. There have been cases where a company has tried to use the plan to institute a company union, but such cases appear to be rare.

In the larger war plants the over-all union-management cooperative

committee, which consists of an equal number of representatives of management and workers, is supplemented by a series of subcommittees. In one plant for example, where six international unions and one federal labor union are concerned, the over-all cooperative committee consists of one representative from each union, making seven union representatives in all and seven management representatives. Subcommittees in this and other plants are responsible for such phases of plant activity as the following: conservation of materials, keeping production records, preventing bottlenecks, keeping tools and machinery in condition, safety, absenteeism, training, general plant efficiency. Committees on publicity and committees on the transportation of workers from their homes to the plant also form a part of the union-management cooperative setup.

In some of the larger plants there are departmental subcommittees, so that each department has its own committee to see that plans worked out by the functional committees above described are carried out in that department and that the workers in that department have an opportunity to make suggestions and contribute ideas which will be quickly cleared to the proper committees.

Another important function of the union-management committees is the opening of information to workers through which they will develop a better understanding of plant operations and the relation of their particular job to the whole functioning organization. In cases where shortages of material are forcing the closing down of certain departments, the bringing of information is particularly important. Thus workers may know whether it is vital to speed up a certain operation so that a few finished pieces of equipment may reach the war front earlier even though

other parts of the plant must close down for lack of material.

Because union-management cooperation is bringing information to workers which was never before available to them, it is building a more intelligent approach to work and enabling workers to make a more creative contribution.

(Union-Management Committees)—(P. 691) We likewise commend the American Federation of Labor for the emphasis that it has given to the production drive of the War Production Board through the development of union-management committees. Based on information at the disposal of your committee, we are convinced that this union-management program has done more than any other single thing to increase the production of war materials.

(Labor Management Committees)—(P. 603) Res. 83:

Whereas—One of the most important guarantees of the defeat of the Axis is the continuation of the all-out production effort throughout our nation, and

Whereas—The State of California ranks first in vital shipbuilding and aircraft industries, and

Whereas—In dozens of industries where Labor-Management committees have been set up there has resulted streamlining of production, the saving of millions of man-hours and closer cooperation between the employers and Labor, and

Whereas—Wherever these committees have been set up they build the morale of the workers by making them feel that they are a vital part in the planning and production for victory, and where, in fact, these workers have contributed in plans and suggestions for greater output, and

Whereas—In spite of the obvious benefits of Labor-Management committees, some employers in vital war

industries still continue to evade their responsibility in joining with Labor for maximum production effort, thereby creating dangerous and wasteful friction, and

Whereas—Many of the bottlenecks in production still remaining could be ironed out by Labor-Management cooperation, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled calls for the strengthening and further development of Labor-Management committees where they now exist for greater production and for better relationships between Labor and employers, and that this convention further urges the immediate setting up of Labor-Management committees in every one of those industries where such committees do not now exist, and be it further

Resolved — That this convention urges each and every union to exercise its fullest efforts in bringing about the establishment of these Labor-Management committees.

In approving the adoption of the resolution your committee calls attention to the action taken by the American Federation of Labor at its Portland Convention, 1923, known as *Industry's Manifest Duty*. In adopting the policy of 1923, the American Federation of Labor called attention to the joint responsibility of management and Labor in the field of production and the maintenance of free enterprise.

It was the definitely expressed opinion that free enterprise would be placed in serious jeopardy unless management and Labor cooperated in the field of production, in such a manner as to prevent legislation intended to seriously restrict and handicap management as well as Labor. Should management and Labor fail to cooperate, industrial, economic and social problems would develop which the legislative branches of government—

state and national—would be forced to regulate.

Had management responded to the call of the American Federation of Labor following 1923, our present problems in the field of industry would not be of so far-reaching a character. However, while industry as a whole failed to see clearly and act wisely, many employers accepted the wisdom expressed in *Industry's Manifest Duty* and entered into thorough-going cooperative relations with their organized employees.

It is most encouraging to find that the War Production Board has accepted the basic purpose expressed in *Industry's Manifest Duty* and has given its active support to the creation of Labor-Management committees as proposed and applied wherever possible by the American Federation of Labor since its pronouncement in 1923.

In this connection your committee is justified in calling attention to the fact that the outstanding material contribution to the present war effort has been made by management and Labor through its cooperative relationship; in fact, the contribution of management and Labor to war production so outstripped the most optimistic estimates of federal agencies that they have actually, in some instances, outstripped the immediate capacity of the country to supply them with necessary raw material.

(1943, pp. 120, 553) The convention considered a comprehensive report by the Executive Council on developments during the year and unanimously adopted the following statement of the convention committee:

This agency is still handicapped by the absence of an over-all board of strategy which we recommended last year. The Office of War Mobilization was a practical step in this direction, but such conspicuous omissions as manpower and civilian supplies from

this agency, handicaps it fundamentally. This, together with failure to concentrate all government procurement letting in a single agency, responsible for meeting all national needs, has resulted in many needlessly large stock-piles with shortages elsewhere, unwise concentration of contracts, with resultant manpower problems and shortages in housing and civilian services. But in spite of administrative and managerial failures, industries and Labor have turned out amazing quantities and qualities of the implements of war.

We note with pride and gratification that a representative of the American Federation of Labor is now a vice-chairman of the War Production Board in charge of the Division of Labor Production. Through this representation it is now possible for Labor to make a greater contribution to the war effort. This Labor vice-chairman, Joseph Keenan, has been able to put Labor representation where Labor experience and information are helpful in the development of industry orders and policies. Labor representation in the industry divisions of the War Production Board prevents needless waste of production facilities by favoring the large companies and companies with bad labor policies. As wartime decisions will affect the post-war situation, the benefits from this progress will be lasting. We recommend the Labor vice-chairman be urged to expand opportunities for Labor participation as rapidly as is compatible with constructive results, and that the principle of Labor-Management cooperation be given an opportunity to demonstrate its value in production as well as in the related field—manpower. The problems of both manpower and production must in the last analysis be solved in local production plants. National policies and regulations can only deal with general ele-

ments. Their application is a matter for local management and unions to work out. For this reason we further recommend that the Labor vice-chairman get the cooperation of the Management-Labor Council in reorganizing Management-Labor committees into responsible local arms of the War Production Board, dealing with their local production manpower problem.

The spirit of personal responsibility and local cooperation have made our nation a great economic power and can best be depended upon to defend her in this world war. We need to mobilize nationally for cooperation through our great private organizations. It is completely foreign to past experience and the genius of our people, to impose regimentation and to decide local problems in Washington.

(1944, p. 90) The general activities and functions of the War Production Board have been directed by three main influences. First, the nature of the job of the War Production Board has changed from one of concern over the whole war production program to a problem of selective concern over a few lagging and highly critical programs. Such procurement programs as textiles, heavy trucks, rubber tires, forge and foundry have been the major concern of the WPB. The largest part of war production schedules have been successfully met. With a few exceptions the causes for the lagging war production programs can be traced to the problem of low wages.

Secondly, a sizeable cutback problem has developed as the result of changing military requirements. Flexibility in military production schedules is an essential element in modern warfare. The labor offices in WPB, the Office of Labor Production and Office of Manpower Requirements, recognized and accepted the inevitability of cutbacks. What the labor offices did not reconcile themselves to was that cutbacks had to be made without

adequate notification to labor or without appropriate planning for the conversion of facilities and the orderly transfer of workers.

On May 25, 1944, the War Production Board set up the Production Executive Committee Staff to review necessary changes in production schedules. It is composed of representatives from the War Department, Navy Department, and Maritime Commission as well as members from the Smaller War Plants Corporation, the War Manpower Commission, and the War Production Board. The Byrnes' Directive of June 5, 1944, instructed the Staff to (1) establish uniform policies for the cancellation of contracts; (2) give "reasonable" notice of cutbacks to labor and management and (3) clear all cutbacks prior to their being put into effect.

The Staff reviews in detail each cutback of a prime contract involving a reduction of \$1 million or more in the value of shipments in the current month or in any one of the six succeeding months. In addition the PEC Staff is notified of each change in any single contract which reduces the value of items to be delivered during the current month and succeeding three months by \$200,000 or more. Most frequently military necessity, convertibility, and type of ownership—i.e., whether publicly or privately owned—also serve as criteria. By far the most troublesome problem encountered in the handling of current cutbacks is the determination of the impact of a given cutback upon subcontractors.

The long range planning of the PEC Staff is largely concerned with the incidence of VE-Day cutbacks. Full employment during the period between VE-Day and VJ-Day (Victory in Japan) will be attained not only by a proper distribution of military contracts but also by a resumption of civilian production. In this

regard, the PEC Staff has prepared for the use of the procurement agencies in planning cutbacks a list of plants showing those which the WPB regards important in the resumption of civilian production.

The third main influence which has affected WPB activity has been the realization that the end of the European phase of the war is in sight.

The War Production Board plans to remove practically all controls over manpower and production. WPB Committees have drawn up detailed plans setting forth the particular orders which will be revoked after VE-Day.

In addition the War Production Board has issued the following reconversion orders:

Priorities Regulation 23 permitted the manufacture of experimental models under certain restrictions. Priorities Regulation 24 permitted the placing of advance purchase orders for machine tools, manufacturing machinery and similar equipment by companies who decided to resume or expand civilian production. Priorities Regulation 25 provided a method by which manufacturers could obtain materials and produce articles which were otherwise restricted, and although restricted could be made available in limited quantities. This latter regulation has come to be known as the "spot authorization order" and in terms of its effect on the production of goods has been the most important.

In all of these orders it was specifically noted that production could not be undertaken if it interfered with the maintenance of military procurement schedules.

There have been changes in the high administrative offices of WPB.

The Office of Labor Production

The 1943 Executive Council Report indicated in some detail the structure and functioning of the Office of Labor

Production in the WPB which is headed by a Vice Chairman from the ranks of Labor.

The major units in the Office of Labor Production are Plant Productivity Division, Plant and Community Facilities Service, Division of Shipbuilding Stabilization and the Division of Industrial Relations.

Plant Productivity Division

The work of this Division is divided into two overlapping periods. When the OLP was first established, the Division assumed responsibility for working out the labor production problems arising in the various Industry Divisions of the Board, either independently or through other parts of the two labor offices, as appropriate. The Plant Productivity staff was assigned to different Industry Divisions to perform these operating functions, illustrated as follows:

1. Consultation with labor unions on changes in the basic orders and regulations of the Industry Division, in order to anticipate for the Division the effects upon labor and production and in order to secure labor advice in the administration of the order.

2. Plant investigations wherever production is lagging because of labor difficulties, followed by efforts to solve the difficulty directly or to secure action on the part of other Divisions in the labor offices or other agencies involved in the problem.

3. Preparation of wage cases for presentation to the War Labor Board on behalf of companies whose production is of critical importance to the war effort.

4. Handling of problems which involve more than one Industry Division.

At the same time that the Division was doing the operating job in the Industry Divisions, it was securing

the appointment of men from the labor unions to labor assistant positions. The objective was to turn over to these men the daily operating responsibilities, leaving the Plant Productivity Division with a reviewing and coordinating responsibility. The majority of Divisions have labor men on their own staffs to engage directly in both labor production and manpower work.

The labor offices in WPB have been active in promoting the organization of Labor Advisory Committees. After considerable discussion within the WPB, General Administrative Order 2-160 legalized the position of the labor advisory committees within WPB. In all, 18 labor advisory committees have been established and it is proposed to establish 20 additional committees.

The functions of the Labor Advisory Committees stem from the problems which confront the WPB. Depending on the nature of the industry one group of advisory committees seeks to advise the WPB on meeting labor problems in critical military production programs. The other group deals with the problems affecting cutbacks and reconversion which their industries face. The appointment of labor assistants has changed the emphasis of the Division's work. The Division is now more a reviewing and coordinating staff than an operating staff. The Division also performs a number of technical services for the labor assistants.

Labor Assistants to ten industry divisions recruited on the recommendations of the appropriate unions have been appointed from the ranks of A. F. of L. Unions. The ten industry divisions which have such labor assistants are as follows: Building Materials, Chemicals, Containers, General Industrial Equipment, Paper, Plumbing and Heating, Power, Print-

ing and Publishing, Tools and Lumber.

Plant and Community Facilities Service

The Plant and Community Facilities Service concerns itself with plant and community problems affecting the ability of war workers to make their maximum contribution to the war effort.

The Service is divided into four sections: the Industrial Health and Safety Section, the Industrial Feeding Section, the Community Services Section, and the Office of Women Consultants.

The Industrial Health and Safety Section has an overall objective of reducing the manpower loss resulting from accidents and unhealthy conditions in war plants. The In-Plant Feeding Section has for its objective, the installation of restaurant facilities in plants where they are needed, and the improvement of existing facilities which are below standard. The Community Services Section deals with community problems affecting workers adversely, and particularly those which are of concern to unions, such as housing and related needs. The Office of Women Consultants Unit was established to give particular attention to the problems of the many women who have entered American war industries. This office brings together the various agencies concerned with child-care, resulting in the establishment of a number of child-care centers.

The women attached to this office have also worked on many problems of general interest to women, such as adequate locker and restroom facilities, dormitories, work clothes and others.

In all of these activities the Service works closely with the various technical services throughout the government affecting its work, such as, De-

partment of Labor, U.S. Office of Education and the War Food Administration. In addition the Service advises the procurement agencies on particular problems in its sphere of activities.

Division of Shipbuilding Stabilization

Zone standards set by the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee are now applicable to yards employing more than 90 per cent of the nation's shipyard workers. During the year covered by this report, the zone standards were applied to 33 additional yards, making a total of 221 which these standards now cover.

The line of demarcation between the Shipbuilding Commission of the National War Labor Board and the Stabilization Committee has now been more clearly defined and it has been agreed between the chairmen of the two respective organizations that the Commission would be guided by the Interpretative Rulings of the Committee.

A number of sessions of the respective zone conferences were held. Four separate sessions of the Public Zone Conference (A. F. of L.) and one week conference each were held for the Great Lakes Zone and the Gulf Zone.

Office of Manpower Requirements

The Office of Manpower Requirements performs its functions of critical products work, aid to labor assistants, and organization of labor advisory committees jointly with the OLP. Tasks in connection with reconversion have to some extent been divided, with the OLP concentrating on problems of current cutbacks and the OMR, on the long range studies of ways to handle readjustment problems that will follow VE-Day. In addition, the OMR has had the technical job of assuring effective coordination between manpower supply-requirements conditions and WPB poli-

cies for controlling war and essential civilian production.

The OMR has throughout served as WPB liaison to the WMC. The office represents the WPB on the WMC's National Manpower Priority Committee, which gives clearances for interregional recruitment. It represents the WPB on the Essential Activities Committee, which is charged by Selective Service with the responsibility of drawing up lists of essential activities and critical occupations for the guidance of local draft boards in deciding questions of deferment; and it advises Industry Divisions of the WPB on Selective Service policy and, where possible, helps them obtain deferments for men needed in plants under their jurisdiction.

Industrial Relations Division

The Industrial Relations Division is composed of an Operations Branch and a Labor Relations Branch.

Field Staff

Labor relations representatives are stationed in every regional office and in many important district offices of the War Production Board. Their major responsibilities are (1) to serve as a central point of information and assistance to the unions in their areas (2) to advise the regional director of the WPB on war production matters which concern labor.

War Planning, Post (also see: Fair Labor Standards; Post-War Planning Committee; International Aspects of Education; Training and Retraining of Veterans and War Workers; Veterans; Wages; Panama Canal; Free Enterprise; Armistice; Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics; Educational Reconstruction; also see section of Inflation titled "Future Inflation Control"; Social Security; Peace; Wage Readjustments, Post-War)

(Reconstruction Problems)—(1941, p. 199) We must not permit our deep concern with the issues of the war

which now engulfs most of the world to blind us to the vital problems that will press for solution after the war is over. These problems are stupendous in scope and implications. Unless we are able to solve them, we may again "win the war but lose the peace."

Among the problems that will need to be considered at the close of the present war is the transfer of society from a war-time to a peace-time economy. This will involve major dislocations that will seriously affect Labor and industry. Other problems which are of definite interest to Labor include the following: the substitution of constructive work for war industries; securing employment for demobilized soldiers; provision of employment for women replaced by demobilized men; vocational training for those who have been demobilized and special programs for those who have lost their vocational skill through physical injury or otherwise, and the planning of useful employment to prevent unemployment.

One of the most vital of the postwar problems will be the prevention of wide scale unemployment. Unless steps are taken in advance to cope with the situation, the unemployment which will follow the present war is likely to exceed by far even the staggering unemployment in the wake of the First World War.

Other problems worldwide in character are: the physical reconstruction to repair the devastation of war; the problem of nutrition; and the problem of feeding undernourished peoples and caring for those orphaned by the war. Above and beyond these specific problems is the larger one of planning for a democratic world society in which social justice will prevail and in which men can live in peace.

President William Green, in his recent broadcast to the people of Nor-

way, promised that "the American Federation of Labor will aid in bringing just peace and social justice throughout the world at the close of the war." To do this and to meet specific problems it is essential that we should plan in advance and have definite machinery ready. We must not wait until we are overwhelmed by the vast problem that will confront us at the end of the war.

In his address before the American Federation of Labor in November, 1940, John G. Winant, then Director of the International Labor Office, pointed out that "the task of the trade union movement as well as that of the International Labor Organization is concerned with working out a democratic pattern for the world of tomorrow." He asked for Labor's continued support of the ILO and that we act "as an agency for the reconstruction of a peaceful world and for the shaping of a human democracy."

Labor has a vital stake in peace. It must help in planning for a democratic postwar world in which peace must be combined with social justice. The International Labor Organization, through its tripartite setup in which government, management and Labor are represented, suggests a democratic way of dealing with the reconstruction problems at both the domestic and international levels which will affect our entire social order.

In connection with the preparation of a program for postwar reconstruction, it is the recommendation of the Executive Council that the United States should establish a tripartite commission representing government, management and Labor. This commission should have the assistance of whatever technical staff and advisory committees are necessary and it should draw upon the experience and information of such agencies as are studying postwar labor and social

problems and transition from a war economy to a peacetime economy.

We, therefore, urge that a tripartite commission, representing government, management and Labor be created and authorized to study and report upon postwar labor and social problems and to recommend methods of dealing with these problems. Such a commission should be empowered to draw upon the government and private agencies for assistance in its work.

(P. 680) The convention adopted unanimously a recommendation that the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee to study the problem of postwar reconstruction, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to request the Congress of the United States to appoint a national committee on postwar reconstruction, in the membership of which there will be represented experienced men from the field of Labor, agriculture, commerce, industry, and the professional groups, chosen or recommended by their respective groups.

(Adjusting Our National Economy) —(1942, p. 586) Res. 80 presented some of the basic needs in postwar planning and was referred to the A. F. of L. Postwar Problems Committee:

Whereas—Still ringing in Labor's ears is the cry that came after the last World War: "Deflate Labor!" the demand for deflation of Labor came from employers' circles and from sections of the public throughout the country, because at that time wages had risen to the highest level that America had ever seen, and, as in the present period, most of America's industries had been transformed from peacetime occupations and production to war needs, and

Whereas—It was of importance for industry in this country to revert to their normal activities for the following reasons:

1. Most of them had to be retooled.
2. The market for their products had been destroyed, and it required rebuilding.

3. No provision was made by anyone to take care of the millions of workers who were thus unemployed, and, by the very reason of their unemployment, great amounts of money were taken away from the national income which were necessary to help industry restore its markets, and

Whereas—In the last World War, just as is the case now, hundreds of shipyards were built and hundreds of thousands of men were drawn into this industry and kindred war industries, and upon the conclusion of the war the whole shipbuilding program was stopped and the vast army of war workers was turned loose on a labor market without demand. The United States found itself with thousands of trucks and automobiles for which it had no use, and it was faced with the nearly unbelievable necessity of choosing whether to sell them for public use or to destroy them, and

Whereas—War and the preparations for war not only disjoint the normal industrial and economic life of the nation but saddle on the people a tremendous tax burden, which the people and the government are naturally anxious to lift. Although this activity and diversion of our resources to the defense of the nation is justified, it still is equally the duty of the government to protect industry and Labor after the war is over, and

Whereas—The inauguration of relief programs, either as a direct dole or in accordance with the philosophy that was developed under the WPA, will not serve to relieve the depressing conditions that are sure to come; because, first, it must be borne in mind that, in addition to all of the hundreds of thousands of people who must necessarily be employed when war industries cease, there will be a

return to private life of at least eight million men from the armed forces. It is quite obvious, therefore, that it will not be remotely as easy as promised to carry out the promise that these men will be returned to their former places in industry when they come out of the army. Many of their jobs will no longer exist, and for other jobs there will be available a new vast army of civilian workers, and

Whereas—It seems extremely advisable to take advantage of our experience of the postwar days of the last World War and the efforts of the American Government in attempting to meet and overcome the depression that started in 1930 and continued until 1939, and

Whereas—We believe that the Congress of the United States should now enact necessary legislation which will continue in effect the full tax burden that is operative at the close of the war for a period of at least two years. This, in our judgment, should be done in order to provide the national revenue to enable the Federal Government to subsidize the industries of America so that they may continue to operate on the full-time financial basis, even though markets and fiscal circumstances may only warrant part-time productive operation. Such an arrangement would make it possible for industry to go through what may prove to be a long period of retooling and readjustment of business by advertising and other selling operations, to recreate markets and public demand for consumers' goods of all kinds, and

Whereas—Congress should include in such legislation specific provisions requiring all industries, before the subsidy would be made available to them, to offer substantial proof that they are in a position and willing to guarantee a continuation of the high standard of living to its employees,

and that they also stand ready and willing to recognize and to engage in the practice of collective bargaining with their employees through *bona fide* labor organizations of the employees' own choosing, restoring thereby the short work week and short work day which existed prior to the war effort, and

Whereas—We firmly believe that adequate compensation should be planned in advance for the men who return from the war, and that such a plan should be devised so as to balance these payments with employment opportunities, keeping the purpose in mind of providing these men with an opportunity to live properly without the deplorable alternative of begging from either the public or the government, and

Whereas—Careful planning should be made to redistribute employment to men now working in the war industry, inducted into it as a result of the war emergency, so that in peace time they will not be forced to return to trades and occupations offering lower pay, since this will not be equitable but will create considerable dissension and havoc in their lives, and

Whereas—A continuation by the Federal Government of its so-called "long range" plan of public improvements, as a means of creating employment as well as bringing about social improvements internally, will be very helpful in many respects in satisfying some of these needs, and this policy should be conducted on the same basis as if they were private enterprises. In these enterprises Labor should have the complete right to organize and to bargain collectively, and the government should not compel the workers to work directly for it, but through intermediary private employers if necessary since the workers could thereby handle their grievances without being stultified through the long and frustrating

policy of going to Congress and other legislative bodies for satisfaction, and

Whereas—We are firmly convinced that the soundest governmental policy must be based on the capitalistic system of private enterprise, and that the government should engage in industry only to a very limited degree and only in those fields where the manufacture of commodities is required by the government itself, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor initiate legislation on a national scale to implement the objectives sought in this resolution and to implement further these aims by its directives to the various organizations and the exerting of its influence upon the appropriate government legislative bodies, and be it further

Resolved—That the thoughts and proposals contained in this resolution act as a guiding force in the activities of the American Federation of Labor, both in the state and in the nation.

(Dependence on Government Agencies)—(P. 693) The committee refers again to the opening part of that section of the Executive Council's Report which has been referred to it, in which reference is made to the use of various governmental agencies in the negotiating of contracts and the settlement of disputes.

During the progress and for the duration of the war, your committee is fully aware of the necessity to constantly use these federal agencies but we believe that the Executive Council and the Federation itself should constantly teach the members of the Federation not to depend entirely upon the availability of governmental agencies in order to accomplish the objectives and maintenance of our movement. We have in mind, the days that are to come when the war is over, and we believe that the Federa-

tion should carry on a constant campaign to teach the membership of our movement to be dependent upon themselves in the strengthening of their organization, to maintain not only the conditions which have been thus far achieved, but to maintain our organization itself by its own strength.

(Return of Workers' Rights)—(P. 594) The convention unanimously adopted Res. 103 calling for the post-war restoration of all rights and privileges surrendered by the workers during the war.

Whereas—Organized labor has already surrendered many of their hard-earned gains in a spirit of national duty to the war effort, and

Whereas—Directives already issued by Presidential authority and legislation now pending in the halls of Congress make it appear most certain that further and even more drastic sacrifices must be made to the workers, and

Whereas—In the administration of the war program there are agencies, boards and individuals who constantly seek to extend their sphere of influence and their powers far beyond the authority vested in them, and

Whereas—It is no longer a mere question of the abrogation of existing agreements with employers, but the very fundamental rights guaranteed by law to a labor organization to bargain collectively and represent its members that are rapidly being swept aside, and

Whereas—It now appears imminent that we are faced with a general "freezing" of Labor and the workers on their job, or in the industry where they work, which means the end of free labor for the duration of the war, and

Whereas—The constant and continued trend to reduce or destroy the long-established functions of the labor movement must have the inevitable effect of destroying the faith of new-

ly organized workers in their union, and

Whereas—We firmly believe that a solid trades union movement is the only institution which is capable and indispensable in either war or peacetime to perpetuate a truly democratic way of life, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor hereby goes on record as declaring our willingness to assume our right and just obligations in the war effort, and be it further

Resolved—That with equal determination we hereby demand and call upon the constituted authorities and agencies of the Federal Government to commit themselves without reservation to a guarantee of the restoration of every right and privilege of organized labor with the passing of the present national emergency.

(1943) A number of resolutions were submitted to the convention requesting A. F. of L. support for separation pay for ex-servicemen and workers; representation of Labor in solving post war problems; Labor participation in post war planning and representation at the peace conference; a post war public works program; shorter work day, etc. These were all referred to the Executive Council to be taken up in connection with the convention action on the general subject of post war problems.

(Domestic)—(P. 162) Upon each trade group will fall responsibility for leadership in facilitating reconversion to a normal economy. Practically every worker, industrial or agricultural, and every member of the armed forces is wondering—"Will there be a job for me after the war?" Upon production, management, and union executives rests major responsibility for getting our economy started on a scale that will afford jobs for all. Upon them and upon the government devolves responsibility for facilitating

the conversion of private industry and for prevention of uncontrolled inflation.

The change-over of workers from war industries to civilian production, of personnel from the armed forces to civilian occupations, of women workers from war and civilian occupations back to their homes and households, of workers in civilian industries back to jobs which they prefer, of older workers back to retirement insurance—a change-over of approximately 30,000,000 persons.

Obviously two lines of preparation are necessary to meet this situation: jobs must be available and there must be provided a national employment service competent to advise workers where suitable jobs can be had and to facilitate contact of workers with the jobs. Workers and employers must give their best abilities to plans for the development of their industries after the war. Production plans must be approved, machinery and facilities made ready, sales departments organized to assure markets. Industry and unions must look to the government for policies and agencies to deal with contract cancellation, control of stockpile prices, disposition of war production facilities, preparation and authorization of a public works program, rate of demobilization, educational and training opportunities, an adequate national employment service together with ample social security provisions. This is an extensive program, but it must be extensive to meet the human needs and to help in the reconversion of our national economy.

Labor knows that this program can be carried through and offers its cooperation to that end. Labor will not tolerate mass unemployment, a revival of a public works program at relief rates, or other devices which rob workers of their economic and political freedom. Our refusal is

made in the interests of preservation of democratic institutions. Representatives of Labor and of management should join with the government in formulating the basic policies and developing the plans for this difficult period which military developments have hastened or delayed, but which will inevitably confront us. If plans are ready, hardships will be minimized. If plans are not ready, we may easily be involved in difficulties that will make it impossible for us to meet our obligations at home or abroad.

(Union Problems)—A major post-war responsibility of wage earners is to revitalize the labor movement so that it can resume its normal functions. Because collective bargaining was frozen by those responsible for inflation control, increases in wage earners' incomes failed to keep pace with incomes of farmers, corporations, war contractors or total business. No controls have been fixed for the incomes of other groups similar to those imposed for wage earners.

The first labor standard that will shift to a peacetime basis will be the work week. With the end of war production the 40-hour work week will be restored. Upon the union will rest responsibility for negotiating terms of shift or shorter hours without reduction in weekly income. Only by increasing basic wage rates can we escape serious depression forces that facilitate unemployment. In all probability price control will be continued during the transition period, for the cost of living will remain high. Wage earners have relied upon overtime to absorb the deficit between wage rates and increased costs of living. In durable goods industries, where the average earnings are \$49.38 per week, the 40-hour week will reduce average earnings to \$38.64; in non-durable goods the reduction in earnings will be from \$34 to \$30.32. Either basic

wage rates must be increased or standards of living must go down to depression levels, which will involve a drop in national income. Such a drop would delay revival of civilian industries and efforts to pay war debts.

(International)—Armistice that will end military combat will bring us opportunity and obligation to effectuate our foreign policy. While foreign policy is formulated by the Executive Branch of our government subject to approval by Congress, the will of the people controls decisions in a democratic country. Our responsibility at present is for defense of democratic institutions in the Americas and the islands to which we have made commitments. Any new commitment must be squared with our ability to make good.

Wage earners, like all other groups of citizens, hope that we can use the opportunity at the end of this war to establish agencies and understandings, so that we can regularly consider policies and situations and make decisions that will at least minimize the necessity for wars. We hope that procedures of consultation and cooperation developed by the United Nations can be made permanent and broadened in practice to cover needs of interdependent responsibilities of democratic peoples. We hope that through such an alliance opportunities for democratic freedom and responsibility may be made more secure for all peoples. Experience of the years since World War I have demonstrated that the main key to the maintenance of democratic freedom is the right of wage earners to membership in unions of their own choosing. This right, together with freedom of speech and assemblage, and guarantees of civil freedom, constitute a bill of rights which the united democratic nations ought to assure their allies. Experience further shows

that the cooperation of democratic nations promotes democratic ideals and practices internationally, for the plans and purposes of autocrats and dictators mature only with the elimination of democracy. Until such time as democratic institutions are secure in the world, democratic countries cannot enter into treaties of disarmament with non-democratic countries.

Labor realizes that many decisions are being made now that will condition terms of peace, and urges that representatives of civilian groups vitally concerned by these decisions be included in the delegations representing our country in international conferences. We realize that progress toward world peace will be promoted by the development of international machinery to adjust problems that cause wars and by the molding of a world will for peace. We cannot reach this goal by evolving blue prints and resolutions, but we can achieve them by making democratic principles our daily guide in dealing with all issues—both national and international—in scope of effectiveness. Peace and freedom must be achieved each day and each year by free citizens making their individual and collective decisions.

Indispensable to this end is cooperation not only by the United Nations but by the democratic groups within the United Nations. Indispensable to democratic institutions within nations and to deal with matters concerning all nations are the functions of free labor organizations. To safeguard democratic institutions in international conferences, in the peace treaty, and in post-war international agencies, there should be conferences and agreement between the free labor movements of democratic countries.

(Our Good Neighbor Policy)—Our first international obligation is to those countries which with the United

States constitute the New World. We have in common many of the same traditions and experiences that are rooted in the will to emigrate to unknown lands—there to build up a life suited to the land and to their own desires. Internationally it was free from the intrigues of power politics and the suspicions involved in balance of power between hereditary monarchies. Opportunity inherent in tenantless and unused lands offered new alternatives. Free governments now exist but there are economic inequalities and conflicts between cultures that make for individual unfreedom. Differences between the resources of the descendants of European immigrants and the descendants of Indian nations have brought about conditions of agricultural and industrial peonage. Latin-American wealth is mainly in lands and in agricultural products. Capital investments for the exploitation of national resources, industries and utilities have been mainly European-owned and controlled. Such United States capital as was there represented corporate enterprise, responsible for dividends rather than for the building up of good international relations.

Since World War I the United States has made a definite effort to bridge the chasms of language, cultural differences and trade forces in order to establish a real community of interests and concern for the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, which assures our continents against interference from without. Now, as a part of our world war policy, the State Department, the Office of Economic Warfare, the Coordinator of Latin-American Affairs and the Pan American Union are acting to promote goodwill and the exchange of experience in various fields. All Latin-American countries with one exception are supporting the United Nations. To make these relationships

economically independent, our government has organized the Inter-American Development Commission for the purpose of long-range economic planning. This commission operates through 21 national committees whose purposes are fixed by the parent body. To serve the commission the Office of Foreign Investment Information was organized in connection with the Export-Import Bank. The commission aims to encourage joint investments of the United States and Latin-American countries for the expansion of Industries in Latin-America and to maintain close business contacts; it will develop a program for training Latin-American young men in the methods of American business; it will serve as a channel for business and governmental collaboration for inter-American post-war planning.

Under the auspices of this network, regional developmental corporations have been set up for the purpose which the name indicates and will serve as long-range post-war economic and social planning agencies.

Supplementing this organization but acting unofficially are coordinating committees set up in most of the Latin-American countries, whose membership is exclusively representatives from business interests.

The workers of Latin-American countries and the United States are vitally concerned in what is involved in this planning. Unless economic expansion results in adequate wages so that production brings higher standards of living; in vocational and apprenticeship training for men and women that will enable them to be skillful resourceful workers able to manage their own lives; and in utilization of the products of industries for higher and broader levels of living for all, it will not bring lasting progress.

The Office of Economic Warfare is including in Latin-American contracts

protective labor provisions. The same principle should be incorporated in plans for economic development of all these countries so that there shall not be trade competition based on low standards of life for the workers of any country.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor take up these proposals with the various government agencies concerned in this field, and establish a formal understanding with the Director of the Pan American Union for the development of permanent facilities for the exchange of information on labor welfare and standards of living in all countries. Formal requests should be made for Labor representation in all these agencies in order that Labor interests may be represented in the decisions on policies.

(Labor Attachés)—We should continue to urge the State Department to include representatives of Labor in its embassies in the major industrial countries.

(Post-War Housing)—Demobilization of the armed forces and termination of employment on war contracts at the conclusion of hostilities will submerge the nation under a tide of widespread unemployment unless specific provision is made in advance for a program of reconstruction and redevelopment of our cities, towns, and rural communities. The war has virtually halted all construction of durable housing. The peacetime housing needs of our growing and shifting population and of our expanded productive economy will be aggravated by the combined deficit resulting from the building inactivity of the last depression and of the war years. If we are to be prepared to launch a well-timed and strategic attack by all elements of our economy and our community against unemployment in peacetime, and if we are to seize this opportunity to build a broad founda-

tion for economic reconstruction and better living, concerted action must be taken without delay to blueprint the strategy and to define the common objectives as well as respective responsibilities of Labor, private enterprise, and of the government.

Responsibility for housing rests with the local community. There must be assurance that every community is equipped to discharge that responsibility. Workers are ultimate producers of our nation's wealth, and they are entitled to participation both as workers and as citizens in the shaping of the plans for the betterment of the community in which they live. Community redevelopment must not be permitted to become an instrument of self-enrichment at the expense of wage earners by real estate speculators, money lenders and promoters. Provision should be made in every city, town and rural county for a duly constituted land and housing authority representative of the people whom it serves. Labor's foremost responsibility is to assure the establishment in every municipality of local land and housing authorities (1) empowered to direct the over-all course of community reconstruction and redevelopment, including land acquisition; (2) equipped to facilitate maximum provisions for needed residential building by private enterprise within standards of sound housing construction and consistent with the long-range plans for community growth, and (3) constituted to carry out a long-range program of slum clearance and low-rent housing for low-income families.

Stable and suitable housing for wage earners is directly related to their employment, for the wage earners' income depends on their jobs. Post-war housing development cannot be unrelated to the reconversion and relocation of industry and with it to the shift of employment oppor-

tunities in the transition from war to peace. War has forced mass migration of workers throughout the entire nation, therefore, community redevelopment must of necessity be related to the realignment of employment opportunities in each community, each region and in the entire nation. Neither cities, towns nor rural areas can achieve stable growth or meet the demand for better living without a long-range plan. Such planning cannot be isolated in a single community but must be related to the economic growth, regionally and nationally. This need for regional and national planning should be met through a democratic procedure. Representation of Labor, farmers and of the communities concerned is essential in the regional and national planning bodies which must give assistance and guidance to local communities in the task of reconstruction. Architects, technicians and other professional personnel needed in this work must be the servants of democratically constituted public agencies rather than their directors.

Private initiative should play a leading part in post-war housing reconstruction. Basic standards and procedures should be firmly established to prevent sub-standard building, eliminate speculative profiteering at the expense of the tenant and the home buyer, and to provide for a drastic reduction in the interest charges on all home mortgage financing.

In neighborhoods in which a large degree of economic stability can be achieved, cooperative mutual home ownership should be furthered as a means of making home ownership available to families of moderate income. Many war housing projects of the permanent type can and should be sold to the present occupants on a mutual basis where future stability of employment is assured.

The low-rent housing and slum clearance program interrupted by the war should be resumed and expanded. All federal aid extended to local communities for acquisition of slums and blighted areas should be on the condition that new decent dwellings suitably located be provided, equal in number and in rental to the dwellings eliminated. Temporary war housing must not be permitted to disintegrate into new slums after the war and should be removed as rapidly as possible. Wherever possible and suitable, the sites, utilities and materials of such temporary projects should be utilized in the construction of permanent low-rent housing.

Of fundamental importance to a national program of post-war housing is the elimination of rural as well as urban slums. Cheaper financing should be available to farmers and farm workers who can afford to build their own homes. Construction of decent farm dwellings under the supervision of the Farm Security Administration, for gradual purchase by farmers, should be made an integral part of a farm settlement program which will play an important part in affording demobilized soldiers and war workers an opportunity to return to farming under favorable conditions. The migrant camp program of the Farm Security Administration should be continued as a part of a positive plan to achieve stable settlement of families.

Organized labor's responsibility for the development of a sound program, democratically conceived, cannot be fully discharged without active work of local labor housing committees in every community. To this end we recommend that a continuing program be developed by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor to assist in the establishment of active local labor housing committees by our central labor unions and to encourage the establishment

of housing committees by the affiliated national and international unions.

(P. 520) As the Executive Council Report states, the individual aspect of post-war planning is represented by the question: "Will there be a job for me?" The planning aspect involves getting rid of those basic devices that shifted us into a war economy and reconverting into peacetime production. Two main war economy controls are war contracts and war production plants with government control of strategic materials and finished products. In liquidating the war economy, there must be civilian control with a return to private initiative. The government has two major responsibilities in the conversion proceedings: (1) a uniform policy for contract cancellation and (2) administration and disposal of war property and production facilities owned by the government so that conversion will be promoted without contributing to inflation.

As there is no over-all department of supplies, contracts have been made by the various procurement agencies of the agencies needing supplies, and hence divergent policies might be expected if termination of contracts is left to these agencies. We recommend, therefore that the American Federation of Labor urge upon Congress the creation of a civilian agency charged with full responsibility for contract cancellation and consisting of an administrator and a policy board on which industry, Labor and agriculture are represented. There will be hundreds of thousands of contracts to be cancelled. Terms of cancellation should be negotiated so as to enable the companies to utilize their capital for conversion with a minimum of delay. Audits and court procedure or conventional economies on contracts would result in expensive delays for industries and workers. This con-

tract cancellation agency should make quarterly reports to Congress.

The disposal of surplus plant facilities and stock piles of raw and finished war materials and lands acquired for military purposes, is another civilian responsibility to be exercised with knowledge of industrial needs and interests as well as the rehabilitation needs of other countries. These facilities and materials must be returned to a peacetime economy in an orderly and constructive way. We recommend that Congress be asked to authorize a custodian to dispose of these lands, properties and materials, aided by a policy board on which Labor, industry and agriculture are represented. This agency should have full authority to dispose of such surplus properties with the duty of reporting quarterly to Congress.

These two agencies are essential steps in providing maximum employment quickly for those dependent on industries for an opportunity to earn a living and to provide employment for the soldiers who will be mustered out of war duties.

(Union Problems)—We wish to emphasize the importance that the Executive Council places upon the need for a strong responsible union movement in post-war days. Workers will need such an agency to regain positions lost through wage freezing. We recommend that all unions be on the alert to increase basic wage rates as rapidly as possible. Bonus systems disguised as wage incentive plans divert attention from the main objective.

We agreed to wage stabilization as a war measure and the effectuation of wage stabilization agreements we believe is the key to stabilization of the work force. The wage policy now enforced is wage freezing, not stabilization, for stabilization implies adjustments regularly as needed to preserve

balance. If this policy cannot be altered sooner, it will be wiped out with the restoration of normal work hours. The shift to 40-hour weeks must be without reduction in weekly earnings.

(International)—We hope that Congress will declare our basic foreign policy without unnecessary delay. Such a declaration is necessary to enable our foreign representatives and the executive branch to develop plans and negotiate agreements. We believe that world organization to keep the peace must begin with understandings reached between the governments of democratic nations and extended as rapidly as possible to other nations which manifest their desire in good faith to cooperate for the objectives served by democratic institutions. The right to representation of Labor and other functional citizen groups must be provided in all world agencies. This right is a condition essential to protection against bureaucracy.

We are especially concerned that agents of the United Nations entrusted with rehabilitation of conquered countries and restoration of local government and agencies of justice shall understand their responsibility to be the mobilization of local forces to restore their own practices and institutions. One of the first groups to be brought into conferences for this purpose should be the workers. If their organizations are destroyed, they should have opportunity to revive some form of collective actions for their services will be needed to revive economic services as well as local government. The representatives of the United Nations should not attempt to govern the territory, but should get together representative groups to develop their own government. We have no patience with proposals for outsiders to reeducate Germany or Italy or any other country. Every country has a right to its own educational system and its own cul-

ture. Our only responsibility is to provide opportunities for representative groups to restore their own national life and to act in cooperation with like groups of other nations.

(Good Neighbor Policy)—There are very special ties that unite us to the wage earners of Latin-American countries as well as the other countries of the New World, and we should plan to have an effective part in extending and enriching the objectives of our Good Neighbor Policy.

There are plans under way for the industrial development of Latin-American countries as Inter-American Labor cooperation is needed to imbed firmly in such plans, provisions for Labor to participate in industrial development by higher wage rates, better working conditions and higher standards of living.

We note with gratification the administrative reorganization which all agencies with international obligations under the State Department which facilitates the development of Inter-American Labor plans through two permanent agencies—the State Department and the Pan American Union. This reorganization strengthens our proposal for Labor attaches with embassies in industrial countries.

Our State Department as well as international agencies will be increasingly in need of dependable information on the labor organizations of the various countries in the post-war period. We want statutory authorization of such Labor attaches with provisions for their nomination by the Department of Labor on the basis of practical labor experience and certification to the Department of State. All "labor experts" in governmental departments should be selected by similar methods.

(Post-War Housing)—The Executive Council recommends the resumption of housing programs throughout urban and rural communities and we

urge endorsement of this recommendation as a basic provision in all community programs. Construction of houses serves two purposes: (1) provision of jobs for construction workers and workers in supporting industries, and (2) better living conditions for the citizens of the communities.

We recommend that this section of the report be brought to the attention of all central and state bodies with the suggestion that housing be included in all community programs. Private construction should have the leading role in all plans.

Eight resolutions dealing with post-war problems were referred to the E.C. "to be taken up in connection with the convention action" given above, which was unanimously adopted.

(Reconversion)—(1944, p. 7) In keynote speech to the convention the President of the A. F. of L. said:

"We shall continue to serve in the army of production, supplying our brave men who are serving in the armed forces of the nation with the materials they need in order to make the war complete and successful, reaching new heights and setting new standards in production.

"During this convention men occupying highly important positions in our own government, in the army and in the armed forces, will stand on this platform and testify to the grand, wonderful service given by the members of the American Federation of Labor while serving in the army of production.

"In addition to that we will submit to you messages from men who know, whose statements cannot be contradicted, in which they will testify to the valuable service rendered by the members of the American Federation of Labor.

"In addition to winning the war we are moved by a common desire to conclude a just and lasting peace.

We want to establish security and freedom and justice throughout the world. We are united in our determination that a peace shall be concluded that will in itself guarantee security against future wars for the people of our nation.

"We shudder when we think of the experiences through which we have passed and are passing. We cannot think that it was ever intended by Divine Providence that our civilization would develop to a point where we were to be confronted with a cruel war every two or three decades. The worker living in his home, the average American citizen, fired by a single desire for peace, is now demanding that the United Nations shall work out a peace on an international basis that will enable them to feel secure in their homes against the invasion of the enemy.

"Now we are thinking, too, about some of our post-war problems, and those problems will occupy the attention of the sovereign delegates who are in attendance at this convention. We are thinking about the immediate post-war problems of reconversion. We recognize that we must pass from a wartime to a peacetime economy, and we know it is more difficult for the masses of the people to make the transfer from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy than it was to move from peacetime to a wartime economy. We know well that when we are met with the post-war situation there is going to be a degree of unemployment, because it will be impossible to reconvert over night war material production plants created for the exclusive purpose of producing war materials. Civilian plants that were converted from civilian production plants to war production plants must bring about a transfer that will take some time. Then in addition to that, shortly after the war is over we hope our men serving in the armed forces of the nation will come back

home. They must find work when they come home. We do not want them to come back to America, their homeland, and there be compelled to undergo the pangs of unemployment again as they did following the last World War.

"So we are urging and will urge at this convention that immediate steps be taken, preliminary steps at least be taken, for the purpose of bringing about a speedy reconversion. That will involve the disposition of surplus goods; it will also involve the cancellation of contracts. Surely we understand the situation well enough to know that we can't postpone consideration of these problems until the last gun is fired and until the last enemy has surrendered. We should begin now. Good judgment tells us we can begin now and should begin now to bring about a form of reconversion.

"After the war we demand, we insist, that work opportunities shall be created and provided for all. During the recent campaign we heard much about that. We are practical people. We know the difficulties that will be encountered. We are fully conscious of all that, but we still believe that if we will diligently and assiduously concentrate our efforts, within a reasonable length of time after the war is over, we can provide work opportunities here in our beloved land for all who are willing and able to work.

"I am of the opinion that after reconversion has been brought about and we have crossed the bridge again back to normal days and normal times we will face a period, at least, of unusual industrial activities because we know that there will be turned loose a demand for civilian goods that will probably exceed, for the moment, our ability to supply and produce. How long that will last no one can tell. It must and surely will last for a considerable length of time. We hope that we can develop an economy here

in America that will protect us against the trying experiences through which we passed in the years of 1929, 1930, 1931 and 1932. We know we can, we know it can be done. It is not an impossible task; it is a task that will call upon the best that is within us in order to accomplish it, but I am sure that we can realize our objectives.

"Now in planning all this we plan to assist and protect our men serving in the armed forces of the nation. There are more than one and one-half million members of the American Federation of Labor serving in the armed forces of our country. If we add the seven million members represented here, it makes over eight and one-half million members of the American Federation of Labor. Members of our international unions, of which these men in the armed forces are also members, are carrying them as members of their organization in good standing while they offer their lives on foreign soil. In addition, many of our national and international unions, practically all of them, have decided that when the service men return home those who may be members of our unions will be admitted without the payment of initiation fees.

"In addition to that, we are standing solidly in support of legislation that will guarantee protection to these service men when they return home."

(Legislative Program) — (P. 179)
In anticipation of the problems which would be faced when the impact of the reconversion period was experienced, the A. F. of L. presented to the Senate of the U.S. a letter outlining proposals which the Federation believed would greatly assist in avoiding untold hardships to millions of Americans working in war industries and fighting to bring the war to a speedy victory. The Federation letter which was joined in by the Railway Exec. Assn. follows:

"The organizations we represent are unalterably opposed to the passage of any piecemeal legislation to handle the problems of reconversion, with priority given to property legislation. Every consideration of equity and sound economics demands a single integrated piece of legislation which will take care of the human problems of demobilization at the same time that it provides for the security of business enterprise.

"Emergency unemployment compensation, for demobilized workers and servicemen in the reconversion period is an indispensable part of any overall legislation and should not be sidetracked to another committee for separate consideration. There is great danger that contract termination legislation will be passed and the Congress adjourn before any comprehensive legislation is considered to deal adequately with the more pressing human and organizational problems of reconversion. You will agree that every contract terminated means the discharge of workers. Certainly, provision for these workers whose resources must be conserved and fully utilized, is at least as important as settling the financial claims of war contractors.

"We wish to stress again, as we have pointed out in our public testimony that the preponderance of war contractors are in a sufficiently strong position to weather the period of reconversion to peacetime production. The reserves of American industry have never been as high as they are today. American workers, on the contrary, enjoy no such favorable position. When contracts are terminated, the soldiers of production face bleak prospects.

"These are essential truths. They become more forcible every day as war production employment tapers off. The confidence and the full-spirited effort of American workers

in military service and in war industries will suffer a severe blow in the midst of war if they feel that their legislators put money settlements of war contracts above and beyond the claims of human beings.

"We are united in urging the following programs:

"1. There must be no piecemeal legislation such as contract termination legislation alone. An integrated program of reconversion offers the only means of preventing the chaos that may overwhelm us on the production front in a short time.

"2. We stand fully behind the principles of the Kilgore Bill, Senate Bill 1823, which provides an integrated attack on the problems of reconversion. We urge that the Murray-George Bill, S. 1718, be amended to include the Kilgore Bill, S. 1823, thus providing a well-rounded program.

"3. Such a program must include, in line with War Mobilization Director Byrnes' proposal, special unemployment compensation benefits in the transition period to take care of unemployed workers as well as discharged servicemen.

"4. An orderly program for reconversion to civilian production is necessary to achieve maximum production and employment during the reconversion period. Establish an Office of War Mobilization and Adjustment to coordinate all federal activities during the reconversion period.

"5. We favor creation of a National Production-Employment Board, consisting of representatives of Industry, Labor, Agriculture and the general public, to form an integral part of the Office of War Mobilization and Adjustment.

"6. Establish a Bureau of Programs to review and develop government programs dealing with reconversion and production, and to encourage the development of private and local pro-

grams for increased production and unemployment.

"7. Provide adequate protection for, and incentives to, small business in reconverting to peace.

"We believe these to be the minimum essentials of a full program which Labor can support. Any piecemeal attack on these problems, any effort to put one part of the program ahead of another, will fall far short of what is needed. It will be a severe blow to our economy. It will bring untold hardships to millions of Americans working in war industries and fighting to bring the war to a speedy victory."

(P. 575) Resolution No. 28:

Whereas—The scourge of unemployment that plagued this nation for a decade between 1930 and 1940 was alleviated only by the advent of World War II, which afforded temporary employment to millions of workers, and

Whereas—The cessation of hostilities will cause the closing down of hundreds of war plants and will throw millions of workers out of employment, and

Whereas—Congress in its recent sessions, has been seriously considering post-war industrial reconversion, and

Whereas—The A. F. of L. representing the millions of organized workers within its ranks, is vitally concerned with such postwar industrial reconversion, and

Whereas—A comprehensive industrial reconversion program no doubt will be adopted by Congress before the end of World War II, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor demand Congress, as a part of its post-war industrial reconversion program, enact provisions that will afford the maximum of employment to workers who would

otherwise be displaced, even to the extent, if necessary, of government operation of war plants on a non-profit basis

Under the caption "Post-War Legislation" and the sub-heads "Contract Termination" "Disposition of Surplus Property" and "Reconversion," the Executive Council's Report deals with its activities in appearing before committees of the Congress in connection with all legislative measures introduced dealing with post-war legislation.

In closing the report makes special reference to the Murray-Kilgore Bill and the Dingell Bill, both of which were sponsored by the American Federation of Labor, coupled with the information that during the Congressional recess representatives of the American Federation of Labor were cooperating with liberal members of the Congress in drafting remedial legislation which will be introduced in November of this year.

In connection with this report your committee recommends that Resolution No. 28 be referred to the Executive Council.

We further recommend that in connection with the bills mentioned that the Executive Council be requested to carefully study them so that such amendment as may be advisable, including Labor representation on the administrative agencies set up, may be included.

(Construction)—(P. 564) Several resolutions were considered by the convention providing that post-war construction be carried out under a contract system. The recommendations of the convention committee were unanimously approved as follows:

"... a pressing need exists to secure affirmative assurance that all construction sponsored, aided, supervised or directly undertaken by the federal, state or local governments be

carried out by private contractors under a contract system."

(Highways)—Pp. 182, 588) Under this caption of the Executive Council's Report there is presented the necessity for a greater extension of the highways with the coming of peace. It gives the names of the bills which have been introduced in Congress to accomplish this objective.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Council's Report, and calls attention of all state federations of labor to the necessity of securing financial contributions through state legislation which is necessary to the further development of the state and national highways.

(P. 564) Resolution No. 109:

Whereas—During the years of the war the established program of highway construction has been interrupted, and

Whereas—Because of that interruption, together with the rapidly developing changes in the commercial and industrial needs of the country, there is today an enormous pent-up demand for highway construction, and

Whereas—State and national legislation looking toward the development and execution of a plan to meet those changes, is currently under discussion, therefore, be it

Resolved—That this Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as supporting such legislation, and be it further

Resolved—That this convention be recorded as urging that any program of highway construction that may be adopted be undertaken through the contract system.

To speed post-war growth of industry and trade, rapid development of large scale highway construction is of strategic importance and will help greatly in the nation's effort to achieve full employment. In recommending the adoption of this resolu-

tion, we urge that every effort be made by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions to secure the necessary authorizations and appropriations for a large scale highway construction program.

(Social Security) — (P. 151) The E.C. directed attention to the 1942 legislative program on social security which Congress had thus far failed to enact. The following statement was approved by the convention:

In 1942 we urged legislation to provide an adequate social insurance program with equal standards for all the nation's workers as the first step in post-war planning. It is everywhere accepted that an adequate system of social insurance is essential to maintain full employment and that an adequate social insurance system cannot be maintained without full employment. Congress has as yet failed to consider the legislation introduced in both Houses of Congress on our request.

An insurance system to be adequate must provide incomes for those emergencies which most commonly interfere with income earning; sickness, loss of job, long-time physical disability and disability due to old age. By including all wage earners and small salaried persons under the system and pooling risks, pre-payment amounts may be reduced to the lowest terms.

The goal is clear and simple. The legislative and administrative problems in reaching that goal are not so simple. They are further complicated by the fact that parts of the program are already in existence and have developed certain vested interests and reluctance to change. What American workers want is equal insurance opportunities for all—a policy that would promote mobility and willingness to seek jobs wherever they might exist. Present differences in state unemployment benefits make workers

hesitate to accept jobs where their chances for insurance benefits are less.

The principles written into our permanent program should be guided by the understanding that social insurance serves workers employed in industries that are nationally organized and are supplying national and international markets. But insurance is only supplementary to employment. Workers first of all want jobs in which they can use their best skills, so that their maximum production will bring them good incomes. They prefer that job where their homes are, if possible; but if not possible, they must weigh change against a less satisfactory job. Consequently they want their union and the local U.S. Employment Bureau to gather information with a national scope. Because they are reluctant to move, they want the local employment bureau to give all possible clues to jobs with the local industrial area, which draws on the local labor market. The labor market operates without regard to political lines or governmental jurisdictions. An effective national employment service needs to coordinate information from local areas, making information on jobs in one area available to all. Whatever slows down this free flow of information and services, reduces the effectiveness of the services and interferes with workers getting the best possible jobs. Obviously workers will want to carry their social insurance with them wherever they may go for work. They do not want their equities impaired by the fact that they move to another area or region in order to get employment.

(P. 597) The convention unanimously approved the recommendations of its committee covering the several phases of social insurance. (See: Social Security Amendments, 1944.)

(Welfare, A. F. of L. Program for National)—(1945, *An Epochal Year*,

p. 12) No convention was held during the year 1945 due to the restrictions placed upon wartime travel. The A. F. of L. issued a program, however, under the title *An Epochal Year* containing objectives to be followed in the transition period. The general program follows:

Our controlling objective must always be personal freedom. Our institutions have evolved in accord with our basic law—the Constitution of the United States—which assures all citizens personal rights with the responsibility of ordering their own lives. The American Federation of Labor maintains that political freedom has its roots in economic freedom which is a key to freedom of decision. Our government exists to protect our rights and to serve our citizens—not to control their lives.

To better promote their welfare, our government assures all the right of association in voluntary organizations.

The American Federation of Labor holds that national welfare depends upon the welfare of all component groups and is best promoted by informed organized cooperation between groups concerned in specific projects.

All person and group rights involve a responsibility to use them to promote personal and group welfare as an integral part of the public welfare.

With acceptance of the right of wage earners to organize in unions for the purposes of collective bargaining and the promotion of their welfare, comes opportunity for the development of constructive relations with management and efforts for mutual progress. Experience develops understanding and discipline—two qualities invaluable in crisis.

So when the President issued his Executive Orders restricting collective bargaining within the price limits fixed to control inflation, American Federation of Labor unions for

the most part recognized that the regulation was to protect the purchasing value of their incomes as well as those of other citizens, and negotiated their wage increases accordingly. Strikes were not numerous nor were they of the nature of revolts. American Federation of Labor unions have learned to weigh the costs of strikes against accepting less than they want with the maintenance of union strength and discipline.

The American Federation of Labor believes that the efforts in this transition period should be guided by goals which will assure the best interests of all people. If our union demands are such as to establish political domination of our economy, the speed of our progress would jeopardize its permanence. Our economic welfare is best furthered through the free enterprise system which assures individual freedom and responsibility and reaches its highest development through the cooperation of all concerned. Our institutions including the unions must serve the welfare of the nation and with equal care preserve opportunity for individual development and personal freedom of action. For realizing our goals we should utilize both private and public agencies depending upon the kind of service needed.

The experiences of war production have demonstrated the capacity of our production facilities and the way in which scientific research can be used to promote national welfare and strength. These experiences justify our demand that every person able to work and seeking an opportunity to earn his living, has a right to a job. We believe it is the joint responsibility of management and unions to cooperate in establishing a balanced economy that can maintain maximum levels of production affording maximum employment at rates of pay that will enable workers and all others to

have maximum standards of living. The standards of living of each family are conditioned by the home. Comfortable homes with good surroundings should be available for all and slums abolished. Home ownership should be facilitated for those who wish to own their own homes. Cooperative arrangements are a key to this objective.

As we gather momentum for production at this level we look to the government for these aids:

1. The necessary basic economic statistics to enable us to gauge the results of known policies.
2. A shelf of public works to get into operation.
3. A federal housing program.
4. Equal and adequate educational opportunities for all throughout life.
5. Provision for adequate scientific research including the social sciences and the training of scientists.

Implicit in such a program is co-operation between unions and management to increase output per man-hour and to decrease production costs. Management should provide workers with production and costs records as the basis for this cooperation and be ready to make accumulated records the basis for collective bargaining. Workers should be fairly compensated in the light of these facts. Collective bargaining is the key to fair distribution of returns from joint work among those who contribute to the production undertaking—stockholders, management, producing workers, and adequate reserves for continuous technical progress.

Our basic objective is maintenance of our free enterprise system as the keystone of human freedom. Our immediate responsibility is maintenance of a free trade union movement as an essential component of free enterprise.

(Emergency Unemployment Compensation)—(1945, *An Epochal Year*, p. 9) Against a background of restrictions on collective bargaining was the repeal of the excess profits tax which with the charge-back privilege constituted a cushion to relieve employers' worries. Congress provided handsomely for industries and veterans in the transition, but refused to provide any aids for wage earners. The tax provisions have even made some production stoppages profitable.

Long in advance of the end of the war the American Federation of Labor asked Congress to provide emergency unemployment compensation for workers, so that they would weather the transition without drawing upon their capital, and to maintain the United States Employment Service as a federal agency fitted to get workers suitable jobs as soon as they were available.

Even after repeated recommendations, Congress refused to make provision to safeguard the interests of workers equally with other interests in the economy and the nation. While federal responsibility with respect to the U.S. Employment Service was lodged in the Department of Labor, after the War Manpower Commission was liquidated, Congress adopted a rider to the \$52 billion rescission bill returning operation of the employment service to the states. The President vetoed the bill because he disapproved this decision and because he deemed it unwise to enact legislation by a rider into an appropriation bill. We regard assistance in finding jobs one of the basic services of the Department of Labor which must be organized at the level which will make it most efficient in serving management and workers. Both placement and the administration of unemployment compensation are restricted by state jurisdictions while industries gear into national and international

markets and recruit their work forces through personnel departments reaching into all sections of the country. An efficient employment service which can meet the needs of industry while advancing the welfare of workers must be organized along the lines of our national economy.

Congress made other provisions to help business change over from war to peace production. There had been advance planning for contract cancellation. Most war industries were permitted to accumulate reserves for expansion and retooling of plants. An effort was made to dispose of excess war production without interfering with peacetime production. Business got about its responsibilities with little loss of time. Supply lines are being established.

Reconversion means not only making ready the facilities to produce goods needed by citizens of this country and those nations we supply, but it means the demobilization of persons in the armed services and their absorption into the civilian economy, the migration of workers from centers of war production to localities of expanding civilian production, withdrawal from the labor markets of persons not normally employed and a general shifting back to prewar standards of employment.

(Controls) — (1946, p. 121) The E.C. submitted a survey of wartime controls of our economy still in effect. The convention committee approved the report of the E.C. and submitted the following statement, unanimously approved (p. 620):

In connection with its approval of the Executive Council's Report, your committee desires to make special reference to the question of Veterans Retraining and Reemployment Administration.

This entire question of veterans' retraining and rehabilitation is of pro-

found significance to our movement. In general, we share the great public interest in this subject. Specifically, we are immediately interested in the well-being of millions of veterans who are members of *bona fide* trade unions.

There is no doubt but that the Congress sincerely desired to give every possible aid to effect the readjustment, in peacetime society, of those men and women who have served us in the armed forces. There is also ample proof of the desire of the governmental agencies involved to try to render help to our veterans.

However, because the American Federation of Labor and its interested affiliated bodies were not continuously consulted in planning the administration of many of the programs, there is little coordination between the actual needs of the millions of trade union veterans and the program itself.

Your committee would here but briefly indicate to the convention a few of the problems involved in certain of the rehabilitation and retraining programs which today need our active attention.

First, we would submit that in planning the educational programs there has been relatively far too great an emphasis placed on formal college class work, conducted for college credit on a college campus. While we do fully appreciate the value of formal class work on the campus, we submit that it should be recognized that this form of education meets the needs of only a small percentage of the veterans. . . .

We would further submit that academic courses should not be given to such a great extent on the campus. The need for well planned extension courses should be more generally recognized. It would in many cases be far better to bring the study center to the veteran, than to bring the veteran to the college campus. Incident-

ally, it is to be observed in this connection, that veterans housing on college campuses would cease to be an emergency problem if such a decentralized program were widely effected.

Furthermore, the tremendous sudden expansion of our nation's educational program at the adult level should present a challenge not only to "give more courses," but even more to evaluate critically the work which is offered as to content, methods and social objectives involved.

We are well aware of the fact that the use of surplus war material for workers' education has not had the sympathetic attention of those handling such materials.

The present program of subsistence and tuition compensation for veterans while they are in training, gives far greater financial benefits to institutions of learning than is given in them to the veteran.

It is to be observed that in order to make sure that the college or other institution of learning receives full tuition benefits from each veteran, the veteran's subsistence funds (as well as his tuition) are cut if he fails to take the full course—without regard to the relative difficulty of the courses themselves. Then too, it should be observed that in contradiction to the traditional American method of encouraging a young man or young woman to work his or her way through college, the present plan penalizes the young man or woman who does work part-time by denying subsistence benefits and tuition proportionately less, as he may work more. Surely this is not a sound practice.

The field of counseling for veterans needs vastly more coordination with our trade union movement. Sound counseling from men and women who actually work on a job; men and women who know a work-a-day world from practical experience and not merely from a textbook on counseling, would

give the veteran far more nearly what he wants and what he needs.

Unemployment compensation for veterans is a much criticized program. Yet, probably few who attack it are conscious of the tremendous emotional and psychological as well as economic adjustments that a veteran must make in effecting his return to peacetime living after perhaps some terrible experiences in war. Compensation during this period of unemployment is essential. But surely it is not wise to administer so vast a program for unemployment compensation without conference with our trade unions.

It is to be observed that some excellent work has been done in the field of psychological and emotional rehabilitation. Yet, here too, except in a few incidences the functional ties with our movement should be more fully developed.

Your committee cannot in this limited space, even touch upon all of the many aspects of veterans' retraining and rehabilitation in which the Federation has a deep interest. Yet each phase should be fully examined and critically evaluated to make it of the greatest possible value to the veterans.

Your committee therefore recommends that the Veterans' Committee of the A. F. of L. be adequately expanded to be broadly representative of the interests of the Federation in general, and of the millions of veterans in particular.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council explore the possibility of appointing necessary personnel to help conduct the work of this committee.

(Program of Action)—(1951, p. 466)
Toward preserving and promoting international peace and freedom, furthering social justice, and fostering national independence and individual freedom, the 70th Convention of the A. F. of L. proposes:

1. In line with the policy pursued in the signing of a peace treaty with Japan, our government should do everything in its power to have the democracies sign with the Federal German Republic a treaty guaranteeing its unconditional sovereignty and complete national independence. This is the first prerequisite for drawing the German people into the community of free nations and into the Schumann Plan and the Atlantic Alliance where it can assume its rightful responsibilities in the defense of Western Europe and enjoy the benefits of collective security and peace.

2. In accordance with the democratic aims of our nation's foreign policy and in order to prevent the resurgence of any neo-Nazi and other reactionary militarist forces and to assure a healthy German democracy, dedicated to peace, our government should lend far greater encouragement to and support of the genuine democratic forces in Germany—particularly the organized labor movement, whose spearhead is the six-million-strong German Federation of Labor affiliated with the ICFTU and a sworn enemy of all totalitarian ideologies and movements.

3. In pursuance of its repeated efforts to sign a treaty of peace with Austria, our government should hasten the conclusion of negotiations with Russia and, with or without Moscow, proceed, along with our democratic allies, to conclude such a pact of peace and friendship with the Austrian people.

4. In recognition of the utter injustice of the present Italian treaty and its incompatibility with Italy's membership in the Atlantic Alliance, our government should lose no further time—regardless of Russian opposition—to have Britain, France and Yugoslavia join with it in drastically revising the present pact which is a serious hindrance to the Italian

people playing their appropriate and rightful role in the European collective security system.

5. In order to strengthen the Atlantic Alliance as an instrument of collective security and peace, Greece and Turkey, whose troops have fought so valiantly and effectively under the UN banner in Korea, should be immediately accorded membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

6. In accordance with the Charter of the UN, our government should initiate a vigorous appeal to the governments of the Middle East to sign a Regional Security and Prosperity Pact which shall include Iran, Israel and Turkey, provide for joint effort in speeding the urgently needed social reforms for raising the living standards and democratic rights of the people, adequate refugee relief, and, under UN guidance, speedily and systematically eliminate every vestige of colonialism and special privileges for foreigners in this vital area.

7. In support of their peace policy in Korea, UN and our government should make every effort to resume peace negotiations with the aggressors provided the truce conference is transferred to a truly neutral area outside and away from the scene of military struggle.

8. In continuation of our policy of unrelenting opposition to Communist subversion and usurpation of legitimate government, we reaffirm support of our government's present policy of according moral and material assistance to the developing democratic resistance movement on the Chinese mainland, to the furtherance of democratization of the constitutional regime on Formosa and the strengthening of its Nationalist military forces thereon.

9. In view of the need for preparing for the day when our nation shall have reached its peak in armament production, our government should now draw

authoritative representatives of labor, management, farmers, and the public into a commission to formulate a program for meeting the problems of readjustment resulting therefrom and for ensuring the maintenance of a prosperous civilian economy.

10. In reiterating our support of the Point Four program, we stress that it should be applied with full agreement and participation of the peoples helped in order to promote in the underdeveloped areas education, health, technical and trade union know-how, and the rights and living standards of labor.

11. In order to foster a better understanding among other nations of our democratic way of life and institutions, and in order to combat the persistent Communist and other totalitarian slander campaigns against our country, the convention strongly urges our government to devise ways and means of making the Voice of America ever more effective and assuring it adequate funds for meeting these tasks, all-important to our national security and role of international leadership.

War (Post-) Committee (A. F. of L.)—(1942, p. 552) In anticipation of the many problems which confront the trade union movement when the war was finally ended, the convention adopted the following recommendation of the convention committee which considered several post-war problem resolutions:

Your committee has received a number of resolutions dealing with various problems of the post-war period.

Your committee has become convinced such subjects cannot be given adequate consideration by a number of separate pronouncements or recommendations. It is evident that to deal with this most important subject the American Federation of Labor should create a post-war problem committee

to which will be referred all questions affecting our trade union movement which are related to the post-war period.

Council to appoint a post-war problem committee and Res. 16 (dealing with unemployment in the post-war period) be referred to that committee.

(1943, p. 160) A central Post-War Planning Committee, A. F. of L., was appointed which in turn created an executive committee to expedite the preparation and advancement of its work. The following report on the work of this committee was submitted to the convention:

Since the committee is without funds to do extensive research and exploratory work itself, it is setting up relationships with other groups which are making such inquiries. The committee believes that its major usefulness will consist in recommending policies on major post-war problems and in setting forth Labor's relationship to such issues.

The field of study of the committee has been outlined to cover problems and policies of a domestic scope as well as international proposals and policies.

In the domestic field the committee plans to study the responsibility of both government and private initiative in the period of demobilization and reconversion. Involved in this problem is the need to determine what disposal will be made of government-owned plants and facilities and government-owned materials. The committee will also consider the problem of controls for the post-war period—what war emergency controls should be retained, what new ones provided, what controls should be applied and in what degree. There is the definite problem of where and when civilian controls replace military controls; post-war tax policies, and many others.

Life after the armistice will proceed from where it is without abrupt or radical changes. In our own country, the important thing is to have ready plans for conversion with definite provisions for carrying them out. In the government there must be definite provisions and plans for handling cancellation of contracts and agencies to see that all rights guaranteed by the government are made good.

The two basic undertakings are for industries to convert to peacetime production and for workers to find jobs in these peacetime industries. There will be involved the largest change-over ever experienced in this country, which must be effected with least possible long-time unemployment so that we may do least damage to our citizens. Private industries must plan and capital must be ready to make the conversion. There must be a national employment service ready and equipped to cooperate with unions and managements to get workers fitted into suitable jobs with the least bungling possible. To tide workers over the intervals between jobs and emergencies that interfere with work there must be an adequate social insurance system to protect workers against the needless demoralization of relief and unemployment without income.

Our problem will be simplified if the war in Europe ends soon so that conversion can be gradual, but this would only decrease the scope of the problem to be dealt with at one time. The committee believes that unions should begin to consider plans for their memberships and plan to organize committees for that purpose.

In the international field consideration is being given to the safeguards necessary to develop democratic as opposed to bureaucratic agencies and procedures. It is studying relief and foreign rehabilitation, temporary governments and recaptured territories,

and permanent agencies to maintain peace and replace war as an instrumentality for enforcing foreign policy. The maintenance and development of the International Labor Organization will be considered, as well as controls in the field of foreign trade, cartels, etc.

The committee has already arranged to have reports on the following special post-war problems:

Education and Social Welfare.

Social Security in the Post-War Period.

Reorganization of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Employment as affected by the development of transportation industry and by the housing industry.

Rehabilitation and Vocational Training.

Self-help and Cooperatives.

Minorities and Underprivileged Groups.

Women's Rights and Problems.

Other industry committees are in the process of development.

The Post-War Planning Committee recommended to President Green that inasmuch as usual methods of celebrating Labor Day would be impossible during wartime, that Labor Day, 1943, be largely devoted to consideration of post-war labor problems, and undertook to prepare "Notes for Speakers" for that purpose.

The committee realizes its responsibility to develop ways and means whereby the membership of unions may know the major post-war proposals together with their implications for Labor and be better prepared for their responsibilities as citizens and voters. It plans to continue "Notes for Speakers."

The committee thinks that the democracies cannot afford to lose the peace after the human sacrifices that have gone into this war. Nations living together on this globe where dis-

tances have become unimportant need machinery for collective bargaining in order to establish procedures and agencies for adjusting difficulties. The United States has a major responsibility for achieving this purpose.

(P. 515) We commend the prompt compliance with the directions of the Toronto Convention in the appointment of the Post-War Planning Committee. As the report of the Executive Council states, the committee must consider a gigantic task fully aware of the opportunities involved in a change-over of such huge proportions.

We recommend approval of the work of the committee which has been initiated and urge that its work be aided in these two ways:

First: That the Federation set aside an adequate fund to enable the committee to have the necessary technical assistance; and

Second: That the Division on Post-War Studies in the Department of Labor be lifted to the departmental level and its responsible head made the Second Assistant Secretary of Labor, and the Congress be asked to increase the appropriations accordingly. This division has supplied our Post-War Planning Committee with most valuable and useful information so that it is obvious the division with wider scope and larger resources could be of great service to Labor locally as well as nationally.

It is obvious that governmental contributions to post-war planning and reconversion can best be performed by the established agency serving special fields such as the Departments of Labor, Commerce, Agriculture and Interior, and the Federal Reserve Board. These departments which service basic functional groups, can materially aid localities, industries, corporations and plants to facilitate conversion and thereby help

mobilize local and individual responsibility.

An inter-departmental council composed of representatives of the agencies with post-war studies and services would provide a needed clearance center of information.

We urge the Post-War Planning Committee to carry through its plans for special reports and industry studies as well as its "Notes for Speakers" as a device to keep the rank and file informed on post-war problems and proposals.

(Pp. 162, 520) The A. F. of L. Committee on Post-War Planning submitted a rather lengthy report to the convention. The following is the report of the Committee on Post-War Planning, followed by the convention action on the separate sections covered:

(Domestic Problems)—(p. 162) Upon each trade group will fall responsibility for leadership in facilitating reconversion to a normal economy. Practically every worker, industrial or agricultural, and every member of the armed forces is wondering—"Will there be a job for me after the war?" Upon production, management, and union executives rests major responsibility for getting our economy started on a scale that will afford jobs for all. Upon them and upon the government devolves responsibility for facilitating the conversion of private industry and for prevention of uncontrolled inflation.

The change-over of workers from war industries to civilian production, of personnel from the armed forces to civilian occupations, of women workers from war and civilian occupations back to their homes and households, of workers in civilian industries back to jobs which they prefer, of older workers back to retirement insurance—a change-over of approximately 30,000,000 persons.

Obviously two lines of preparation are necessary to meet this situation: jobs must be available and there must be provided a national employment service competent to advise workers where suitable jobs can be had and to facilitate contact of workers with the jobs. Workers and employers must give their best abilities to plans for the development of their industries after the war. Production plans must be approved, machinery and facilities made ready, sales departments organized to assure markets. Industry and unions must look to the government for policies and agencies to deal with contract cancellation, control of stockpile prices, disposition of war production facilities, preparation and authorization of a public works program, rate of demobilization, educational and training opportunities, an adequate national employment service together with ample social security provisions. This is an extensive program, but it must be extensive to meet the human needs and to help in the re-conversion of our national economy.

Labor knows that this program can be carried through and offers its co-operation to that end. Labor will not tolerate mass unemployment, a revival of a public works program at relief rates, or other devices which rob workers of their economic and political freedom. Our refusal is made in the interests of preservation of democratic institutions. Representatives of Labor and of management should join with the government in formulating the basic policies and developing the plans for this difficult period which military developments have hastened or delayed, but which will inevitably confront us. If plans are ready, hardships will be minimized. If plans are not ready, we may easily be involved in difficulties that will make it impossible for us to meet our obligations at home or abroad.

(P. 520) As the Executive Council

Report states, the individual aspect of post-war planning is represented by the question: "Will there be a job for me?" The planning aspect involves getting rid of those basic devices that shifted us into a war economy and re-converting into peacetime production. Two main war economy controls are war contracts and war production plants with government control of strategic materials and finished products. In liquidating the war economy, there must be civilian control with a return to private initiative. The government has two major responsibilities in the conversion proceedings: (1) a uniform policy for contract cancellation and (2) administration and disposal of war property and production facilities owned by the government so that conversion will be promoted without contributing to inflation.

As there is no over-all department of supplies, contracts have been made by the various procurement agencies of the agencies needing supplies, and hence divergent policies might be expected if termination of contracts is left to these agencies. We recommend, therefore that the American Federation of Labor urge upon Congress the creation of a civilian agency charged with full responsibility for contract cancellation and consisting of an administrator and a policy board on which industry, Labor and agriculture are represented. There will be hundreds of thousands of contracts to be cancelled. Terms of cancellation should be negotiated so as to enable the companies to utilize their capital for conversion with a minimum of delay. Audits and court procedure or conventional economies on contracts would result in expensive delays for industries and workers. This contract cancellation agency should make quarterly reports to Congress.

The disposal of surplus plant facilities and stock piles of raw and finished war materials and lands acquired for

military purposes, is another civilian responsibility to be exercised with knowledge of industrial needs and interests as well as the rehabilitation needs of other countries. These facilities and materials must be returned to a peacetime economy in an orderly and constructive way. We recommend that Congress be asked to authorize a custodian to dispose of these lands, properties and materials, aided by a policy board on which Labor, industry and agriculture are represented. This agency should have full authority to dispose of such surplus properties with the duty of reporting quarterly to Congress.

These two agencies are essential steps in providing maximum employment quickly for those dependent on industries for an opportunity to earn a living and to provide employment for the soldiers who will be mustered out of war duty.

(Union Problems) — (p. 163) A major post-war responsibility of wage earners is to revitalize the labor movement so that it can resume its normal functions. Because collective bargaining was frozen by those responsible for inflation control, increases in wage earners' incomes failed to keep pace with incomes of farmers, corporations, war contractors or total business. No controls have been fixed for the incomes of other groups similar to those imposed for wage earners.

The first labor standard that will shift to a peacetime basis will be the work week. With the end of war production the 40-hour work week will be restored. Upon the union will rest responsibility for negotiating terms of shift of shorter hours without reduction in weekly income. Only by increasing basic wage rates can we escape serious depression forces that facilitate unemployment. In all probability price control will be continued during the transition period, for the cost of living will remain high. Wage

earners have relied upon overtime to absorb the deficit between wage rates and increased costs of living. In durable goods industries, where the average earnings are \$49.38 per week, the 40-hour week will reduce average earnings to \$38.64; in non-durable goods the reduction in earnings will be from \$34 to \$30.32. Either basic wage rates must be increased or standards of living must go down to depression levels, which will involve a drop in national income. Such a drop would delay revival of civilian industries and efforts to pay war debts.

(P. 521) We wish to emphasize the importance that the Executive Council places upon the need for a strong responsible union movement in post-war days. Workers will need such an agency to regain positions lost through wage freezing. We recommend that all unions be on the alert to increase basic wage rates as rapidly as possible. Bonus systems disguised as wage incentive plans divert attention from the main objective.

We agreed to wage stabilization as a war measure and the effectuation of wage stabilization agreements we believe is the key to stabilization of the work force. The wage policy now enforced is wage freezing, not stabilization, for stabilization implies adjustments regularly as needed to preserve balance. If this policy cannot be altered sooner, it will be wiped out with the restoration of normal work hours. The shift to 40-hour weeks must be without reduction in weekly earnings.

(International) — (p. 163) Armistice that will end military combat will bring us opportunity and obligation to effectuate our foreign policy. While foreign policy is formulated by the executive branch of our government subject to approval by Congress, the will of the people controls decisions in a democratic country. Our responsibility at present is for de-

fense of democratic institutions in the Americas and the islands to which we have made commitments. Any new commitment must be squared with our ability to make good.

Wage earners, like all other groups of citizens, hope that we can use the opportunity at the end of this war to establish agencies and understandings, so that we can regularly consider policies and situations and make decisions that will at least minimize the necessity for wars. We hope that procedures of consultation and cooperation developed by the United Nations can be made permanent and broadened in practice to cover needs of interdependent responsibilities of democratic peoples. We hope that through such an alliance opportunities for democratic freedom and responsibility may be made more secure for all peoples. Experience of the years since World War I have demonstrated that the main key to the maintenance of democratic freedom is the right of wage earnings to membership in unions of their own choosing. This right, together with freedom of speech and assemblage, and guarantees of civil freedom, constitute a bill of rights which the united democratic nations ought to assure their allies. Experience further shows that the cooperation of democratic nations promotes democratic ideals and practices internationally, for the plans and purposes of autocrats and dictators mature only with the elimination of democracy. Until such time as democratic institutions are secure in the world, democratic countries cannot enter into treaties of disarmament with non-democratic countries.

Labor realizes that many decisions are being made now that will condition terms of peace, and urges that representatives of civilian groups vitally concerned by these decisions be included in the delegations representing our country in international

conferences. We realize that progress toward world peace will be promoted by the development of international machinery to adjust problems that cause wars and by the molding of a world will for peace. We cannot reach this goal by evolving blue prints and resolutions, but we can achieve them by making democratic principles our daily guide in dealing with all issues—both national and international—in scope of effectiveness. Peace and freedom must be achieved each day and each year by free citizens making their individual and collective decisions.

Indispensable to this end is cooperation not only by the United Nations but by the democratic groups within the United Nations. Indispensable to democratic institutions within nations and to deal with matters concerning all nations are the functions of free labor organizations. To safeguard democratic institutions in international conferences, in the peace treaty, and in post-war international agencies, there should be conferences and agreement between the free labor movements of democratic countries.

(P. 521) We hope that Congress will declare our basic foreign policy without unnecessary delay. Such a declaration is necessary to enable our foreign representatives and the Executive Branch to develop plans and negotiate agreements. We believe that world organization to keep the peace must begin with understandings reached between the governments of democratic nations and extended as rapidly as possible to other nations which manifest their desire in good faith to cooperate for the objectives served by democratic institutions. The right to representation of Labor and other functional citizen groups must be provided in all world agencies. This right is a condition essential to protection against bureaucracy.

We are especially concerned that agents of the United Nations entrusted with rehabilitation of conquered countries and restoration of local government and agencies of justice shall understand their responsibility to be the mobilization of local forces to restore their own practices and institutions. One of the first groups to be brought into conferences for this purpose should be the workers. If their organizations are destroyed, they should have opportunity to revive some form of collective actions for their services will be needed to revive economic services as well as local government. The representatives of the United Nations should not attempt to govern the territory, but should get together representative groups to develop their own government. We have no patience with proposals for outsiders to re-educate Germany or Italy or any other country. Every country has a right to its own educational system and its own culture. Our only responsibility is to provide opportunities for representative groups to restore their own national life and to act in cooperation with like groups of other nations.

(Our Good Neighbor Policy)—(P. 164) Our first international obligation is to those countries which with the United States constitute the New World. We have in common many of the same traditions and experiences that are rooted in the will to emigrate to unknown lands—there to build up a life suited to the land and to their own desires. Internationally it was free from the intrigues of power politics and the suspicions involved in balance of power between hereditary monarchies. Opportunity inherent in tenantless and unused lands offered new alternatives. Free governments now exist, but there are economic inequalities and conflicts between cultures that make for individual unfreedom. Differences between the resources of the descendants of

European immigrants and the descendants of Indian nations have brought about conditions of agricultural and industrial peonage. Latin American wealth is mainly in lands and in agricultural products. Capital investments for the exploitation of national resources, industries and utilities have been mainly European-owned and controlled. Such United States capital as was there represented corporate enterprise, responsible for dividends rather than for the building up of good international relations.

Since World War I the United States has made a definite effort to bridge the chasms of language, cultural differences and trade forces in order to establish a real community of interests and concern for the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, which assures our continents against interference from without. Now, as a part of our world war policy, the State Department, the Office of Economic Warfare, the Coordinator of Latin-American Affairs and the Pan American Union are acting to promote good will and the exchange of experience in various fields. All Latin-American countries with one exception are supporting the United Nations. To make these relationships economically independent, our government has organized the Inter-American Development Commission for the purpose of long-range economic planning. This commission operates through 21 national committees whose purposes are fixed by the parent body. To serve the commission the Office of Foreign Investment Information was organized in connection with the Export-Import Bank. The commission aims to encourage joint investments of the United States and Latin-American countries for the expansion of industries in Latin-America and to maintain close business contacts; it will develop a pro-

gram for training Latin-American young men in the methods of American business; it will serve as a channel for business and governmental collaboration for inter-American post-war planning.

Under the auspices of this network, regional developmental corporations have been set up for the purpose which the name indicates and will serve as long-range post-war economic and social planning agencies.

Supplementing this organization but acting unofficially are coordinating committees set up in most of the Latin-American countries, whose membership is exclusively representatives from business interests.

The workers of Latin-American countries and the United States are vitally concerned in what is involved in this planning. Unless economic expansion results in adequate wages so that production brings higher standards of living; in vocational and apprenticeship training for men and women that will enable them to be skillful resourceful workers able to manage their own lives; and in utilization of the products of industries for higher and broader levels of living for all, it will not bring lasting progress.

The Office of Economic Warfare is including in Latin-American contracts protective labor provisions. The same principle should be incorporated in plans for economic development of all these countries so that there shall not be trade competition based on low standards of life for the workers of any country.

(Labor Attaches) — (p. 166) We should continue to urge the State Department to include representatives of Labor in its embassies in the major industrial countries.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor take up these proposals with the various govern-

mental agencies concerned in this field, and establish a formal understanding with the Director of the Pan American Union for the development of permanent facilities for the exchange of information on labor welfare and standards of living in all countries. Formal requests should be made for Labor representation in all these agencies in order that Labor interests may be represented in the decisions on policies.

(P. 523) There are very special ties that unite us to the wage earners of Latin-American countries as well as the other countries of the New World, and we should plan to have an effective part in extending and enriching the objectives of our Good Neighbor Policy.

There are plans under way for the industrial development of Latin-American countries as Inter-American Labor cooperation is needed to imbed firmly in such plans, provisions for Labor to participate in industrial development by higher wage rates, better working conditions and higher standards of living.

We note with gratification the administrative reorganization which all agencies with international obligations under the State Department which facilitates the development of Inter-American labor plans through two permanent agencies — the State Department and the Pan American Union. This reorganization strengthens our proposal for Labor attaches with embassies in industrial countries.

Our State Department as well as international agencies will be increasingly in need of dependable information on the labor organizations of the various countries in the post-war period. We want statutory authorization of such Labor attaches with provisions for their nomination by the Department of Labor on the basis of practical labor experience and certification to the Department of State. All

"labor experts" in governmental departments should be selected by similar methods.

(Post-War Housing)—(p. 166) Demobilization of the armed forces and termination of employment on war contracts at the conclusion of hostilities will submerge the nation under a tide of widespread unemployment unless specific provision is made in advance for a program of reconstruction and redevelopment of our cities, towns, and rural communities. The war has virtually halted all construction of durable housing. The peacetime housing needs of our growing and shifting population and of our expanded productive economy will be aggravated by the combined deficit resulting from the building inactivity of the last depression and of the war years. If we are to be prepared to launch a well-timed and strategic attack by all elements of our economy and our community against unemployment in peacetime, and if we are to seize this opportunity to build a broad foundation for economic reconstruction and better living, concerted action must be taken without delay to blueprint the strategy and to define the common objectives as well as respective responsibilities of Labor, private enterprise, and of the government.

Responsibility for housing rests with the local community. There must be assurance that every community is equipped to discharge that responsibility. Workers are ultimate producers of our nation's wealth, and they are entitled to participation both as workers and as citizens in the shaping of the plans for the betterment of the community in which they live. Community redevelopment must not be permitted to become an instrument of self-enrichment at the expense of wage earners by real estate speculators, money lenders and promoters. Provision should be made in every city, town and rural county for a duly

constituted land and housing authority representative of the people whom it serves. Labor's foremost responsibility is to assure the establishment in every municipality of local land and housing authorities (1) empowered to direct the over-all course of community reconstruction and redevelopment, including land acquisition; (2) equipped to facilitate maximum provisions for needed residential building by private enterprise within standards of sound housing construction and consistent with the long-range plans for community growth, and (3) constituted to carry out a long-range program of slum clearance and low-rent housing for low-income families.

Stable and suitable housing for wage earners is directly related to their employment, for the wage earners' income depends on their jobs. Post-war housing development cannot be unrelated to the reconversion and relocation of industry and with it to the shift of employment opportunities in the transition from war to peace. War has forced mass migration of workers throughout the entire nation, therefore, community redevelopment must of necessity be related to the realignment of employment opportunities in each community, each region and in the entire nation. Neither cities, towns nor rural areas can achieve stable growth or meet the demand for better living without a long-range plan. Such planning cannot be isolated in a single community but must be related to the economic growth, regionally and nationally. This need for regional and national planning should be met through a democratic procedure. Representation of Labor, farmers and of the communities concerned is essential in the regional and national planning bodies which must give assistance and guidance to local communities in the task of reconstruction. Architects, technicians and other professional personnel needed in this work must be

the servants of democratically constituted public agencies rather than their directors.

Private initiative should play a leading part in post-war housing reconstruction. Basic standards and procedures should be firmly established to prevent sub-standard building, eliminate speculative profiteering at the expense of the tenant and home buyer, and to provide for a drastic reduction in the interest charges on all home mortgage financing.

In neighborhoods in which a large degree of economic stability can be achieved, cooperative mutual home ownership should be furthered as a means of making home ownership available to families of moderate income. Many war housing projects of the permanent type can and should be sold to the present occupants on a mutual basis where future stability of employment is assured.

The low-rent housing and slum clearance program interrupted by the war should be resumed and expanded. All federal aid extended to local communities for acquisition of slums and blighted areas should be on the condition that new decent dwellings suitably located be provided, equal in number and in rental to the dwellings eliminated. Temporary war housing must not be permitted to disintegrate into new slums after the war and should be removed as rapidly as possible. Wherever possible and suitable, the sites, utilities and materials of such temporary projects should be utilized in the construction of permanent low-rent housing.

Of fundamental importance to a national program of post-war housing is the elimination of rural as well as urban slums. Cheaper financing should be available to farmers and farm workers who can afford to build their own homes. Construction of decent farm dwellings under the supervision of the Farm Security Administration,

for gradual purchase by farmers, should be made an integral part of a farm settlement program which will play an important part in affording demobilized soldiers and war workers an opportunity to return to farming under favorable conditions. The migrant camp program of the Farm Security Administration should be continued as a part of a positive plan to achieve stable settlement of families.

Organized labor's responsibility for the development of a sound program, democratically conceived, cannot be fully discharged without active work of local labor housing committees in every community. To this end we recommend that a continuing program be developed by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor to assist in the establishment of active local labor housing committees by our central labor unions and to encourage the establishment of housing committees by the affiliated national and international unions.

(P. 521) The Executive Council recommends the resumption of housing programs throughout urban and rural communities and we urge endorsement of this recommendation as a basic provision in all community programs. Construction of houses serves two purposes: (1) provision of jobs for construction workers and workers in supporting industries, and (2) better living conditions for the citizens of the communities.

We recommend that this section of the report be brought to the attention of all central and state bodies with the suggestion that housing be included in all community programs. Private construction should have the leading role in all plans.

(1944, p. 257) The work of the Federation's Post-War Planning Committee was presented to the convention and included a program as follows:

Part I—The Bases of Lasting
International Peace
Guiding International Principles

I. War Is the Enemy. The American Federation of Labor believes that war among the nations waged by the modern engines of death and destruction is the supreme enemy of the well being of the common people of the world. We recognize that our own movement of organized labor — a long struggle of workers for economic and social democracy—has no future of promise in a world living under the threat and burden of the war system. We consider that the elimination of war as an instrument of national policy is a condition essential to the perpetuation and the further development of our democratic way of life.

II. Lasting peace must rest on social justice and include all peoples. We reaffirm this principle set forth by Samuel Gompers at the close of the First World War in the Constitution of the International Labor Organization. This principle has now to be incorporated in the peace settlement at the end of the Second World War. We are in full accord with the way in which it is elaborated in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms set forth in President Roosevelt's message to Congress, January 6, 1941. We note with satisfaction the declaration of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin at Teheran, in which they stated, "We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and in mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into the world family of democratic nations." It is our belief that these principles must be translated into policies and acts, both now and in the future.

III. The only safety from war is in the international organization of peace. The industry of war has now been taken over by modern science even more completely than the industries of peace. It is no longer a local conflict but spreads its disturbance over the lives of everyone everywhere. Labor is especially aware of its destructive power, which drafts so many workers in the fighting forces and creates economic confusion at home. The conflicts of today have proved that we can no longer rely on our favored geographical position to maintain our national safety. Moreover, the vast majority of the workers of our country realize what it would mean to respond to this changed situation by engaging in that rivalry for power which is inherent in any effort to make ourselves secure through a program of national expansion and militarism. The outcome of such a policy is not security, peace, and a rising standard of living, but increasing suspicion, mounting military expenditures, imperialistic adventures and war. We believe, therefore, it is imperative that the United States do its full part to help develop a general system of mutual security.

IV. Victory is not enough. The total defeat of the Axis Powers is essential to clear the way for democratic international reconstruction; but to stop with that alone would not furnish us with any permanent guarantee of security. The United Nations must be ready and equipped to use whatever means are necessary to prevent the outbreak of war. This will surely require programs for policing and the use of armed forces, but we do not believe that the mere massing of force on the part of the United Nations will be sufficient to provide lasting security. In order to maintain international peace, political and military programs must be associated with a far-reaching economic pro-

gram which will be designed, not to advantage certain nations at the expense of others, but to organize and utilize the new productive powers of industry and agriculture for the advancement of the standards of living of all peoples. World-wide economic health is essential to security. The American Federation of Labor is convinced that the acid test of the leadership of the United Nations will be whether they can organize the post-war world for this kind of economic and cultural progress.

V. Prosperity can be achieved by a free people under a regime of social justice. We have demonstrated during this war that a free economy can produce goods in unimagined abundance. In the years of peace a sustained high level of production and employment is also possible if there is assurance of economic justice within nations and between nations. To accomplish this, it will be necessary to get rid of that kind of exploitation which tends to concentrate income in the hands of the few and prevents the great mass of workers from having the purchasing power to buy the things they need for daily life. It also will be necessary to lessen the barriers between nations so that there may be a larger interchange of goods and services for all. The basic test of freedom is the welfare of the common man. We hold that under freedom society can be so organized that everyone will have an opportunity to earn his own livelihood.

VI. Freedom of thought and expression must be safeguarded throughout the world. This is the ultimate moral purpose, underlying all others, for which we are fighting the Second World War. Tyrannical governments which would crush out freedom of thought in their own lands endanger spiritual freedom everywhere. In the world community of today, we cannot be indifferent to cruelty and oppression because such indifference strength-

ens the arm of the oppressor. Mere verbal protests are not enough, and yet we must be careful not to interfere in the domestic affairs of other peoples which are properly their own concern. The growth of freedom throughout the world depends upon the growth of the public conscience without which laws and international agreements are of no avail. We hold that labor organized in free unions has a high place in the development of the conscience of mankind and that in this field its vigilant and active service for the public good will be fundamental for the safeguarding of human rights in the post-war world.

VII. Long-range plans must be made now. While the full realization of these principles will have to await the establishment of final peace, we recognize that piecemeal and experimental procedures will have to be followed in the construction of these new world economic and political institutions. During the transitional period, however, the direction in which reconstruction must move if it is to meet the needs and the aspirations of the common people of all lands should be nevertheless definite and clear. The worldwide depression of the previous decade, and the worldwide war which followed have proved once again that we are members one of another. Poverty, unemployment, and widespread economic insecurity are not endurable in the midst of potential plenty. To organize the economic life of the world so that these possibilities are made actual is the ultimate aim of organized labor. It will be satisfied with no lesser program for the years of peace.

They must not be left as mere objectives and principles, however. The urgency of the situation requires that all of the great functional groups of our society, Labor, business, agriculture, and the professions unite to discover the concrete means by which

these aims can be attained. We believe that the primary emphasis should be placed, not on the creation of a new sovereignty, but rather on the development of definite ways of working together in the international field to accomplish these purposes.

Part II—International Program

The program for the establishment of a lasting peace must provide for the continuing cooperation of the nations of freedom in the three great areas of their common interest, security, livelihood, and justice. This cooperation does not involve the creation of a world government, but the acceptance of definite obligations to work together under agreed conditions and within the limits set by them. The basic principles are those of the Atlantic Charter and the other pronouncements of the United Nations, developed along the lines indicated in the first part of this statement.

1. Security

The program for the prevention of war has already been set forth in the Four-Nation Declaration signed by the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China:

That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security.

That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small for the maintenance of international peace and security.

That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the reestablishment of law

and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.

The substance of this declaration was incorporated into the (Connally) Resolution of the United States Senate on post-war policy. Steps should now be taken to insure the speedy realization of these plans. These steps should include:

1. The calling of a United Nations Commission either to establish the "General International Organization," referred to in the Moscow Agreement, or to serve provisionally in that capacity.

2. The transformation of the war-time alliances of the United Nations into an organization for peace. The initial organization for policing will grow out of the military situation at the end of the war and will remain a primary responsibility of the Great Powers. It should be recognized, however, that this is a purely temporary necessity. The program for international security in the future will have to be worked out by the United Nations as a whole. For this purpose the "General International Organization" will need the advice of civilian as well as military experts. The problem is one which will continually change with the progress of science. Therefore, this commission of experts should advise the United Nations concerning all the technical questions involved in armament and disarmament.

Unilateral action and regional understandings are only valid when in accord with the measures taken by the general International Organization and conform to the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter which bind the United Nations to "respect the right of all peoples to choose the

form of government under which they live," and to make "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned."

We believe that the United States has much at stake in the maintenance of these foundation principles, and the American Federation of Labor pledges its full support in any steps to supplant tendencies toward unilateralism with genuine cooperative action which will broaden and deepen the mutual relations already achieved by the United Nations.

2. Livelihood

The program for economic and social welfare, like that in the sphere of security falls naturally into two parts: the provision for relief and rehabilitation during the war and transitional period, and the provision for long-range plans and policies capable of development under the conditions of peace.

1. Emergency measures arising from the war. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) is deserving of universal support. It should have an adequate representation from Labor on its staff. The aim of relief should be to make it possible for the peoples who have suffered in the war to become self-supporting. We do not believe that either they or the United States would profit from continuing charity after the restoration of normal conditions.

2. Long-range planning. A certain number of international functional agencies will be necessary to insure the consistent development of sound economic policies in a world which will be increasingly responsive to the advances in technology due to scientific discovery and invention. The frontiers of the world of Labor are those of economic as well as political geography, and the economic bar-

riers to freedom of intercourse must not be permitted to block the pathway to prosperity. These problems by their very nature cannot be solved in any single set of laws or agreements because the conditions with which they deal are forever changing. It is, therefore, necessary to maintain and create the pertinent institutions for dealing with them.

(a) The International Labor Organization (ILO) has abundantly justified its existence. It should be enlarged and strengthened as an instrument for raising the standard of living of peoples in all countries and for safeguarding the rights of the working people.

(b) The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) which has now been planned receives the full support of Labor. There should be parallel organizations to deal with problems of health and social welfare, such as the promotion of child welfare, education, the prevention of epidemics, traffic in drugs and traffic for immoral purposes.

(c) In the world of commerce and industry there should be agencies to deal with such problems as (1) the stabilization of foreign exchange, (2) communications and transport on land, sea and in the air, (3) the commercial policy including cartels, (4) fiscal policies and foreign investments, (5) access to natural resources and raw material, (6) to coordinate these activities there should be a United Nations Economic Organization with consultative and advisory functions.

In each case there should be provision for objective studies of the facts which should be made available to the general public.

3. Justice

The program for the reestablishment and development of justice in international relations in the post-war

world has a sound foundation in international law, but must be strengthened and developed with the growth of the common interests in the substitution of pacific means of settlement for force and violence among nations.

(1) The Permanent Court of International Justice should be adopted as the supreme judicial tribunal of the international organization.

(2) The scope of arbitration should include the settlement of economic as well as political disputes.

(3) For the settlement of political disputes conciliation is a ready and approved method for which the permanent political structure of the United Nations should be used as well as special bodies for specific problems.

(4) For the safeguarding of human rights, there should be a permanent international institute to study and report to both international and national bodies on the problem of developing the principles and procedures of international justice with respect to groups or individuals.

Part III—Post-War America Guiding Domestic Principles

1. Our immediate responsibility is to win the war. From the beginning, organized labor has recognized that the winning of this war is essential to the promotion of the interests of the common man in our own country and in the world. We have given unstinted support to the war effort, even voluntarily suspending the exercise of the hard-won right to strike. The result has been an achievement of production without precedent in the history of mankind. Such deeds demonstrate that the American Federation of Labor wants no peace of appeasement. We will continue to support the war effort until a complete victory is won.

2. Our long-time responsibility is the well being of all men: Our distinctive function is to promote the

well being of workers. In serving this purpose the American Federation of Labor has been both an expression and an organ of American democracy. There has been, there is, and there can be no lasting conflict between a movement created by the working people and democratic purposes and processes. Throughout the history of our country, the working people have asserted and fought for recognition of the worth and dignity of Labor; for the rights of the worker in his job; for a living wage and a rising standard of living for all; for social security; for political freedom; for civil liberties; and for free public education. Confronted by the present period of profound social, economic, and political change, we reaffirm our historic commitment to these ends—to both democratic purposes and democratic means. We expect to be represented in both the domestic and international processes by which the post-war world will be organized.

3. The well being of the worker depends upon his rights on the job. The whole life of the worker is pervaded and molded by his job, by the physical conditions under which he works, by the length of his working day, by the adequacy of his pay, by the extent to which he is protected against arbitrary discharge, and by the nature of the strains under which he works. Only as he engages in an occupation recognized as useful by his fellows does the individual have an inner confidence that he is needed by and belongs to his community. The harmful spiritual consequences of enforced unemployment are no less real than its material deprivations. The essence of slavery—one of the most evil of all human degradations—is to be compelled to work at the dictation of another. The right to work and the right to quit work are among the most basic rights of free men. The free and independent

mind, which is the moral foundation and source of our democratic way of life, decay and become corrupted in a society in which workers are insecure.

At long last and after more than a century of severe struggle, the right of the worker to unite with his fellows to protect and advance his interests has been made a part of the law of the land. This right has been given memorable expression in the National Labor Relations Act of 1937, which declares "employees shall have the right to self-organization, -to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection."

The American Federation of Labor is determined to defend this right against any and all forces that may challenge it.

4. Unemployment is the entrenched enemy. The war has shown the vast productive potential of America, once our material and human resources are mobilized for common purposes. In the short space of three years, we have increased the total productive facilities of our nation by nearly one-half. During this same period we have also doubled the total national income. This remarkable record in production calls for a revision of all former estimates of what is possible and desirable. Future productive capacity can provide better homes, better food and clothing, more adequate medical care, finer communities, and richer educational and cultural opportunities for all. We believe that our country can maintain its internal unity and strength and take its necessary part in promoting world security and economic and cultural advance, only as it creates means by which this higher level of production and employment is sus-

tained. In order to preserve and extend our standards of living, American democracy must enter upon this bold and creative task. The American Federation of Labor refuses to tolerate the defeatism which holds that under a democratic regime of freedom, it is not possible to make this abundance actually available to our people.

5. The stability of our democracy will require the provision of productive jobs and services for the millions demobilized from the armed forces and the war industries. Demobilization allowances for returning soldiers, Federal interim placement benefits for all in the labor market, unemployment insurance and provisions for retraining are all necessary, but in and of themselves they do not touch the heart of the problem. In the last analysis the demobilized can have economic security only as they are employed in productive work. There is no substitute for a job. Close cooperation of private enterprise and government—federal, state and local—will be required to maintain production and employment during this difficult period of the shift from the war to the peace economy. The American Federation of Labor is eager to do its part to organize, and support a national rehabilitation, retraining, production and employment program adequate to meet the needs of all who have served on either the fighting or the home fronts.

6. Free and independent organizations of the people are an indispensable means of checking concentration of economic and governmental power. If the common people are to exercise effectual control over the conditions which determine their livelihood, two things are required. On the one hand, it is imperative that the trend toward private monopoly and the concentration of wealth be reversed. History has demonstrated that concentration

of wealth and economic power in private, monopolistic hands undermines the very foundations of a free society.

In our interdependent industrial society, with its vast mass production enterprises, government regulation is necessary to care for the general public interest. It can, however, assume dangerous forms.

We contend that it is only as organizations of Labor, farmers and other functional groups maintain their essential freedom that the danger of both industrial and political despotism can be averted. We therefore demand that in both industry and government more adequate means be provided whereby these functional groups can be directly represented in the formulation, administration, and the evaluation of over-all economic policies.

7. The common good requires the cooperation of the great functional groups. We recognize that organizations of business, of finance, of farmers, and of the various professions as well as of Labor have their indispensable part to play in the development of our common modes of living. Each of these groups should press for the adequate recognition of its own peculiar interests. Fortunately, each of the major functional groups is beginning to understand that the impoverishment of other groups endangers its own security and prosperity.

The workers of the city and the workers of the country have deep mutual interests. The prosperity of the one ultimately requires the prosperity of the other. We believe that the welfare of the nation now requires more than ever the cooperation of farm and city workers.

Impoverished agricultural and industrial workers cannot provide an adequate and stable market for goods

and services. All will suffer disaster if the powerful organizations of finance, business, farmers and Labor seek merely to advance their own interests without regard for the consequences on the community as a whole. We believe that the cooperation of these functional groups in the development of a framework of controlling policies for the conservation of natural resources and the progressive organization of our productive powers is a primary need. The American Federation of Labor proposes to do its part to create means for joint consultation and cooperation.

8. Free enterprise is an essential part of the democratic way of life. As political freedom assures the individual basic civil rights which entail corresponding duties, so economic freedom assures economic rights which constitute contract and entail their corresponding duties. We believe wholeheartedly in free enterprise as an essential in personal freedom. The right to start a business and the right to choose a job is the basis of a free life. Free enterprise and free Labor are interdependent. Neither can last without the other. Our free economy rests on community of interests and it maintains itself through cooperative action mindful of the interests of all concerned. Experience has demonstrated that when the rights of free unions are impaired, free enterprise is no longer secure. By free enterprise we mean a progressive economy which provides incentives and opportunities for individuals and groups to take the initiative and to assume the risks involved in launching new forms of productive activity. Thus organized labor means by free enterprise bold initiative for the increase of the range and efficiency of production, not the disregard of the needs and rights of others.

We want a regime of economic free-

dom, but our enterprise system must demonstrate that it can function so as to husband and utilize, not to waste and dissipate our natural resources. We want free enterprise, but our productive system must be committed to the progressive raising of the national income and the maintenance of full employment. Such a system is necessarily opposed to all tendencies toward monopolistic restriction. We want free enterprise, but we also want an economy which will provide ample support for the health, educational, recreational and similar public services so essential to the welfare of the working people in our industrial society. Finally, we want a program of economic enterprise which will not be repressive, but will support the free exercise of civil and political liberties.

9. Equality of opportunity is an authentic goal of American democracy. Unfortunately this ideal of equality is now denied in many of our established policies and practices. It is denied wherever children or adults do not enjoy equality of educational opportunity. It is denied wherever individuals are deprived of their civil and political rights guaranteed by the Constitution. It is denied wherever workers, because of race, religion or sex, do not have an equal chance to get jobs, and to be promoted in their jobs. The American Federation of Labor is opposed to any and all of these forms of discrimination—whether in the sphere of politics, of education, or of work. We believe that the dignity and worth of each worker should be respected, and that our movement will be handicapped in its effort to promote higher levels of production and employment so long as any of these discriminations are permitted to exist.

10. The preservation of our democracy demands vigorous support of the civil liberties and public education. We

live in a revolutionary age. America is in the process of making far-reaching adjustments in both her domestic institutions and her foreign relations. We believe that these changes in economy, government and foreign affairs can and must be made by and for the people. This can be done intelligently and peacefully only as we keep open the avenues of education, association and organization, discussion, investigation, publication and communication. In our fateful period, public enlightenment and free discussion define a social necessity, not a luxury. Those who would curb these basic democratic rights to protect narrow class privileges and those who would abuse them in the slavish service of foreign governments and alien party lines strike at the very foundation of our freedom. The American Federation of Labor, believing as it does in democracy as both means and end, will continue to fight for these rights and to expose and oppose all who would abridge or impair them for any reason whatsoever.

Part IV—Immediate Domestic Program

What we do now determines our post-war adjustment. We maintain that there must be close coordination of war mobilization and reconversion programs. Policies controlling both the letting of contracts and cutbacks vitally affect our peacetime economy and the potentiality of many industries. The issue has already been raised: Shall we have pools of unemployed or shall civilian industries begin resumption of production? Demobilization guided by Labor's dominant purpose can lead us directly into production at high levels or it can provide privileged security for some in an economy of scarcity. We demand that the United States choose production at high levels.

War Mobilization and Reconstruction

1. The American Federation of Labor proposes that Congress authorize the establishment of an Office of War Mobilization and Adjustment with an Economic Commission composed of representatives of the basic economic functional organizations of workers, employers and farmers. Its chairman shall be chosen from the general public. This Economic Commission shall make the policies to guide war mobilization, reconversion and reconstruction and reemployment. Representatives on the Commission shall be appointed by the President from panels submitted by the respective organizations of Labor, Farmers and Business and approved by the Senate.

2. This Office shall coordinate plans for production and reemployment and time demobilization of armies with work opportunities.

3. This Office, in order to facilitate employment after the war, shall be prepared to promote the effective and early resumption of private business by

- a. Negotiation of contract cancellation.
- b. Prompt settlement of claims.
- c. Removal of government property from plants.
- d. Disposition of government surplus property.

There must be over-all policies to assure free enterprise to small as well as big business to lead into maximum levels of production with high levels of employment at pay which makes possible steadily rising standards of living and to promote competitive business to safeguard our home markets.

4. The machinery for demobilization and reconversion should, wherever possible, be existing agencies operating under guiding policies and in accord with the coordinated programs of the Office and reporting to it.

5. The Office of War Mobilization

shall make quarterly reports to a joint Congressional Committee.

6. The chairman with the representative policy commission shall provide for effective mobilization of manpower, training and retraining, placement of workers and demobilized servicemen and women, and the reintegration of enlisted persons into the civilian work force.

7. Price control and rationing shall be continued until scarcities disappear.

Veterans

For those in the armed services the American Federation of Labor proposes:

1. Demobilization pay to provide opportunity before adjustment to civilian life.

2. Hospitalization, medical care and rehabilitation for the injured.

3. Effective right to complete education and training interrupted by war service or to retraining.

4. Special assistance in finding employment.

5. Interim placement benefits three months after demobilization and to continue for two years after reentering the work force.

The National Work Force

For all wage earners the American Federation of Labor proposes:

1. Federal interim unemployment benefits for two years.

2. Early enactment of a federal social insurance system covering all workers in private industry and groups of self-employed persons, providing insurance for emergencies interrupting work: unemployment and short-time incapacity, long-time incapacity and old age, with provision that the Social Security Board may enter into compacts with individual states or their subdivisions, for the purpose of extending social security coverage to their employees.

3. A national employment service essential to advise workers of suit-

able jobs and employers of suitable workers.

4. Restoration of shorter work-week without material reduction in weekly earnings.

During the war wage earners have contributed increased productivity to the war effort without compensation by increases in wage rates. Justice therefore requires that they return to normal hours without material changes in weekly earnings.

5. An end of the evil of child labor.

6. Adequate protective labor legislation at both federal and state levels.

Union responsibilities in an economy of abundance. In addition to its responsibility for craftsmanship and discipline of members, and selection of officers to represent the union and negotiate contracts protecting members' rights and interests, the union must assume the responsibilities accompanying the establishment and maintenance of maximum levels of production and employment. This implies the unreserved cooperation necessary for full employment with review and revision of rules and practices which were developed to protect workers in a depressed and severely fluctuating economy.

Employers' responsibilities. As the price of free competitive enterprise—with profits to cover risks—employers must accept responsibility for directing initiative toward organization of production, employment and marketing that will maintain maximum levels of production and employment.

Through personnel policies and in collective bargaining employers should promote higher incomes for the work force. This is essential to an economy of abundance.

Union-Management Cooperation. After collective bargaining has become a customary practice, it is possible to develop plans and agencies

for regularized cooperation between unions and management. Such cooperation contributes to efficient production and can materially lower production costs. It makes possible a real sense of partnership in the day to day problems of joint work.

We urge for all production undertakings genuine collective bargaining as the only basis for union-management cooperation.

Housing. Cities and towns, large and small, have been blighted by the years of stagnation in residential building. Mass shifts of workers brought about by war mobilization and war curtailment of construction activity have multiplied the already acute need for housing.

We propose that work of practical and definite advance planning of rebuilding of communities be undertaken at once as a task by citizens of each and every town. This is an urgent job for local agencies on which private industry, organized labor and government can work jointly toward assurance of economic growth and security after the war. Home reconstruction provides the broadest single base for production and re-employment in major industries. In keeping with other plans for an economy of abundance, we should carry on slum clearance and re-housing of families whose incomes keep them out of reach of the private home-building markets. This must be done through a program of low rent housing with public aid of local housing agencies backed by federal government.

Private initiative should play a leading part in post-war reconstruction with safeguards against speculative abuses in construction and financing. Slum clearance and re-housing of low-income families must supplement private effort to bring decent homes within reach of every family and assure healthy, normal growth to all children—our future citizens.

Public Works. A program of needed public works and services ready to be let to private contractors should be available to supplement private employment in the conversion period and to start as soon as a trend toward production decline appears obvious.

Fiscal Policy. Our national fiscal policy must promote our fundamental purpose—high levels of production and employment. Our accumulated national debt and interest charges thereon will mean sustained high tax rates, but if we maintain high production levels this will not prevent our providing adequate educational opportunities, child welfare, housing, health, public assistance and similar services.

Proposal. We propose representatives of farmers, employers and workers organizations should get together in advance of legislation to agree upon our joint responsibilities.

This program deals only with immediate plans. Additional recommendations will be made from time to time.

This report deals only with fundamental principles which are of basic importance and which are guides in making the blue-prints of concrete proposals for dealing with issues as well as providing the machinery needed to deal with changing economic and political situations and forces.

It is obvious that we are now entering into the period of reconversion through cutbacks by which the procurement agencies adjust production and orders to changes on the fighting front. The turning point in the battle of Europe against Hitler was the loss of North Africa and the inability of the Nazis to defeat Russia by *blitzkrieg*. They are now fighting a war the Prussian generals know is lost. These facts actuated the insistent demand that Congress enact necessary over-all legislation. That reasoning

applies with equal force to our organization which will have responsibility for leadership for our seven million members.

The Post-War Committee has already set up a committee on post-war wages. We have the difficult and urgent problem of readjusting wage rates which have been frozen during a period of unparalleled production activity and increased productivity so that workers' earnings will provide the necessary market for industries converting to basis of maximum production and full employment.

We must also be prepared to counsel workers by industries and by areas on fluctuations in employment and unemployment in order that localities and industries may expand or contract plans. High levels of employment with high national income, because the maximum number of persons are employed at high wages and salaries in producing the things and services the nation needs, is an ideal which challenges our desire and ability to achieve it. Only by the most patient, painstaking planning with sensitive measuring rods to show results can we hope to achieve this ideal.

It is imperative that the Post-War Planning Committee undertake this further responsibility and that means be provided for the employment of the necessary technicians.

(P. 572) Your committee recommends that this convention express its appreciation for the constructive work of the Post-War Planning Committee and its notable contributions in the form of a post-war program and a national forum for the discussion of various post-war problems. The Federation's post-war program was one of the first national documents formulating the goals we hope to achieve through the war and setting up post-war agencies for peace. The Federation realizes we are living in a world community of nations and that unless we organize this commu-

nity for peace we cannot escape the recurrence of wars. We believe that such world organization is necessary to achieve our sovereign will for peace and instead of limiting our authority and power, makes possible a fuller realization of the spirit and constructive purposes of our people.

As this document points out, there must be equal care to maintain peace on the home front as in world affairs and peace can result only from social justice. For individuals as well as nations, security, a good life and justice must be possible for all.

The committee has outlined the necessary steps to carry us through the transitional period after war is ended. Many of these recommendations have as yet not been adopted as public policy or preparations made by private agencies to achieve maximum levels of employment and production. We are keenly aware that despite much talk of the desirability of full employment with high national income, unless plans and agencies are coordinated to achieve the goal it will never achieve reality. Unless business enterprises and free unions can team together to realize maximum production, we shall have unprecedented unemployment with millions looking to the government for relief, and deflation undercutting the security of investors, management and workers.

We believe that military and production results are such that our Post-War Planning Committee should be reorganized and charged with responsibility for following employment trends by industries, by regions and by areas, and for consultation with employers, with international unions and with representatives of private organizations and governmental agencies, for the advancement and maintenance of employment, for the maintenance of consumers purchasing power at levels that will maintain high levels of employment, and for the maintenance of industrial conditions that assure personal freedom and jus-

tice to individual workers and free enterprise for employers.

The welfare of individuals is so closely interrelated and interdependent that only by the procedures and principles of cooperation can we approximate security for all with high standards of living.

We shall need approximately 60 million jobs to provide for all an opportunity to earn a living. The obligations of our Federal Government will necessitate a federal budget of approximately \$20 billions. If taxation to produce this sum is not to be unduly oppressive there must be a high national income so that incidents of taxation shall fall on the greatest number of persons. With a national work force of 65 millions we have produced a gross national product of \$196 billions; with a work force of 60 millions, gross national production should approximate \$173 billions. These figures give us the boundaries within which adjustments will be made.

Changes back to civilian production are already in progress as some military schedules are filled. Production of the weapons of war will continue for replacements or changes in warfare which increase orders in excess of anticipation, and to supply the improvements as use in battle indicates the need.

V-E Day will bring orders sharply cutting war production which will drop still more sharply after V-J Day. Only quick return to civilian production with its rapid expansion can save us from serious unemployment in the transition and after full reconversion. Your committee believes the Post-War Planning Committee should be reorganized and converted into an Employment Committee. To be effective such a representative committee should have the necessary technical and administrative assistance to do an effective job as and when needed. The funds necessary should be allo-

cated to the committee which should make quarterly reports.

We suggest that this Employment Committee consist of the present chairman, representatives of each of the Departments, of minority groups, women workers, the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. This committee shall be the planning and policy making group with an executive committee for administrative purposes.

The activities of such a committee would rely heavily upon a public relations department which has been recommended by past conventions.

By awareness of what is happening and changes in trends, by having in readiness persons responsible for transmitting information and submitting alternate courses of policy, and for bringing together persons and groups concerned in problems, much can be done to avert unnecessary human disasters and to facilitate progress toward sustained high levels of employment. Such procedures have the advantage of strengthening voluntary action and free enterprise, by developing responsibility for action together with informational services to aid in establishing the best action for the particular need.

War Risk Insurance, Marine—(1940, pp. 90, 408) Amendments offered by A. F. of L. to proposed legislation providing war risk insurance against marine perils and marine war risks for American ships, their crews and cargoes, were incorporated in bill. As originally proposed the bill was objectionable to some A. F. of L. marine unions, but with incorporation of proposed amendments, measure became acceptable and was enacted into law.

Washington, George (Anniversary observance)—(1930, p. 391) This convention of the A. F. of L. endorses the observance of the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington, to take place in 1932, accept with appreciation the invitation of the George

Washington Bi-centennial Commission, and pledge this organization to extend earnest cooperation to the United States Commission in all possible ways, so that future generations of American citizens may be inspired to live according to the example and precepts of Washington's exalted life and character, and thus perpetuate the American Republic.

(1931, p. 144) The A. F. of L. convention for 1930 unanimously endorsed the proposal for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington and directed the E.C. to give such aid and assistance as may be possible in this patriotic work. After conferences with the representatives of the government commission which is charged with the duty of arranging adequate plans for this celebration, a letter was addressed to all state federations of labor and city central bodies urging that these organizations, as well as all affiliated local unions, appoint committees to consider ways and means for proper participation in this celebration either as individual groups or in cooperation with other individuals and community groups.

Labor yields to no one in patriotism and loyalty to our government and in our reverence for the memory of the great man, the grandeur of whose character and achievements grows with the passage of time and whose work, devotion, wisdom, and statesmanship made possible the government under which we live. We wish to give concrete demonstration of this through our hearty and helpful cooperation in all plans and projects for the proper and adequate celebration in 1932. George Washington was born February 22, 1732. The celebration will therefore begin February 22, 1932, and continue until Thanksgiving Day.

We recommend that every delegate to this convention consider himself or herself as a committee of one to

work enthusiastically with community groups or individuals whose purpose is the proper celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington, or to inaugurate and advocate plans and programs for such celebration.

The officials in charge of the commission headquarters in Washington are prepared to help any group or committee with plans for pageants or other forms of patriotic celebration as may be desired. A letter addressed to the United States Commission for the Celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, Washington Building, Washington, D. C. requesting advice, suggestion or printed data will receive prompt reply.

WCFL (Radio Station)—(1940, p. 581) WCFL, owned and operated by organized labor, had asked for permission to double its power. The convention urged the labor movement to cooperate in the attainment of the object of the resolution (No. 185).

Welfare and Pension Funds (see: Pension Plans)

Welfare Department Advocated (Federal)—(1949, pp. 64, 493) The convention was requested through Res. 79 to endorse move being made to create a Federal Department of Welfare of cabinet rank. Referred to E.C. for inquiry and appropriate action.

(1950, p. 155) Res. 79 of the 1949 convention endorsed the establishment of a Department of Public Welfare. The E.C. reported to the 1950 convention that the A. F. of L. had supported legislation for the establishment of a Department of Public Welfare as one of the principal Executive Departments of the Government. The convention reaffirmed need of such a Department.

West Indies—(1942, p. 550) The A. F. of L. was called upon, through Res. No. 11, to support the people of the

West Indies in their effort to obtain suffrage and dominion status, etc. The convention adopted the following:

Resolution No. 11 relates to an international situation created by the desire of many citizens of the West Indies to have unrestricted self-government. This problem is of vital interest at that moment because of the World War in which we are now engaged.

Your committee is of the opinion that no organized group is better prepared to deal effectively with this subject than the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee, recently established to deal with the problems of India and similar ones.

Your committee therefore recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Anglo-American Committee which represents the American Federation of Labor and the British Trade Union Congress.

West Point Construction Work—(1930, p. 256) The War Department of the Federal Government has been doing all the construction work that has been done at West Point for the past eight years.

Those in authority have violated the prevailing wage and working standards established in the vicinity of West Point during this entire period.

Every effort so far to change this unfair situation has been met by the opposition of those in charge of West Point, supported by the War Department.

Therefore the A. F. of L. protests against this action of the War Department and requests the E.C. to take up the matter with Government officials in order that wage rates and working standards established in the vicinity of West Point may apply on construction work done by the Government in the future at West Point.

White Collar Workers—(1944, pp. 198, 590) Under the caption "White Collar Workers" the Executive Council reports upon its efforts during the

year to secure adequate protection for the 15 million white collar Americans who are imperiled by the existing economic situation. The welfare of these groups was canvassed, and an agreement reached by the representatives of these organizations relative to the proposals which should be presented to the Senate subcommittee. In the hearings held, the representatives of these groups were given an opportunity to present the plight of such workers, and definite legislative proposals were made by their respective committees.

The council's report indicates the urgent necessity of giving every assistance possible to the so-called white collar workers because the position of many of them has become deplorable in view of their failure to secure a sufficient wage to meet the rapidly increased cost of living. The situation for a majority of these groups is a steadily deteriorating economic condition. Their standard of living has been forced downward. No group has been less successful in maintaining a real wage.

These groups, because of the character of their employment, must have the militant support of the American Federation of Labor. We cannot afford to remain silent or idle while a large section of the American workers are being forced to continually lower their standard of living because of an insufficient wage. It should be our definite purpose to extend every assistance to these groups in organizing, and in addition, to speak as well as work for them on all occasions.

Wild Life (Conservation)—(1948, pp 170, 472) The Executive Council reported that the A. F. of L. had supported proposed legislation as follows:

H.R. 2472—To provide expert assistance and to cooperate with federal, state, and other suitable agencies, in promoting the conservation of wild-

life by promoting sound land-use practices.

The bill would authorize the Secretary of Interior to cooperate with appropriate officials of each state, or in his discretion with other suitable agencies, to revise the owners and custodians of lands or of waters regarding methods to restore, rehabilitate and improve areas adaptable to feeding, resting, or breeding places for wildlife. It proposed to make available to states, upon request, special workers who are trained in this phase of the farm program on a cooperative basis providing that the amount expended by the Federal Government in cooperation with any state or other cooperating agency during any fiscal year shall not exceed 75 percent of the estimated cost thereof.

This appeared to be a worthwhile program which would go far to restore the balance in wildlife in America. We supported the bill but it died in committee.

(P. 472) Convention authorized continued support of this legislation.

Wire Tapping—(1940, p. 406) The Executive Council called attention to a House Joint Resolution to permit wire-tapping by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the interest of national defense and in the apprehension of individuals engaged in any subversive or "fifth-column" activities.

While the American Federation of Labor is wholeheartedly in sympathy with and will render full co-operation in the national defense program and in the suppression of any Nazi, Fascist, Communist, or other subversive activities, because of potential dangers to organized labor in the original resolution, amendments have been proposed which are now before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce where the resolution was referred after having been passed by the House.

Your committee recommends continued activity to secure satisfactory

safeguards for organized labor in any measure adopted.

(1942, p. 158) House Joint Resolution 310 authorizes the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department, and the Office of Naval Intelligence of the Navy Department in the conduct of certain investigations in the interest of prosecution of the war, to make use of intercepted communications without regard to the limitations contained in Section 605 of the Communications Act of 1934. Although the American Federation of Labor has expressed its opposition to wire tapping as a general policy, the Executive Council withdrew opposition because this measure is in general essence a war measure—effective only until six months after the termination of the war or until sooner terminated by the President or by Congress. It does not diminish the present power of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the military and Naval Intelligence services to intercept communications. It is intended to make admissible in evidence information with respect to the offenses referred to which may be obtained by wire tapping, notwithstanding the provisions of Section 605 of the Communications Act of 1934.

(1953, p. 200) In its report under the general title of "Legislation", the E.C. stated:

Several bills were introduced to permit wire tapping and use of information obtained in certain criminal and civil proceedings. We testified on these bills and filed a brief stating that we recognized the desirability for authorizing the use of wire tapping by proper federal officials after obtaining a court order in cases involving the security of the United States. We recommended certain amendments to the pending legislation to fully safeguard labor's rights and prevent the use of wide tapping as an anti-labor

device. We also urged that severe penalties for unauthorized wire tapping be included in any bill submitted to the Congress. The Department of Justice insists it needs this legislation for effective prosecution of espionage and sedition cases. We have discussed the problem with the Deputy Attorney General and are confident that our rights will be protected in any legislation that will be reported. The House Committee on Judiciary took no action on the bills.

(1954, p. 125) Reporting on legislation relating to wiretapping by the Attorney General, the E.C. stated that the A. F. of L. had supported an amendment to proposed legislation authorizing the Attorney General to resort to wiretapping under certain circumstances. The A. F. of L. supported amendment would restrict such powers by requiring a court order prior to such wiretapping. The E.C. report stated:

... We testified for the McCarran bill (S. 3229) which makes any wiretapping by any individual or official illegal except in cases affecting the national security where a court order has been issued at the request of the Attorney General. In these instances an order would be issued only on a showing by the Attorney General that there was a reasonable belief that the security of the country was seriously affected by the actions of the individuals named in the order and the order would be limited to a definite period of time. This bill does not legalize evidence heretofore gathered by illegal wiretapping. The Senate took no action on either bill.

(P. 531) Your committee notes that a strenuous effort on the part of the Administration to enact legislation to legalize wiretapping was defeated. The Federation took a position in support of a bill to legalize wiretapping in cases involving national security but insisted on stringent safeguards. The Federation further insisted that

all other wiretapping should be outlawed and made a criminal offense.

We recommend that this policy be pursued in the future.

(Pp. 372, 519) Res. 7:

Whereas—What is known as the "Wire Tapping Bill" but now called the "Anti-Traitor" legislation, demanded by the Attorney General, is dangerously near passage, and

Whereas—This Bill is deeply rooted into the past history of organized labor's struggle through the Pinkerton and Yellow Dog Contract days, now underhandedly recommended by Big Business and Anti-Labor forces, with a cover-up and a smoke-screen of "Anti-Traitor" terminology, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled take action necessary to protest and kill the Wire-Tapping Law.

Referred to officers of A. F. of L. for action in accord with policy.

(1955, p. 151) The E.C. reported that five bills were introduced in the current Congress relating to wiretapping, but that none of the proposed bills met A. F. of L. objections. A new bill was proposed by the A. F. of L. embodying the following principles:

1. Congress should outlaw all wiretapping except in cases involving the national security.

2. Wiretapping should be permitted only in cases involving the national security and only after a federal judge has given a specific grant of authority to a federal law enforcement agency.

3. Information obtained as a result of past wiretapping should not be admissible as evidence in court.

The report concluded: The Administration is still endeavoring to obtain legislation which would permit wiretapping at the discretion of the Attorney General and also legalize use of evidence heretofore obtained. We will continue our efforts to obtain a

bill which will protect the rights of the people and put a stop to the indiscriminate wiretapping now being used in many areas.

Wisconsin Act (Labor Disputes Act)—(see: 1940, pp. 328-336) A number of very vital legal decisions were presented to the 1940 convention by the Legal Counsel of the A. F. of L. These included the *Simplex Shoe Company*, *American Furniture Company*, etc., briefly covered under their respective headings.

Women (also see: Women and Children in War Production; Equal Rights Amendment)

(1924, p. 63) In accord with the instructions of the Portland convention conferences have been held to develop plans for the better organization of wage earning women. Preparatory to the first conference, an effort was made to ascertain the size of the problem. Our inquiry disclosed that there are approximately 3,500,000 women over fifteen years of age employed in industry of whom about 200,000 are members of trade unions. Two conferences of all national organizations concerned and a number of committee meetings were held in our effort to develop a plan for action and the necessary funds for its creation.

The E.C. asked for a full report on the conferences and the plan outlining methods by which we hope to inaugurate a campaign for the better organization of women. After considering the whole situation the council felt that because of the very few pledges of substantial support to a separate and distinctive movement confined to organizing women wage earners, it was obvious that general concerted action would be impracticable. Furthermore, the council felt the plan outlined would inevitably set up a bureau which would be in a position to encroach upon the prerogatives of the internationals concerned and the A. F. of L.. The council held that this danger could be averted if

the work of organizing came under the direction of the executive officers and supervision of the E.C. itself. Because of the business depression and consequent widespread unemployment of the present time as well as the concentration of interest on the political campaign the council felt that the immediate future would not be a wise period in which to launch an extensive organizing campaign but believed that it should prepare and hold itself in readiness to inaugurate a movement with the cooperation of interested international organizations just as soon as a propitious time should come.

The problem of organizing women in industry presents a perplexing difficulty in that by many of the girls and women such employment is regarded as merely temporary. British experience indicates that the turnover in women's unions is nearly complete in five years. This means that aggressive organizing work in shops and factories employing women must be continuous. However, the fact that these women leave industry does not mean their influence is lost to the labor movement. As home-makers, as the wives of trade unionists, and in other relationships of life, they have influence through purchasing in formulating public opinion, and their use of the ballot.

Such women are enfranchised and this is an additional reason why they should understand the labor movement and its purposes. As it becomes increasingly obvious that there is an identity of interest of men and women as workers and as voting citizens it is evident that our plans for organization and education must be better balanced so as to assure coordination and cooperation of all.

After carefully studying the plans developed in the conferences held during the past year as well as the difficulties of organizing work, judgment and experience compel the following recommendations:

1. That responsibility for organizing women in industry be left in the hands of the E.C. at the opportune time with the cooperation of international unions to initiate a drive in such localities as to them seem advisable. As this is primarily an administrative function it should be handled as such.

2. That the Federation can promote the organization of women in industry by making available informational sources and material and by carrying on the educational work necessary to better understanding of the problem of women in industry and the necessity for constructive action.

3. And to endeavor to secure the cooperation of all interested in the protection and the promotion through organization of the rights and interests of the women wage earners of America.

(P. 150) Convention approved of the report of the E.C.

(1925, p. 38) At the request of a number of international officers of trade unions within whose jurisdiction a considerable number of women workers are employed, the President of the A. F. of L. is to work out a plan by which there can be joint planning and concentration of organizing activity under the leadership of the A. F. of L.

It is the purpose of this undertaking to avoid the creation of new agencies or new machinery with consequent additional expense and by the better utilization of resources and personnel to make more satisfactory headway in organizing women employed in industry.

The participating organizations will detail organizers to the localities selected from time to time and the A. F. of L. will designate a representative to act as the coordinating agent and will serve as the clearing center for information and literature.

(1926, p. 158) A special campaign

to increase the percentage of organization among women wage earners was begun in New Jersey in March. Some national and international unions have participated in this undertaking through organizers and contributions. Results thus far have not been what they should, due to indifference among those directly appealed to and due to the fact that we lacked an adequate organizing force through which we could carry forward an aggressive campaign.

The problem of organizing women wage earners involves difficult elements growing out of the newness of the employment of women in large numbers in industries. That these problems must be met is evident from records showing that women are more and more seeking employment in industrial establishments. There is need for continuation of this special campaign and for increasing emphasis in all organizing work for organizing women as well as men.

Special organizing literature for women was prepared for the new Jersey campaign made available for all national and international and central bodies.

(1932, p. 243) The E.C. is hereby instructed to petition Congress to enact legislation which will prohibit the U.S. Government and its instrumentalities from purchasing goods to be used by any and all government departments where women and children are employed in the manufacture of these goods after six o'clock post meridian or before the hour of six o'clock ante-meridian or more than 48 hours in any week or where women and children are employed below a wage scale which provides decency and comfort.

Unfortunately our government in its capacity as a consumer buys its goods under a system of competitive bidding which awards the contract to the lowest responsible bidder. Of necessity, this places the union contractor and the establishment operating

under union conditions at a distinct disadvantage. On the other hand, this system operates to aid and encourage the unfair employer who seeks only to produce goods at a minimum cost with no regard for the humanities involved.

It is the opinion of the convention that the E.C. might well go beyond the scope covered in this resolution to secure either legislation or executive action to the end that the government in its purchase of supplies insist that advanced employment standards, such as conform to the principles of organized labor, be followed by the manufacturer. Cheapness of manufacture should not be the only consideration in the granting of government bids. There are numerous other factors of far greater importance.

(1934, p. 553) Reaffirmed the principle that women should receive equal pay for equal work.

(1937, pp. 175, 310) Reducing the upper limits set by the states on daily and weekly hours of labor for women and minors, is a helpful preliminary step to the general establishment of the shorter workday. The 54, 56, 60-hour weeks that were set as upper limits decades ago, have long been recognized as obsolete. Only, unfortunately, since violations even of such statutes, continue to occur and to be reported annually by the state labor departments enforcing them, they are not as completely obsolete, in fact, as they should be. Bills to shorten hours were introduced in nearly every one of the 43 state legislatures meeting this year, and some measures of success were scored in 10 states. Pennsylvania (which previously had a nine-hour day, 54-hour week for women) established an eight-hour day, 44-hour week for all workers. Ohio brought its women's hour law down from nine to eight a day and from 50 to 48 a week. Illinois established the eight-hour day, instead of its former 10-hour day, for women and minors, and

for the first time set a weekly limit, 48 hours.

New York brought women and minors in hotels and restaurants under the state standard of eight and 48 which governs other types of establishments and brought all workers in these establishments under the one-day-of-rest law.

New Hampshire established the 48-hour week this year in place of 54, but still permits a 10-hour day; Nevada established an eight-hour day and 48-hour week, in principle, but a joker permits evasion wherever an adequate supply of labor is not obtainable. North Carolina again attracts attention by reducing its hours for women from 10 to nine, and from 55 to 48, and at the same time, is experimenting with hours legislation for men, setting for them the standard that formerly applied to women, 10 and 55.

(1942, p. 414) (Need for Organizing) In connection with the change of title for the Journeymen Barbers International Union, to the present one encompassing women workers in the industry, the convention adopted the following statement with regard to the growing need for the organization of women workers in the trade union movement:

This change of title properly takes cognizance of the change in the industry itself. It recognizes the extensive field of service for women, by women.

Your committee would point out that while this change is a technical change in name only for this one international union, it is at the same time a symbol of recognition of the growing importance of women in the trade union movement.

The need of organizing women into our labor movement wherever they work is urgent. Their participation in our *bona fide* trade unions in such occupations in which they are being called upon to serve is a matter of

deepest concern to our movement, to these workers, and to the community as a whole. Millions of women will enter industry this year. Their service to their country, to their immediate community and to the general human welfare is enriched and improved, we believe, to the degree to which they participate with full understanding in the constructive programs of their respective unions.

Your committee would therefore commend this recognition, in form, of the growing place of women in our national industrial life and would further urge that every possible encouragement and assistance be granted to unions seeking to enlist women in our movement.

(1951, pp. 210, 540) The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly emphasized that economic problems of employment do not differ for workers on a basis of sex, nationality, religion or any other standard and that unions should organize workers concerned with problems of work on the job without discrimination.

The American Federation of Labor has emphasized the need of all workers organizing and working together as a matter of principle. Women themselves must be prime movers in gaining equality and bettering their conditions.

The American Federation of Labor early took what was then an advance stand in urging equal opportunity for women to organize as well as equal suffrage for all citizens. Its first responsibility was to get unions to follow this principle by organizing women workers.

In reviewing briefly the traditional policies we find a clear-cut pattern.

The first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted the principle of no discrimination against any worker believing in trade unionism.

The second convention extended to all women's labor organizations rep-

resentation on an equal footing with organizations of men; a most advanced position for 1882.

In 1885, the convention called on working women of the country to organize.

In 1890, the convention reaffirmed its resolve to organize women and renewed its exhortation of women to join unions; state factory inspectors were urged to appoint women as deputies: it was agreed to initiate organizing campaigns for women; in connection with a display of products at the world's fair, the Federation urged no separation of women's work from men's in displays—only classifications as to whether done by women or men.

Beginning with the convention of 1890, the Federation began its cooperation with women's organizations to secure a U.S. Constitutional Amendment granting the franchise to all citizens—regardless of sex. A joint resolution passed by Congress was ratified by sufficient state legislatures and became the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

The Classification Act, which the American Federation of Labor helped to enact, directed that there should be no discrimination on basis of sex in Civil Service.

So far, the policy of the American Federation of Labor was a clear cut effort to secure equal rights for women so that they could have equal opportunity to promote their own welfare and assume responsibility for working on an equal basis with men.

With the beginning of World War I, women workers had greater opportunities to get more skilled jobs formerly given exclusively to men. Consequently, their connection with the labor force became more permanent.

The 1898 Convention adopted the following resolution:

In view of the awful conditions under which woman is compelled to toil, this, the 18th Annual Convention of the American Federation of

Labor, strongly urges the more general formation of wage-working women, to the end that they may scientifically and permanently abolish the terrible evils accompanying their weakened, because unorganized, state, and we emphatically reiterate the trade union demand that women receive equal compensation for equal service performed.

In 1903, the A. F. of L. joined with women leaders in founding the Women's Trade Union League.

The 1915 Convention declared:

The trade union movement which has ever been foremost in the age-long struggle for freedom, was among the first to point out the danger of regulating industrial relations for women by law, and to formulate the policy that women workers, aided by men, must organize and work out their own salvation, develop their own ideas, and be responsible for their realization.

The 1917 convention declared: The A. F. of L. reiterates its well defined position and insists that equal pay should be given for equal work without regard to sex.

In 1922, the A F. of L. Convention declared:

International and national organizations that do not admit women workers to membership are urged to give early consideration for such admission. Where women workers are refused admission to international unions having jurisdiction over the industry in which they are employed, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is directed to take up the subject with the international unions involved and endeavor to reach an understanding as to the issuance of federal charters.

The A. F. of L. has sponsored and assisted efforts to put a floor under collective bargaining for women work-

ers by legislation, limiting excessive hours of work, fixing minimum wages, and finally by local legislation to bring in the aid of mediation in establishing the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Our program has consisted of a series of proposals to provide equality of opportunity for women workers with men, to promote their own welfare. The A. F. of L. gave substantial aid in removing handicaps that constituted discrimination.

The Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor in 1945 sponsored a federal bill to make the Secretary of Labor responsible for enforcing the equal pay for equal work program under federal jurisdiction. Similar bills have been introduced in succeeding Congresses. This broad proposal necessitates decision on fundamental principles: shall we recommend that equal pay for equal work be included in trade union contracts enforced by unions and their officers, or shall women be advised to secure this standard and its enforcement by federal law and administration? The latter course takes this objective out of the contractual realm, and places it under an administrator, with ultimate enforcement through fines and imprisonment.

Since the Defense Production Administration is counting upon inducing a greater number of women to join the labor force, it is timely that we review our organizing plans, to seek to convince women workers that they should enlist in the ranks of the appropriate trade union for their own best interests as well as in consideration of the welfare of other workers. When women join the labor force, they should share the responsibility of employed persons to keep their standards in line with technical progress. Women, no more than men workers, should not expect to share the benefits of organizations unless they also share in the work necessary

to maintain effective and progressive standards.

The American Federation of Labor has always opposed regulation or fixation of wages or hours by law, except minimum standards evolved out of experience, because we believe progress is best facilitated when management and unions agree upon standards which can be reconsidered whenever conditions warrant. Mutual agreement between the two non-governmental groups concerned is a simpler and surer method than amending standards embodied in law or inducing government administrators to modify decisions and policies.

For the reason that standards can keep pace with technical progress more easily through joint contracts administered by non-governmental agents than by legislation administered by political agents, we urge women workers not to put their primary dependence in legislation, but to accept personal responsibility contributing to efforts for progress. The policy of turning first to legislation has the illusory lure of the finality of established policy, but it would leave women without their tool—the union—in securing enforcement of labor laws. Progress for women would become separate from that for men to the detriment of progress for both.

Because of the difficulties of operating partly through legislation and partly through unions, one method would probably drive the other out for all workers. The influence of management would be for the more clumsy medium—legislation and government administration—thus losing the flexibility of non-governmental agencies.

We believe that the more constructive approach to this problem of equal treatment is along these lines: (1) to assure women of equal access with men to opportunities for training for skilled work in order to be equipped for employment. Such opportunity

can be utilized by those who want the training; (2) to call on all national and international unions to develop special and sustained plans for the organization of women workers and to establish the practice of equal standards for all without discrimination; and (3) to negotiate all wage scales to provide the same pay for all doing the same or equal work without discrimination.

We believe it unwise to seek federal legislation to accomplish what experience indicates is a matter for organization and contract between the workers and employers concerned. In addition to long established practices, experience under Taft-Hartley demonstrates the un wisdom of putting control over the content of collective bargaining under administrative control. Such control restricts freedom of contract.

(P. 540) Your committee believes that the Executive Council is wise in calling attention early in the defense effort to the need of trade union membership for women who must do their part in defense work. Expansion of both civilian and defense production, together with need for more men for military service means that our chief manpower sources will be women and older workers.

We well know that workers do not do their best work where the work force is part non-union and only a part organized in trade unions. Our first responsibility is to bring women into affiliation with unions to which they are eligible along with new men workers and those coming back from retirement. Organization and education of workers is the responsibility of our unions. There are no short cuts to relieve us of continuous organization efforts. Any discrimination that creeps into organization work, whether based on sex, nationality or religion, limits the potentiality and effectiveness of that union which practices it. Wages, hours and other

economic factors respond to economic forces which must be as inclusive as possible to get best results.

We urge that the President of the American Federation of Labor urge upon national and international officials and Federation organizations to give priority to organization of women workers. We urge also the abolition of discriminatory women's rates so that unions shall stand uncompromisingly for equal pay for equal work, and one rate on the job. This policy is necessary to protect the rates and employment for men and living standards for families.

We move also approval of the Executive Council's position that we disapprove dealing with the matter of equal pay by federal law at this time, and make final decision on that policy after more experience. The proposal would increase the authority of the Federal Government to intervene in collective bargaining and union contract—a right which we are finding most troublesome and constrictive under Taft-Hartley.

(1952, p. 226) . . . There can be no question but that women are permanently an integral part of the labor force, working because they must have income to support themselves and their dependents. . . .

Plans for defense and defense production have made additional employment opportunities for women who need these opportunities for their own and their dependents support. Diversion of men to the military services makes entrance into jobs previously barred to women open to such as can get the necessary required training. In such emergencies, training rarely provides for full craft training but trains for special operations. But even this much enables women to get into occupations previously completely barred. This and previous experience indicate that the road to equal industrial opportunities begins with assuring equal access to

craft and industrial training. To do equal work with equal efficiency necessitates equal training, understanding and ability to maintain volume of high quality production.

The discipline of daily work under specific conditions where standards must be maintained is good for both women and men workers providing opportunities for creative development.

We recommend the following program for the coming year:

1. That every national and international union within whose jurisdiction women workers are employed initiate a special organization program to turn these women workers into good trade unionists.
2. That the A. F. of L. Director of Organization assist this movement by promoting common undertakings and pooling experience. . . .

It is also important that women workers realize their responsibilities as members of the labor force and assume the duties of keeping step with industrial progress. Even if it should happen that some women workers ceased to be income earners, they would still be better off living in a world where workers are better off as a result of universal sharing in progress.

Women workers who marry and become responsible for family welfare will purchase supplies with understanding of workers' problems and problems of workers' progress. . . .

(P. 445) Committee recommendations unanimously approved as follows:

The contribution made by women workers to our economic life has gained special importance during the present defense mobilization. Women are being called upon in increasing numbers to fill essential defense jobs and to replace men leaving civilian work for employment in defense in-

dustries or induction into the Armed Forces.

It is important that these women workers be brought as rapidly as possible into the organized labor movement. Your committee is fully in accord with the Executive Council's recommendation that every national and international union initiate a special organizational drive to bring women workers into our trade unions and that the Director of Organization of the A. F. of L. assist our affiliates in achieving this purpose in every way possible and that he help coordinate this effort.

The Executive Council calls attention to the valuable information on the problems of women workers, collected and published by the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. Your committee recommends that full use be made of these materials in our efforts to organize women workers.

(Women and Children in War Production)—(1942, p. 197) Women and young people who are entering the labor market in increasing numbers make up two of our major reserves of manpower.

At the present time women are accounting for more of the current upswing in employment than men. Between May, 1941, and May, 1942, 1,700,000 additional women were employed and only 1,400,000 additional men. A great many of these women have been and will be drawn from nonworker groups, as shown by the fact that the number of women who were unemployed during the May, 1941, to May, 1942, period declined by only 800,000. Assimilation of new women into industry involves special problems which must be dealt with in the interest of the workers themselves and in furthering the goals for which this war is being fought. These problems include quality of training, conditions of work, special safeguards on the job, hours and wages, and, for

the large group of mothers with children under 16 years, adequate provision for day care of children.

The new woman worker is as entitled to the same program of orientation into this new field of activity as is the male worker who enters industry from agriculture. Both the industry and the worker will profit from careful initial training and intelligent use of personnel advisers.

In both England and Germany it was found that labor laws must be strengthened rather than relaxed to bring about successful employment of women in industry, yet we find in this country that many states have relaxed labor laws affecting the employment of women in industry. By the end of July, 1942, 34 states had taken legislative or administrative action to relax laws which require a day of rest every seven days, restrict night work, and set maximum hours for women workers. Most of the new laws are of a temporary nature enacted for the emergency period only. We must make certain, however, that these women and their families are not victimized by their patriotism and that relaxations and exemptions are not granted unless such a step is vital to an Allied victory. Employers and legislators should also bear in mind the rapid decline in efficiency where health and morale are damaged by long hours or night shifts.

Our experience in the last war and during our present war production program has proved that the work of women in industry is equal, and in many cases superior, to that of men. Wages paid to women workers must be equal to the pay of male workers for the same job. The differential wage rate is disappearing to a degree and it must be eliminated entirely from our production picture. Wages, hours and conditions of work for women can be improved through organization. We call the attention of all international unions to their

responsibility to offer this new group of workers membership and the necessary union protection.

Several million potential women workers are prevented from entering the labor market by their responsibility for children under 16 years of age. The mothers' first responsibility is to home and children and they should not seek employment unless the need is imperative. There is a large group of working mothers whose young children are not being adequately cared for during their working hours. According to school reports, the practice of keeping seven and eight-year-olds home from school to care for younger children is becoming more and more prevalent. Increasing number of "latch key" children must unlock an empty house and prepare their own meals after school hours. Such gross neglect will inevitably be reflected in the growth of juvenile delinquency, a problem which we faced during the last war and which is serious in England today. Adequate provision must be made to care for these children and to relieve their mothers of anxiety. Freedom from worry over home responsibilities is important to efficiency on the job.

Community programs for day-care of children, supported by state leadership and guidance and by federal assistance where necessary, are imperative in areas where mothers are being employed in war work. A "Committee for the Care of Children in Wartime" should be formed in each community, with representatives from social agencies, parent groups, labor organizations, employer organizations, educational institutions, and government agencies concerned with defense and public welfare. The program prepared by the Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor includes individual counseling service for mothers, foster-family day care, centers for group care, before and

after school care for the school-age child, homemaker service, supplementary care for sick children, and training programs for homemaker aides, foster mothers, and group care personnel.

By the end of July, 1942, four states had taken action which in varying degrees relaxes the protection under the law of children in industry. The safeguarding of young workers in wartime industry and agriculture is of major importance. In 1941 more than 3,000,000 persons of 14 years and over, who were in school in April, were actively participating in the labor market during July and August. Figures covering the summer of 1942 will show an even greater influx of students, especially into agricultural labor. Available jobs at good pay will induce many to continue working rather than to return to school in September. Child labor laws and school attendance requirements must be maintained for the protection of these young people. "Children bear the promise of a better world. Our task as never before is to defend and protect them to the end that the promise is fulfilled." The youth of America must be prepared mentally and physically to accept the responsibilities of rebuilding the world when this war is ended.

The American Federation of Labor urges that there be no relaxation in protection of working women and children under labor legislation. Although the course of the war may necessitate some modification of this policy, at the present time it is neither necessary nor advisable that more severe demands be made upon the women and young people engaged in war production.

(P. 468) As men are drawn from their normal occupations into the armed services their places in our economy must be filled. At present the total of our work force including those in the armed services is over 58

millions, about five millions having been shifted from civilian and war production to the military services. As the armed forces are increased they will also be supplemented by an increasing quota of women.

Our industrial and civilian life must be carried on by those left. Already older men have been recalled to industry and women and, unfortunately, children are filling the vacancies. Already 12.6 millions are employed in war production. This number is expected to reach 17.5 millions by the end of the year, and 20 millions by the end of 1943. Workers in civilian production will drop from 29.8 millions as of December, 1941, to 20.5 millions by next December, and to 19.1 millions by the end of 1943.

Of our total population 14 years and over (103.1 millions, about half of whom are males and half females) over 58 millions are already in our national labor force. These 58 million include 84 per cent of all males and 29 per cent of all females aged 14 years and over. Of the remaining 45.1 millions, 8.1 millions are in school, 6.0 millions are physically handicapped, 1.3 millions are institutionalized, 29.8 millions are home makers. Practically all the 8 million males not in the labor force are in school, handicapped, or in institutions, and they are predominantly very old or very young. Nearly 37 million women are outside the labor market. Of these, 29.8 millions are home makers, 4.1 millions are in school, 2.4 millions unable to work, and one-half million in institutions.

It is the 29.8 million home makers who are the potential labor reserves from which must come needed workers to replace men drawn from civilian or war industries and also the women taken into military service. One-half of the home makers are aged between 20 and 44 and nine-tenths are under 65 years, about 79 per cent are married, and more than half have one or more children; 12.7 millions have chil-

dren under 16 years, nearly one-half have at least one child under 5 years of age, approximately one-fourth have at least one child between the ages of 5 and 9. Two million are single persons. This group—the married women with no children under 16 years, and married women with children over 10 years of age—constitute the most likely reserve labor force that should be utilized before children are taken from education.

It is obvious that more and more women will come into the nation's work force and unions should make their plans accordingly and communities should provide care for their children. We urge that the recommendation of the Executive Council on this case be made effective in every community.

We also emphasize the admonition of the Executive Council that equal pay on the job be made the prevailing practice. This is a matter of justice to the women which will protect the pay of all.

Recent reports on child labor show a shocking increase in illegal employment of minors.

More than twice as many 14- to 18-year-olds went to work in 1941 as in 1940. Figures for 1942 show that this increase is continuing. For 14- and 15-year-olds, in states where minimum age requirements were the same in both years, there was an increase in 1941 over 1940 of more than 75 per cent. Large increases are shown for this group in 1942, and the increase in the number of certificates issued in the first six months of 1942 over the first six months of 1941 was 173.4 per cent in Alabama, 226.8 per cent in Indiana, and 713.0 per cent in the District of Columbia.

The increase in certificates for first regular and first vacation or outside school hours for 16- and 17-year-old workers in areas sending in comparable reports was 132.0 per cent. In the first six months of 1942 as compared

with the same period in 1941, the number of employment certificates issued for 16- and 17-year-old minors increased 181.9 per cent in Alabama, 437.4 per cent in Indiana, 734.4 per cent in the District of Columbia, and 1259.9 per cent in Rhode Island. Figures covering certificates issued for this age group during June 1941 and June 1942 show a 109.0 per cent increase in Baltimore, Maryland, a 114.0 per cent increase in 11 cities in Pennsylvania, and a 1596.0 per cent increase in the State of Washington.

Children in the 14- and 15-year-old group are working as delivery boys, peddlers, sales girls, car hops, helpers, and various other occupations including manufacturing. The 16- and 17-year-old group are entering service and non-manufacturing industries but increasing numbers are going into manufacturing industries.

In some states a new certificate is required whenever a minor changes his job. Between 1940 and 1941 and between the first four months of 1941 and the first four months of 1942, there was more than a 200 per cent increase in the 16- and 17-year-olds changing their jobs, and over a 100 per cent increase for minors 14 and 15 years old.

There is at the present time no excuse for tolerance of illegal employment, and we urge all unions and especially central labor unions to do their utmost to see that educational opportunities are maintained and that children are permitted to attend. This is a long-time responsibility which we must fulfill as our obligation to the future.

(1943, p. 134) In the development of the War Manpower Commission program and policies for the employment of women and younger people in industry, we have pressed for the inclusion in these standards, provisions for equal pay for equal work, for upholding of standards with respect to employment of women that

safeguard their health, and for standards which prevent the employment of children and younger people in any hazardous occupation.

Women's Auxiliaries—(1925, p. 213)

We believe that it would be unwise and too far-reaching to charter, or to permit recognition with voice and vote, to organizations that are not regularly chartered by the A. F. of L.; and in the case of ladies' auxiliaries this is too far-reaching and may in time bring about considerable dissension. It would also mean that ladies who are not members of trade unions, but are relatives or friends of members of trade unions, could form auxiliaries and apply for admission in central and state bodies with the right of voice and vote, and if written into the constitution it would be compulsory on central bodies and state branches to admit said auxiliaries.

(1941, p. 411) We request and suggest that all national, international unions, state organizations, city central bodies and local unions do all they can to help the officers of the Union Label Trades Department in forming women's auxiliaries in the local unions because men claim that the women hold the purchasing power. We want the women of union men to spend their union-earned wages for union label goods and recognize union service cards and buttons. We believe that women should be educated in regard to union label shop cards and buttons. Therefore, we believe the best way to get the women union-label-conscious is by belonging to a trades union auxiliary.

(1946, p. 244) The report of the Union Label Trades Department to the 1946 Convention contained the following statement:

The importance of women's auxiliaries should be stressed more and more now during the reconversion period. The purchasing power of the women members of a wage earner's

family is most important to every marketing place. Too great an effort cannot be made to encourage members of women's auxiliaries and all members of trade unionists' families to buy only union label goods and to use only union services. Through the efforts of women's auxiliaries, many women have come to realize that union emblems are the best safeguards for their bread-earners' jobs and insurance of American labor standards which include wages, hours and working conditions. More and more encouragement must be given to women members of every trade unionist's family to join the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor. This fact cannot be over-stressed, because while the wage earner may be working to obtain the union scales, his wife, mother, sister and daughter may be spending his union-earned money with merchandisers who are selling the very non-union products that are destroying his or her union standards and reducing his wages.

(P. 416) The report of the convention was unanimously adopted as follows:

Your committee believes that every effort should be put forward by affiliated national and international unions to encourage the formation of women's auxiliaries. Your committee recognizes the fact that women are the actual shoppers in the home and it is only reasonable to assume that unless women are made acquainted with the problems of the American Federation of Labor that they could not be expected to demand union label merchandise and union services when purchasing merchandise or patronizing service establishments.

(1947, p. 457) Under this caption, it is recommended that every affiliated national and international union in the American Federation of Labor encourage the growth of women's auxiliaries. Your committee concurs in this recommendation in the belief that if we

are to wage an effective campaign against the Taft-Hartley Law, we must encourage the participation of the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of trade unionists to not only spend union-earned money for union label merchandise and union services, but they must also be made acquainted with the American Federation of Labor's political program. It is the opinion of your committee that it is essential that the women be encouraged to join auxiliaries.

(1952, p. 555) Convention approved report of progress being made by the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor and adopted the following statement of the committee:

Your committee notes with pleasure the report of the Executive Council on the steady and substantial progress being made by the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor. The committee concurs in the observations of the Executive Council regarding the active part which members of women's auxiliaries play in promoting the union shop card, label and service button as well as their advancing the principles of the American Federation of Labor in civic, state and federal affairs and in welfare and charitable organizations; and urges those national and international unions having already established women's auxiliaries to give attention to strengthening them; and encourages affiliated organizations which have not established such auxiliaries to do so at the earliest practical time.

(Equal Pay on Government Contracts) (Res. No. 25)

(1941, pp. 252, 543-544) The convention concurred in a resolution providing that the American Federation of Labor use its best efforts to enact laws that would prohibit the awarding of government contracts to employers of both men and women who pay women lower bonuses, piece rates, hourly, weekly or monthly wages or salaries

than is being paid to males similarly employed.

(1946, pp. 227, 470) Headed "Equal Pay for Women," this section of the Executive Council's report tells of the failure of H.R. 5221 and S. 1178 to pass either House during the last session of Congress.

In its report the Executive Council states that it will support the principle enunciated in the title of the bills but that if similar proposals are introduced in the forthcoming session they should be carefully examined before approval is given.

(1948, pp. 122, 395) The E.C. reported support for legislation to provide equal pay for equal work for women and in its report to the convention set out the following reasons for their support:

For many years the American Federation of Labor has advocated certain types of protective legislation for women based on sex differentials, which prohibit night work, exceptionally long hours, limiting weights to be lifted, prohibiting employment in connection with certain persons, providing rest periods, seats, etc. The reason for this policy was conservation of the nation by safeguarding mothers—actual and potential. However, the issue of equal pay on the job, as between men and women workers, is primarily a problem of economic justice to be, in our opinion, best handled by collective bargaining as are other such problems and legislation concerning this issue must be given careful examination before approval is given.

The convention directed the E.C. to continue to work for the enactment of legislation to retain all present advantages and seek to eradicate inequities that occur through failure of present law, to make same pay available to women as men doing the same work.

(1954, p. 161) The E.C. Report un-

der this title pointed out the official A. F. of L. position on proposed legislation, support for which was solicited from A. F. of L. affiliates. Explanation for A. F. of L. position was given substantially as follows:

The Women's Bureau of the Labor Department, beginning in 1945, has sponsored and actively advocated federal legislation to make it possible to enforce payment of equal compensation to women in interstate commerce or otherwise under federal jurisdiction. The A. F. of L. regards this proposal unwise and has withheld its support.

Starting in 1881, the A. F. of L. has championed equal treatment toward women. By practical experience, our affiliates have sought to better wages, hours and working standards for women wage and salary earners. In our Federation, there are 2,500,000 women members in industrial, trade, service and professional skills and occupations. These include textile workers, garment workers, foundry, railroad, stage and screen workers, teachers, shipyard, electrical, printing trades, chemical, office workers and many other lines.

Through direct negotiation and collective bargaining, historic differentials have been eliminated in comparable work. Better job opportunities for women have helped break down traditional barriers against women. These efforts toward betterment will be continued by the A. F. of L.

It was the American Federation of Labor which caused elimination of the wage sex differential insisted upon by employers in the National Recovery Administration codes in 1933-34. President Meany further pointed out that work is "more likely to be 'comparable' than 'equal.'" By relying upon the "comparable" rather than the "equal" standard, we have speeded the progress of eliminating the wage differential because of sex

and have removed the opportunities for employers to argue and quibble over the exact identity of jobs in question.

For these and for a number of other reasons, President Meany explained, "I cannot give support to the proposal to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act as you suggest."

(P. 586) The American Federation of Labor has increasingly succeeded through collective bargaining in gaining equal employment opportunity for all women workers. These efforts have not been confined to questions of wages, but have included action against discrimination wherever it might appear to deny equal treatment to women workers.

The most rapid progress toward eliminating wage differentials based on sex can be achieved through collective bargaining rather than through government action. Federal intervention and legal enforcement can be neither as practical nor as effective in this complex area of wage determination as voluntary action through union-management negotiation.

For these reasons, we have opposed, and will continue to oppose, misguided attempts to legislate "equal pay" for women workers.

Women's Bureau—(1936, p. 674) The A. F. of L. hereby endorses and highly commends the work of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Woodruff (James) Dam, Naming Opposed—(1949, pp. 47, 493) Res. 34 called upon the convention of the A. F. of L. to protest against naming dam on the Chattahoochee River in honor of James Woodruff, on basis of his labor record which was set forth in the resolution.

Woodrum Amendment (Prevailing Rates of Pay on Relief Work)—(1940, p. 433) The Woodrum Amendment eliminated the requirement of prevailing union rates and conditions on

WPA work and this section had not been eliminated. Convention authorized E.C. to make every effort to have the prevailing rate of wages provision on relief work restored.

Work Day and Week (Shorter) (see Hours)

Workmen's Compensation (also see: Industrial Accidents; Government Employees, Canal Zone; Health; also see listing by work classification)

(1924, p. 50) Heretofore society has been extremely jealous of the rights of property. Everywhere the cry has been heard that property must be protected and be protected adequately by law. Personal rights, the rights of humanity, however, have not been sufficiently recognized or protected. These latter rights must receive greater consideration and emphasis in the future. Wherever and whenever called upon to choose between these two, the rights of humanity must prevail and the rights of property must give way.

It is upon this distinction that the old system of employers' liability and the new method of workmen's compensation are founded. The former system attempted to protect property and property alone and to leave the rights of humanity unprotected, under the false assumption that all industrial hazards and accidents are due to neglect. The new point of view is that industrial hazards and accidents are more or less inseparable from modern industry and that industry consequently should bear the cost of compensating those who suffer from the effects of industrial hazards and accidents.

While under this latter method the cost of compensation falls immediately upon the industry, the cost in fact is spread over and involved in the cost of production and is thereby ultimately borne by the community as a whole but under a more humane and constructive fashion than under the older system and not dependent upon public or private charity.

Considerable progress has been made in advancing this new concept of legal responsibility of industry to the risks and hazards involved and in the method and form of compensation to be provided injured workmen and their dependents. With this progress, development and extension of the principles of workmen's compensation there has come the need for a revision of those laws in a number of particulars. Then, too, there has developed the necessity of more nearly equalizing and unifying the provisions and requirements of the workmen's compensation laws in the several states and in the United States. This necessity is accentuated not only in the requirement to place industry upon a more equal condition in the several states but likewise to assure the workmen more adequate compensation and more dependable methods of payment than are provided at the present time.

There is hardly need to affirm that the American Federation of Labor has assumed the unquestioned leadership in the origin, development, extension and constant improvement of workmen's compensation laws in America. It has demonstrated likewise its leadership in the effort more nearly to equalize and unify the provisions and requirements in the workmen's compensation laws of the several states. To give emphasis to this latter part of its program the Executive Council by authorization of a previous convention selected a special committee for this purpose, consisting of Vice-Presidents William Green, Frank Duffy and Matthew Woll.

This committee has been at work for a considerable period of time. It has submitted a comprehensive report to the Executive Council setting forth the minimum and maximum requirements contained in existing laws, with recommendations as to standards which should guide our future activities in this phase of our remedial leg-

islative endeavors. This report has received the careful consideration and full endorsement of the Executive Council, and under authority vested in it, it is the intent and purpose to release this report in the very near future for the instruction and guidance to all interested in furthering humane legislation of this character.

Among the more important changes contemplated in existing workmen's compensation laws are: Revision of those requirements relating to the amounts of compensation to be paid; providing a more adequate and just manner in determining the weekly wage upon which compensation is to be predicated; calling for greater promptness in the payment of compensation; requiring the inclusion of compensation for all trade and occupational diseases; including payment for funeral expenses, embracing compensation, without discrimination, of alien non-resident dependents; prohibiting "direct settlements"; demanding that greater attention be given to the prevention of accidents and occupational diseases; insisting that the principles of rehabilitation of maimed workers and of restoring them to useful self-sustaining occupations shall receive attention, and that all commercial methods of compensation insurance be made inapplicable to cover this form of risks and requirements.

The A. F. of L. is endeavoring to have a bill passed by Congress for the District of Columbia that will be a model for the entire country. The insurance companies have made it an issue and are using every means possible to defeat any legislation that will prohibit private insurance.

When the bill came up for action in the Sixty-seventh Congress, a bill in the interest of the insurance companies was substituted for the A. F. of L. measure. When this reached the Senate the A. F. of L. decided that it was better to urge the defeat of the

insurance company bill. The bill was defeated.

The A. F. of L. bill was re-introduced in the Sixty-eighth Congress and was approved by the Committee on Judiciary and it is now on the House calendar for action.

Substantial progress was made last year in improving the compensation laws in several states. For example, there are now twelve American laws (including the federal act for public employes) which compensate occupational diseases. And in New York State in 1924 we secured the non-compensated "waiting period" reduced from 14 to 7 days, thus adding \$1,500,000 a year to benefits and increasing the number of cases compensated about fifty per cent. At present there are thirty-six American laws having a "waiting period of seven days or less," (including several having no waiting period).

Since New Hampshire changed her law in 1923, all states except Arizona now provide medical service. Seventeen states, as well as Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the federal government, either place no limit on the duration or amount of medical care or else permit both limits to be indefinitely extended through administration.

As to percentage of wages now paid (Louisiana very recently, West Virginia and Oklahoma since 1922 have raised their scale for total disability compensation) there are now sixteen laws paying 65% or 66% and only eleven as low as 50%.

The last \$10 a week maximum weekly payments were abolished in 1923. Eight states, including Louisiana very recently, and Hawaii, now have a weekly maximum of \$20 or more.

Twenty state laws now provide permanent total disability compensation for life.

(1925, p. 53) Private insurance companies conducted a bitter and misrepresenting campaign against a workmen's compensation bill for the

District of Columbia and it failed of passage. They objected to the compensation fund being controlled by the government. When it is understood that 40 per cent of money paid to insurance companies by employers to protect them under the workmen's compensation law is profit it can readily be seen why they were so anxious to defeat the bill.

(P. 62) The Committee on Compensation submitted its report on compensation legislation and the report has already been published in pamphlet form. The report deals with the principles of compensation legislation and presents model provisions for each of the principal features necessary for an adequate compensation law and gives the legislative status of each provision with comments thereon. The committee's recommendations deal with the following: scope of coverage of compensation legislation, injuries, waiting period, medical service, funeral expenses, percentage, weekly maximum and minimum, compensation periods, second injuries, alien non-resident dependents, administration, settlement of claims, accident prevention, other remedies, insurance, interstate commerce.

It is hoped that the findings and recommendations of the committee will prove helpful in focusing attention upon this question and making available the best standards developed through experience with compensation legislation.

We are deeply conscious of the very great need of securing the enactment of compensation legislation in all states. We realize, however, how impossible it is to secure the immediate passage of ideal workmen's compensation legislation. The opposition to the enactment of workmen's compensation legislation during the initial stage is so great as to prevent the enactment of workmen's compensation laws that approximate the standard set by the A. F. of L. For these rea-

sons we urge State Federations of Labor to work for workmen's compensation legislation that will establish the principle even though all provisions may not be satisfactory. If the principle is established through the enactment of a workmen's compensation law the act, thus passed can be perfected through amendments.

(P. 351) The A. F. of L. would again call to the attention of the delegates and through them to the people, whether organized or unorganized, who are affected by the terms of the "Workmen's Compensation Law," to the necessity of having the fund out of which compensation is to be paid controlled in such fashion that the effect of industrial mishaps will not be made a source of profit to any private concern.

At the present time no greater safeguard is offered to the public, to the worker, and to the employer, than is provided by the exclusive insurance fund under the control and management of the state. This fund eliminates the possibility of profit that otherwise goes to the insurance company, a profit that rests on the hazard of employment and which cannot be dissociated from that hazard. This element of profit is the incentive for the assumption of risk by insurance companies who write policies intended to protect the employer, and to secure to the injured worker the relief to which he is entitled. Out of this incentive of profit, depending upon the assumption of such risk, naturally grows the prudent act on the part of the insurance company to so calculate its charges for the service provided that the element of profit will be but lightly jeopardized, however great the risk of indemnity growing out of industrial mishaps may be.

Therefore, it is evident that however careful or dependable the insurance company may be its operations add greatly to the cost of doing business, because it must, in order to ex-

ist, collect more from the insurer than it pays out to the insured. The exclusive state insurance fund, supported by the industries coming under its provisions, is the only agency known at present which eliminates entirely the deplorable system that permits the accumulation of profits from the human misery and suffering that is entailed in industrial accidents.

We, therefore, urge that all efforts be made to establish the state controlled insurance in lieu of the liability insurance that is now sold to employers by insurance companies, whose operations entail, First: A high service cost laid upon industry in the form of excessive premiums, and Second: A burden laid upon the injured through the ever-present effort to hold compensation payments to the irreducible minimum.

The provision of the Fitzgerald bill that will give to the government control of the fund from which compensation is paid was the cause of the bitter attack made upon that measure by the insurance companies. This very fact is a powerful argument in favor of the exclusive control of the compensation fund by public authority, and this principle should not be lost sight of by those who are beneficiaries of this fund.

We again call the attention of the E.C. to the recommendation made at the El Paso convention when the following was adopted: "In connection with occupational diseases, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to make the necessary inquiry and then draft an occupational disease section, naming therein the various diseases, with their derivatives, for which compensation should be paid, which shall stand as a model for the states, and which we recommend to be engrafted in all state compensation laws."

(P. 356) It is not possible that any compensation law that is perfect will be passed at a single session of a leg-

islature, and it is better to have a compensation law with some defective features than no compensation law at all. A law which is defective can from time to time be amended in those particulars which experience show to be unsatisfactory, and these amendments and improvements can be obtained more readily after a law is on the book than at the time the measure is pending for original passage. It is not intended by this to discourage the attempt to secure the passage of laws containing the model provisions suggested by the Executive Council, but even where they cannot all be secured at one time it yet remains true that where a start is made in the right direction improvement will always be possible.

Therefore, we repeat the language of the Executive Council: "If the principle is established through the enactment of a Workmen's Compensation Law the act thus passed can be perfected through amendments."

(1926, p. 69) Progress has also been made in furthering compensation legislation for those injured or killed in gainful occupations. It is pleasing to record the fact that organized labor is now fully united upon the principles that should govern compensation legislation and that differences having heretofore existed on this subject among the ranks of wage earners in Massachusetts and Missouri have been removed. As a result it is anticipated that compensation measures in those states will soon follow.

In Missouri a compensation law has been enacted. However, it is our opinion that at the instigation of those who profited by the old liability system, the enforcement of this law has been held in abeyance while it is being submitted to the voters of Missouri for approval or disapproval by the referendum method that prevails in that state. It is hoped and believed that the people of Missouri will overwhelmingly ratify this humane legis-

lation and that Missouri will place itself among those states which have extended to working people the protection embodied within practical and scientific workmen's compensation legislation. Every encouragement and aid have been and are being given the organized workers of Missouri toward that accomplishment.

In Massachusetts labor was divided over the provisions of a bill but a complete understanding has been reached and there is every prospect for beneficial changes in the present law.

Within a period of eighteen years forty-two states, two territories, Porto Rico and the federal government have adopted laws to compensate persons injured or the heirs of those killed while employed in industry.

Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and the District of Columbia have so far neglected their wage earners.

Labor in Florida is preparing to present a bill in the next session of the legislature.

For several years Congress has had under consideration a compensation bill for wage earners in private employment in the District of Columbia. Due to opposition from the insurance companies it has failed of passage. What is known as the Fitzgerald bill and supported by labor provides for a federal fund. The bill supported by the insurance companies was introduced by Representative Underhill of Massachusetts. It provides that all employers must insure with private insurance companies. This feature proved the sole obstacle to the passage of compensation legislation.

The Fitzgerald bill was favorably reported to the House in the 68th Congress. The Underhill bill was substituted for it and approved by it. In the 69th Congress the Fitzgerald bill was also reported favorably by the District of Columbia committee but the rules committee refused to permit it to come to a vote.

One of the occupations that has suffered grievously from lack of compensation laws is that of longshoremen. In 1916 the A. F. of L. convention urged Congress to enact laws that would protect this class of workers.

In 1917 the U.S. Supreme Court decided that persons employed as stevedores in loading and unloading vessels are engaged in work of maritime nature; that injuries received in the course of such work are maritime, and that the rights and liabilities of the parties in connection therewith are matters within admiralty jurisdiction. This excluded longshoremen from coming under state compensation laws.

Various bills have been introduced in Congress to protect the longshoremen. In the present Congress the longshoremen had a bill introduced that is believed will meet the requirements of the Supreme Court. The bill passed the Senate but failed in the House. The rules committee of the House refused to permit it to come before that body. If it had been submitted to a vote it would have been carried by a practically unanimous vote.

With the development of compensation to those injured during gainful employment there followed the recognition for the need of providing compensation for those who suffer by reason of occupational disease. Consequently there has followed the effort to include occupational diseases as being compensable.

In 1915 the A. F. of L. convention declared in favor of "compensation to be paid for death or illness resulting from occupational diseases."

At the present time there are twelve states and the federal government that recognize occupational diseases as compensable. The federal statute includes under the term "injury" any "disease proximately caused by the employment." The Porto Rico law provides compensation for "accidents

or sickness occurring because of any act or function inherent in their work or employment and while engaged therein and as a consequence thereof." Several states designate what are occupational diseases.

Another development associated with compensation legislation is that of providing an opportunity of rehabilitation to those injured. The federal government has provided such a law for the rehabilitation of persons injured in industry, agriculture and commerce. This rehabilitation work is one of the functions of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. By the enactment of this law the great majority of persons injured while in federal service and believed to be totally disabled have been rehabilitated and returned to civil employment.

One of the significant facts connected with compensation legislation is that no state has passed a compensation law that at first was satisfactory. But there is not a legislature in any state where a compensation law has been in force that has not at every session passed one or more beneficial amendments.

In order to advance more quickly and to promote a greater degree of uniformity of compensation legislation the A. F. of L. has caused to be prepared a survey and report of information and guidance on this subject.

This report sets forth the reasons that prompt organized labor in its insistence and demand for improved compensation laws. It also contains a recital of progress made in the enactment of compensation laws and includes information, advice and guidance regarding all salient features embraced in compensation legislation. This report is available to all trade unionists and is of special importance to those charged with the duty of improving compensation legislation.

One of the outstanding features of compensation legislation is the fact that no backward steps are taken.

This form of beneficial legislation has been accepted by the people generally as one of the great modern legislative achievements to protect the injured and disabled workmen.

(P. 333) It is gratifying to note that more states are realizing that occupational disease should be included among causes for compensation. Experience has proved to the sad cost of the worker that a disease which is proximately the result of the occupation is as deadly in its effect as though he had been torn or dismembered by a machine. Occupational diseases should be defined in compensation laws as injuries and compensable as such. It is for this reason that the A. F. of L. in 1915 declared that occupational diseases should be considered as compensable and that the victim should have the relief so necessary, the same as though it had been awarded because of an industrial accident.

(P. 334) The A. F. of L. realizes how unlikely it is that all states will adopt uniform compensation laws. Such action is no more to be expected than we might look for uniform laws on any of the many subjects on which the states have exercised their rights to deal with, according to the views of their own people. But the underlying principle of compensation is the same throughout all industry. It is a humanly devised plan whereunder some of the economic waste of industry can be compensated for. Regrettable as it is, the fact remains that with our advance in all directions that mark material progress we yet regard seemingly with cynical indifference the ever-growing list of workers killed or maimed in the industrial plants of our country.

The juggernaut of industrialism drives ruthlessly on, crushing, crippling by thousands and hundreds of thousands, our people. It is not because note has not been taken of this dreadful sacrifice to mammon. It is because human flesh and blood remain

the cheapest commodity on the market, and those who are responsible for the failure to provide the necessary safeguards have made their choice. In their estimation, it is cheaper to get a new workman when the old one has been destroyed than it is to provide the appliance that might have saved the life or limb of the worker who is to be replaced.

(1927, p. 88) Where a longshoreman employed in stowing freight was injured through the negligence of a hatch tender, the Supreme Court of the U.S. held that the term "seaman" as used in the Act of June 5, 1920, is flexible to cover stevedores engaged as the plaintiff in this case was, and that this statute had done away with the fellow servant rule. *International Stevedore Company vs. Haverty*.

Where one is convicted of a felony and sentenced to prison, and thereafter granted permission to perform work on the public highways of California, under the direction of the State Highway Commission, and becomes injured, he is entitled to the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act. This rule was adopted by the Supreme Court of California in the *State of California Highway Commission vs. Industrial Accident Commission*.

By a decision of the Court of Civil Appeals of Texas, in deciding the case of *Gordon vs. Travellers' Insurance Company*, compensation is refused to those suffering from occupational diseases. Here, Gordon was employed by an oil company and was required to stand in crude oil while performing his work and as a result was taken with a severe case of nephritis, totally and permanently incapacitating him.

(P. 244) Enactment of the longshoremen's compensation law was a great victory for the longshoremen. The Supreme Court had declared previous laws enacted by the Federal Congress unconstitutional. This question had to be met as well as oppo-

sition of the shipowners who contended that the seaman should be included. After the bill had passed the Senate it was amended in the House by the Committee on Judiciary to include masters and seamen. As masters and seamen are covered by the employers' liability act of 1908 the seamen protested. The House Committee on Judiciary finally agreed to eliminate the masters and seamen and this made it possible for the bill to pass the Senate. Unless they had been stricken out the Senate would not have approved of the bill.

The act providing compensation for the employees of the U.S. suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties was approved September 7, 1916. It provided that the monthly compensation shall be not more than \$66.67 nor less than \$33.33. The law was changed to increase the monthly compensation for total disability to not more than \$116.16 nor less than \$58.33. The agitation for the longshoremen's compensation act called attention to the small benefits provided by the federal compensation act and this proved a convincing argument in favor of increasing the rates for federal employees injured during the course of their employment.

(P. 75) The compensation bill for the D. C. failed of passage.

(1928, pp. 80, 305) The Workmen's Compensation Act for residents of the District of Columbia engaged in private employment became a law. The Longshoremen's Act, which is administered by the U.S. Employees Compensation Commission, was amended to cover residents of the District. Compensation insurance will be written by private insurance companies.

Since 1921 the labor organizations of the District have urged the passage of a compensation act containing a federal fund to pay compensation to victims of accidents. Friends in Congress of insurance companies fought

the bill. Prior to passage of the act persons injured might sue in the courts, but as the employers had the three defenses—assumption of risk, contributory negligence, and fellow-servant—few ever obtained redress. And the little that happened to be obtained was eaten up by lawyers' fees.

The Central Labor Union of Washington asked that the Longshoremen's Act be amended to include residents of the District. This bill became a law.

Much opposition has arisen because of the premiums charged by private insurance companies. The employers have bitterly fought a federal fund and demanded that compensation policies be written by private insurance companies. They now see their mistake and it is believed they will themselves demand that Congress amend the act to create an exclusive federal fund.

(1929, p. 92) During the past year North Carolina, one of the five states without a workmen's compensation law, enacted such legislation. Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina are still lacking in such protective legislation. Reports from practically all states whose legislatures met during 1929 tell of progressive efforts being made to have workmen's compensation laws improved.

According to Secretary of Commerce Lamont, there are approximately 10,000,000 accidents in the United States every year. These he designates as fatal, serious, or otherwise. The fatal accidents alone, and he quotes "accidents," are close to 95,000. One person out of every twelve, he said, is injured or killed through accidental causes every year. These accidents are divided between: Automobiles, fires, home tragedies and industries. In a radio address on the subject of "Safety as a National Problem," he declared: "The cash value of human sacrifice every year—the

price tag on carelessness—is \$3,200,000,000." Of this tremendous amount, Secretary of Commerce Lamont "charged off in red—blood red—\$1,000,000,000 each year" for accidents in industry.

Estimates made by representatives of the Department of Labor give the following statistics of accidents in the mechanical industries: Killed, 20,000; permanent total disability, 1,627; permanent partial disability, 100,000; temporary disability, 2,500,000, making a total of 2,621,627. These figures do not include accidents in the automobile industry, or in agriculture. In fact, there are no definite figures as to the number of accidents. The persons who carry out the workmen's compensation laws have no definite view as to what constitutes an accident. What is an accident in one state is not an accident in another; but from information gathered from many sources it can be authoritatively stated that at least 3,500,000 accidents of all kinds occurred in all industries in the past year.

These are astounding figures and should awaken the people of Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina to the dangers of ignoring these facts.

Many improvements in compensation laws have been made this year in various states. While the North Carolina law is not what we desired, it is a long step in advance, and in the future changes can be made that will more thoroughly protect the victims of accidents in industries.

(1931, pp. 119, 435) During the next two years opportunity will be presented to appeal to state legislatures to adopt the state insurance fund instead of permitting private insurance companies to continue to insure employers under the workmen's compensation laws.

The National Convention of Insurance Commissioners has decided that there should be an increase in pri-

vate insurance rates averaging 13.4 per cent nation wide but varying in individual states from no change in the present rate level in Iowa and South Dakota to an increase of 57.9 per cent in Oklahoma.

The A. F. of L. believes that the employers in the U.S. who have persistently opposed the creation of state compensation funds have, because of the excessive rates charged by private insurance companies, changed their minds and will now support legislation that will decrease the rates paid for such insurance. The only way by which a decrease can be obtained is through the creation of a state fund.

It is admitted that the cost of administration in private insurance companies in this branch of insurance is 38 per cent and more while the cost of the administration of the state fund of Ohio is only one per cent of the insurance funds collected by the state.

There was never a better time than now to urge legislatures to adopt the exclusive state insurance fund and prohibit private insurance companies from engaging in the sale of workmen's compensation insurance.

(P. 63) The decision of the national convention of insurance commissioners to increase the rates for workmen's compensation insurance is being opposed in practically every state where advances have been asked. The rates for workmen's compensation insurance have always been excessive because the cost of administration by insurance companies is excessive—in some cases as high as thirty-eight per cent. In Ohio, under the state-fund system, the cost of administration is only one per cent of the money paid in by the employers.

This is an opportune time for all state federations of labor to urge the adoption of the exclusive state-fund plan where it is not now in effect. The employers in the District of Columbia

have complained greatly of the cost of workmen's compensation insurance. We will endeavor in the next session of Congress to secure an amendment to the act to provide for funds to be administered by the District of Columbia.

(1932, pp. 114, 304) The E.C. reports the decision of the national convention of insurance commissioners to increase the rates for workmen's compensation insurance and that the decision is being opposed in practically every state where advances have been asked.

The report calls attention to the fact that the cost of administration—which sometimes amounts to 38 per cent of the premium rates—is largely responsible for this demand for increase in rates. It compares this administration cost with the cost in Ohio under the state-fund system where it is only 1 per cent of the money paid in by the employers. It urges that this is an opportune time for all State Federations of Labor to urge the adoption of the exclusive state-fund plan where it is not now in effect; and states that the next Congress will be asked to enact a law providing that the funds shall be administered by the District of Columbia for all business arising within the District. It is one of the surprises of life that with all the facts in evidence of the great saving in cost to the employer wherever the state-fund plan is in exclusive use that he will not join with labor in pressing to adoption a similar law in every state in the nation. As the Council says, "this is the opportune time." A new spirit is abroad in the land and the "old order changeth." If a renewed effort is now made to enact legislation of the character proposed the minds of our legislators may not be closed to facts and the employers may not be deaf to reason.

(P. 403) The A. F. of L. directs the E.C. to initiate at the earliest possible moment a militant campaign with all

labor bodies to secure the establishment of state funds for workmen's compensation insurance in each state.

(1934, pp. 83, 372) S. 3186, introduced by Senator McCarran, provided for amending the Workmen's Compensation law for the District of Columbia. When the law originally was considered by Congress, contractors all insisted that private insurance companies should supply insurance for the payment of compensation to persons injured or to the heirs of those killed. Since then, however, the views of employers have changed because of the excessive rates charged by the insurance companies, and also because of the further fact that a number of insurance companies which issued compensation insurance have failed. The bill provides for a state fund and is heartily supported by the contractors.

(P. 576) Reaffirmed declaration that it is imperative that in each state an exclusive state fund should be incorporated in all compensation laws.

(1935, p. 147) Three states have thus far failed to enact workmen's compensation legislation. They are: Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina.

A workmen's compensation law was passed in the last session of the Florida legislature. In nearly every state where compensation laws are in effect improvements were made in workmen's compensation laws during the 1935 sessions of these state legislatures. The policy of the labor movement is to secure the enactment of adequate compensation laws. In many instances, these laws are far from satisfactory because of the inadequate compensation awards provided for. However, each year when legislatures meet amendments are offered and in many instances adopted.

The A. F. of L. urges the officers and members of state federations of labor of Arkansas, Mississippi and

South Carolina to continue their efforts to secure the enactment of social justice legislation of this character.

(P. 459) The protection of Workmen's Compensation Laws, except in a very few instances, does not cover occupational diseases arising out of conditions of employment.

The recent extension of such benefits in a few states, to compensate workers who become afflicted with silicosis and other occupational diseases, immediately resulted in the removal of large firms to neighboring states where workers are totally unprotected by compensation except in the event of physical accident.

In many states, workers are forced to rely upon the expensive, dilatory, and uncertain processes of litigation under common law because of the refusal of private insurance companies to write compensation coverage for such employees.

The A. F. of L. favors legislation that will provide:

1. That Federal grants in aid be established to match appropriations for the conduct of state-pooled funds for Workmen's Compensation to cover occupational accidents or diseases.

2. That the U.S. Department of Labor be requested to investigate the consequences of unrestricted competition of standards among the states, to determine whether the citizens of progressive states are being penalized in interstate commerce by the mining or manufacture within states which afford little or no protection to the employees.

3. That the U.S. Department of Labor be requested to set up adequate standards which will safeguard the health of the workers involved, and that they be empowered to devise legislative or trade agreements which will cause the effective use of such safeguards by all firms in occupations involving dust hazards.

4. That no department of the Federal Government, including special relief agencies, shall purchase materials mined, quarried, manufactured or sold by firms which do not maintain adequate standards which will safeguard the workers involved.

(P. 491) Announcement was made that South Carolina had enacted a workmen's compensation law.

(1936, pp. 139, 440) South Carolina has enacted a workmen's compensation law, which leaves only two states, Arkansas and Mississippi, which have not passed this character of social justice legislation. In conformity with the action of the 1935 convention, national and international unions having locals in those two states were requested to urge their respective locals to give every aid in securing this legislation.

Most interesting in present day developments in this field is the gradual extension of coverage to occupational diseases. Sixteen states now compensate for some occupational diseases. Those which have coverage for all are California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Missouri, New York, North Dakota, and Wisconsin. Rhode Island compensates for thirty diseases, Minnesota for twenty-three, North Carolina for twenty-five, Ohio for twenty-one, and New Jersey for thirteen. Those states which compensate for silicosis are California, Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

It is important that insurance against occupational disease be accompanied by fact-finding studies whose purpose is to discover means of reducing the incidence of the disease.

Industrial hygiene units have been set up, either in the Department of Health or in the Department of Labor, in fifteen states, financed in part with social security funds. These units are equipped to make studies

of occupational disease hazards, and are created for the purpose of assisting labor departments in discovering and correcting dangerous conditions in industry. We urge that such units be set up in the remaining states and that wherever possible they be located under the jurisdiction of the departments of labor. In general, the A. F. of L. urges increased appropriations to labor departments and health departments for this purpose. Furthermore, it urges its affiliated unions, city central bodies and state federations of labor constantly to press for the practical application of the results of these studies to the end that the human toll exacted by industrial diseases be diminished.

The recommendation to the 1935 convention that the government should pay a share of the state compensation to victims of injury and occupational disease in industry was considered and it is believed that a satisfactory law to that effect can be enacted in the next session of Congress. This would affect only states that have state pool funds.

(Silicosis)—(1936, p. 134) The fact that 476 men died and 1,500 others are approaching death from silicosis contracted in constructing the Hawks Nest Tunnel at Gauley Bridge, West Virginia, has aroused the country. It has also brought to light the number of deaths from this malady. Silicosis has been a dreaded foe of all underground workers. It is an occupational disease. It creates a form of tuberculosis by the inhalation of silica and dust containing parts of silica which is a quartz crystal.

While the deaths had been accumulating for several years at the Hawks Nest Tunnel, they were not made known until early this year. It was then found that many deaths were occurring throughout the U.S. wherever persons were engaged in underground work.

The A. F. of L. has called upon all

state federations of labor to urge the legislatures to include compensation for occupational diseases in compensation laws where they are not already incorporated. A victim of silicosis in Illinois obtained a \$20,000 verdict in a damage suit, but the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional. The Ohio Supreme Court also refused payment of compensation to a victim of silicosis because it was not included in the list of occupational diseases.

A resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives calling for the appointment of a Congressional committee to ascertain the facts relating to the health of workers employed in the construction and maintenance of public utilities. An investigation of the Hawks Nest Tunnel tragedy was made but the contractors who were responsible refused to appear and testify. The object of the investigation was to obtain information that would aid in securing state laws providing that silicosis is an occupational disease.

Two important bills were passed by the New York legislature. One of them appropriated \$100,000 to aid the State Labor Department in the prevention of silicosis and other dust diseases. The other appropriated \$50,000 over a five-year period, beginning July 1, to study control and prevention of silicosis and other diseases contracted by inhaling dust. The bills were signed by the governor.

(Silicosis and Dust Diseases)—(1944, p. 427) Two resolutions, Nos. 91 and 97, were introduced in the convention calling for the extension of workmen's compensation to cover workers affected by silicosis and dust diseases. The convention unanimously adopted the following recommendations to meet the objectives of the resolutions:

Resolutions 91 and 97 are identical and request the American Federation to use all available facilities to have enacted in the various states uniform

laws for the prevention of silicosis and dust diseases and for payment of compensation to workers suffering from such diseases in amounts equal at least to the present maximum.

Your committee recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to confer with State Federations of Labor for the purpose of drafting a model compensation law to be introduced in each state legislature

(1937, p. 180) Reports from a number of states show that many amendments to workmen's compensation laws were enacted this year.

Progress toward more complete coverage of occupational diseases was made through the enactment of laws in five states (Delaware, Indiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Washington). All of these laws provide for specific or enumerated coverage, instead of blanket or general coverage. All but Delaware provide compensation for silicosis, though the Washington provision is badly worded and may therefore fail to achieve the desired result.

A vicious measure, bringing silicosis under the occupational disease law on terms more favorable to the insurance companies than to the workers, was passed by both houses in Rhode Island; but the Governor was prevailed upon, after protests from the President of the A. F. of L., to veto it. The bill contained features which have cropped up again and again in state bills and against which state federations of labor sponsoring occupational disease legislation should be on their guard.

These features are: (1) Provision for a board of part-time medical referees, who are drawn from private practice and allowed to continue such practice on the side, in whom is vested final power to decide who is, and who is not, eligible for silicosis compensation; (2) extremely limited compensation and inadequate medical care

provisions even for those cases that get by the medical board; (3) failure to compensate for partial disability, which usually precedes total disability or death, and may be long drawn out and costly to the worker and his dependents.

Another restrictive feature which is objectionable to Labor in the occupational disease bill in Michigan "permits" workers who have been exposed to a silica hazard, within four months after the Act takes effect, to waive their compensation benefits under the new occupational disease law. This makes it possible, under threat of discharge, to disqualify all who have been working at dusty trades and to get rid at one stroke of the entire "accrued liability" problem.

Pennsylvania provides a different and much more desirable solution to this problem. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania assumes over a 10-year period part of the cost of paying compensation for those cases in which disability develops only after exposure of five years or more. Whenever a silicosis bill is up for consideration great stress is laid by insurance companies and employers upon the prohibitive cost to the industry of adequate care and compensation. Experience in such states as Wisconsin, New York, and the Province of Ontario indicates that the actual cost is far from "prohibitive," and that the "accrued liability" problem is much exaggerated.

At the present time 21 states and the District of Columbia provide occupational disease compensation, but only nine of the laws are of the blanket coverage type advocated by the A. F. of L. In 16 jurisdictions compensation is payable, though often at a reduced scale of benefits and after many legal obstacles. In New York the insurance companies have collected many thousands of dollars of additional premiums based upon an alleged increased hazard, yet in two

years only two awards for silicosis have been made.

Substantial increases in compensation payments were secured this year for workers injured in the course of their employment in Georgia, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, by increasing the minimum or the maximum or the percentage of wages allowed. Eight states extended their medical care provisions; four reduced the waiting period; and nine brought additional employments or processes under the Workmen's Compensation Act. Regulation of fees charged by physicians or attorneys, or both, was provided in Georgia, Montana, Texas, and West Virginia.

(P. 311) Particular attention is called to the actions of a number of casualty insurance companies operating in workmen's compensation fields in various states in insisting upon physical examinations of employees in industries causing silicosis, since the enactment of silicosis compensation laws, and recommends that in all states in which workmen's compensation is provided for silicosis, state federations of labor should insist that if physical examinations of employees are to take place to demonstrate the incidence and reveal the prevalence of silicosis in certain industries or occupations, that such examinations shall be made by either the state department of health or the body administering the workmen's compensation law, and that such examinations shall not reveal the personality of the employees so examined.

We believe that a report on this subject would not be complete without calling attention to the fact that in those states having state insurance funds, and in which the payments of workmen's compensation are paid from such funds, that the profit motive which actuates casualty insurance companies to follow the course they

are now pursuing in respect to silicosis examinations, does not occur.

All state federations of labor should urge upon their legislatures to create state funds exclusively for the workmen's compensation.

(Building Trades)—(1938, pp. 166, 548) S. 531, a bill to provide compensation for disability or death resulting from injury to employes of contractors on federal public buildings and public works was introduced in the United States Senate, reported favorably and passed March 25. The House referred the bill to the Judiciary Committee, but no report was made to the House.

At the present time in many of the states the workers on federal public buildings are not protected by state workmen's compensation acts. The bill provided that contractors on federal public buildings shall, before commencing work on the contract, provide for securing the payment of compensation and the furnishing of other benefits to employes under provisions of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act. The contractor shall maintain in full force and effect during the term of his contract, and while employes are engaged in work performed under such contract, the security for the payment of such compensation and other benefits. It also provides that where the contract is to be performed within a state having a workmen's compensation law and employes are eligible to such benefits, the contractor shall be deemed to have satisfied such conditions if before beginning work he secures the payment of workmen's compensation benefits under such state workmen's compensation law. Failure to comply with such conditions shall be deemed a breach of contract and a violation of the Act. Contractors must also require subcontractors to provide and maintain protection of the employes to the extent provided in the Act. Any violation on the part of the

subcontractors or other persons to maintain such protection shall be deemed a breach of contract. Penalties for violation of the Act shall be a fine of \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both. The A. F. of L. will endeavor to have the bill introduced in the next Congress, as it is of the utmost importance to the building trades.

(Pp. 163, 548) The 75th Congress made a number of amendments to certain sections of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act in order to clarify the provisions.

Among them are amendments redefining the term "child"; authorizing the deputy commissioner to waive the requirement, under which a physician furnishing medical treatment, in order to recover the cost of such treatment from the employer, to make a report of the injury and treatment; providing for the construction of the term "wage-earning capacity" as applied to certain cases of partial disability and to remove the ambiguity with respect to the applicability of the provisions for additional 20 per cent compensation when there is a default in the payment of compensation under the terms of an award.

More teeth are put into the penal provisions for the failure to secure the payment of compensation. Under the amendment it is possible to enforce the penalties for such failure against certain officers of a corporation, who are made jointly and severally liable with the corporation, for any compensation or other benefit that may accrue under the Act. In particular, liability with respect to fine or imprisonment is imposed upon such officers. Also, it is now an offense to transfer, sell, encumber, assign, or in any manner dispose of, conceal, secrete or destroy any property by an employer with an intent to avoid the payment of compensation under the Act after one of its employes has been injured.

(Pp. 175, 548) Through a complication of misunderstandings, the Mississippi Legislature failed to pass a workmen's compensation law. The bill exempted employes of railroad organizations. However, the report was circulated that it would not protect the interests of the railroad men and they refused to support the measure. This caused its defeat. When a bill of that nature is introduced in the Mississippi Legislature again copies should be sent to the various railroad organizations in order that no such misunderstandings as occurred on the bill introduced this year will occur.

Arkansas is the only other state that has not yet adopted this meritorious legislation. The Constitution of Arkansas prohibits the legislature appropriating funds for death or injury from accidents. On account of this clause it was necessary to initiate a petition in order to place on the ballot this fall the question of a change in the constitution which will make such a law possible. Sufficient signatures were obtained and the people will vote upon the question in November.

Both employes and employers are earnestly seeking compensation legislation. The opposition appears to come from persons who are securing larger terms for so-called damage suit cases. These persons are known as "ambulance chasers." It is hoped that the petition for a change in the constitution will succeed and the next legislature will pass a workmen's compensation law.

(Occupational Diseases)—(1939, p. 156) In reporting on this subject, the E.C. submitted the following account of progress achieved in securing enactment of better workmen's compensation laws:

At last Arkansas achieved a workmen's compensation law—only, however, to have its operation suspended until such time as a popular referendum can be held. The law is on the

whole a good one, compulsory for private employers of five or more, with some exceptions, and providing compensation for a schedule of occupational diseases as well as for accidental injuries, on a fairly liberal scale. There are, however, a number of defects including the numerical exemption, the fact that it is to be administered outside of the labor department, the schedule instead of blanket coverage of occupational disease, and the medical board provision. Idaho and Maryland also enacted occupational disease compensation laws, bringing the total number of such laws to 25.

A number of these newly enacted occupational disease laws carry provisions of doubtful benefit to workers. The insurance companies have been actively promoting a type of bill that places the controlling authority in a medical board, a provision which has this year been incorporated in the laws of Arkansas, Maryland, Idaho and Pennsylvania. Advisory medical opinions, furnished by impartial experts paid by the state are one thing. Binding decisions by a board of doctors who are not full-time state employes, but who are permitted to practice and do practice for insurance companies and employers, is quite another thing. A much more liberal and realistic interpretation of a compensation law is to be expected when claims are decided by lay referees, aided and guided but not superseded by medical experts.

While organized labor in the states has year after year carried on a battle to extend the coverage of compensation laws and to liberalize the benefits, hostile interests (led by insurance companies) have been undermining the administrative sections of these laws, thus indirectly but effectively depriving workers of the very rights that have been won. While these provisions are often so obscure that slight changes may seem comparatively

harmless, recent experiences point to the need for careful scrutiny. The insurance lobby has shown itself repeatedly willing to trade small increases in benefits for procedural amendments whose significance is not easily apparent. Thus in Pennsylvania, an increase in the percentage of weekly wage was "traded" for other amendments to the law which more than counterbalance this supposed gain, and interpose many legal technicalities between the claimant and his award. The Pennsylvania worker who is injured after the new law took effect may lose his rights under the Act entirely, simply because he has failed to file formal notice of the accident even though the employer had full knowledge of the accident and the injury. The employer or carrier is no longer penalized for persuading the worker to agree to a lump-sum commutation which is actually in violation of the Act. The Department of Labor and Industry is barred from assisting the claimant who has signed an incomplete agreement and failed to secure his full rights under the Act. Widows and dependents will lose very large sums—amounting in some cases to 80 per cent or more, of the death benefits formerly paid—because of a new provision which deducts sums paid to the disabled worker during his lifetime, from the death benefit. In presenting his claim and arguing his case through the maze of confusing new legal language, the worker is now also deprived of the right to be represented by a member of a labor organization. Obviously, the chief gainers under the new law are the lawyers, the doctors, and the insurance companies. These, and other amendments, are of a type that are being promoted under the guise of innocent changes intended to simplify the compensation laws and reduce costs.

(P. 385) The convention unani-

mously adopted the committee recommendations as follows:

In that portion of the Executive Council's Report captioned, "Workmen's Compensation and Occupational Disease," your committee recommends aggressive action with a view to remedying lax interpretations in existing workmen's compensation laws, so as to fully protect the right of the worker, and the further recommendation that the laws be administered by the labor department, or a commission created specifically for this purpose, one member to represent Labor, the member to be recommended by the state federation of labor. Your committee further recommends to the state federations of labor that they continue in their endeavor to secure complete coverage under these laws, and the establishment of a state fund for the payment of all benefits under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

(P. 194) Although the state workmen's compensation laws antedate the Social Security Act by many years, they are properly a part of the security program. Security for the worker means steady income, protection against the calamities which threaten that income, whether accident, illness, unemployment or old age. In reorganizing and enlarging the whole program of social security the states need to improve the workmen's compensation laws, especially in expanding their scope to all industrial diseases, in eliminating private-profit companies from the compensation business, and in placing administration of the laws under state departments of labor or industrial commissions on which Labor is represented. The worker affected by an occupational disease needs to have technical information on the conditions of work constituting the exposure to hazard which he cannot secure for himself to prove his claim. If the administration were entrusted to departments of labor the necessary information would

be available and the worker would get his just compensation.

We must make renewed efforts in every state to get revisions of the workmen's compensation laws to include all types of industrial disability, from disease as well as accident. The term "injury" should not be confined to accidents and a specific list of occupational diseases but should be inclusive of all injuries resulting from the occupation. If the compensation laws are so revised that the cost of injury properly attributable to industry is compensated by it, the expansion of general disability insurance to care for the other workers temporarily or permanently disabled can more easily be included under the unemployment compensation or old age insurance laws.

We should look ultimately to incorporating the workmen's compensation laws into a coordinated federal-state system with adequate federal standards governing the payment of benefits. It is particularly desirable both in the interests of honest payment of benefits and of economy that a single government insurance agency in each state carry the insurance. It has been sufficiently demonstrated that private-profit companies charge excessive rates and make it difficult for the worker to receive fair treatment. In all parts of the program affecting social security the profit motive should be excluded from operation. The interests of the beneficiaries and reasonable economy in handling the funds should be the dominant consideration.

(P. 633) The Executive Council in its annual report to the convention recommended that eventually workmen's compensation legislation should be coordinated with the national social security plan, to improve standards of security for workers and for administrative simplicity and economy.

The convention concurred in the

suggestion of the Executive Council in the following statement:

... workmen's compensation which was our first step in a social security program, should be advanced and coordinated with provisions against other emergencies.

(1940, p. 127) Stock and mutual insurance companies are continuing their efforts to prevent the spread of state funds, especially the establishment of such funds as the exclusive insurers for workmen's compensation. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that a much larger percent of the premium paid goes to compensate injured workers under the single government fund than under private insurance agencies.

There is a growing tendency for private insurance companies to fight the payment of benefits and for courts to give technical rulings preventing the payment of benefits which in all equity should be paid. The employer pays the premiums to protect his workers when they suffer industrial injuries. Neither the employer nor the worker is benefited by too narrow and technical interpretation of the laws. Only the insurance company profits by the worker's misfortune. We recommend that legislatures take action to amend the laws to achieve the true intention of workmen's compensation. We urge especially the replacement of private insurers by single state funds which will not have a selfish interest in preventing fair treatment of injured workers.

(P. 562) Your Executive Council warns of the continued opposition of stock and mutual insurance companies to state workmen's compensation funds, and the growing tendency of private insurance companies to fight the payment of benefit claims.

We recommend that the Federation and its affiliated unions renew their efforts to promote the real purpose of workmen's compensation by securing legislation which will preclude

narrow, technical interpretations of the laws to the detriment of injured workers, and will replace private insurers by single state funds.

(Exclusive State Funds Recommended)—(P. 380) Convention commended states which had succeeded in having improved their compensation laws and urged all state federations to be ever watchful in endeavoring to improve and strengthen their existing workmen's compensation laws, and endeavor to have established laws providing for exclusive state funds.

(Washington State)—(1942, p. 624) The A. F. of L. was requested, through Res. 138, to oppose a bill to provide for the refund of several millions of dollars collected by the State of Washington as taxes, thus eliminating the payment of workmen's compensation in the State of Washington. The resolution was referred to the Executive Council for investigation and appropriate action.

(1943, p. 89) At the conclusion of the section of the E.C. Report under this title (covering state legislation in this field) the following program was included:

Despite the outstanding improvements achieved this year in workmen's compensation laws, only a beginning has been made. Organized labor cannot relax its efforts in this field until the following goals have been reached by every state: (1) compulsory coverage for all industrial accidents and diseases; (2) commission or board administration; (3) insurance by exclusive state funds; (4) unlimited hospital and medical care; (5) benefits of not less than two-thirds of wages payable during entire period of disability; and (6) establishment of second-injury and rehabilitation funds.

(P. 377) We urge state federations of labor to follow the example set . . . to the end that all states may have a uniformity of law giving the great-

est protection and benefit to the worker.

In conclusion your committee repeats its warning that the greatest possible interest should be taken in all laws introduced in state legislatures which would have for their purpose the detrimental restrictions of labor unions or protective labor laws, or the setting aside of any existing laws under the guise of the war emergency, which would render them ineffective and weak. We should resist vigorously restrictive legislation and press unceasingly for remedial and beneficial legislation.

Your committee calls to the attention of all national and international unions as well as the American Federation of Labor the necessity of all local unions being affiliated with the various state federations of labor. This is essential to the defense of Labor in procuring favorable legislation in the legislatures of their respective states and would supply the necessary cooperation to foster the enactment of laws beneficial to the workers.

(1944, p. 428) Res. 96:

Whereas — The workmen's compensation laws in the several states are not uniform and vary in the amounts of weekly benefits paid and total amounts paid for injuries and death, and

Whereas—Montana is one of the few states where the total compensations paid for injuries and death, are high, running from \$8,400 for deaths, up to \$10,500, for total permanent disability, and running up to 500 weeks for total permanent disabilities, and

Whereas—Labor in Montana is continually confronted with attempts to amend the compensation law by lowering its standards to meet the standards of the neighboring states, and

Whereas—Such attempts, if successful, are detrimental to the welfare of Labor, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to circularize the several states urging them to amend their workmen's compensation laws so they be uniform and standardized upwards, looking toward the benefit of the workers.

This resolution calls upon the Executive Council to take steps to bring about uniform compensation laws in the various states with benefits equal at least to the present maximum.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for appropriate action, and it is also recommended that consideration be given to securing the enactment of a federal workmen's compensation law.

(1946, p. 606) While the ultimate goal of the American Federation of Labor is a comprehensive, unified system of social insurance, it is recognized that workmen's compensation—the oldest of the social insurances in America—is embodied in separate state laws. These laws vary widely in the protection they afford wage earners and a review of their effectiveness is long overdue. The American Federation of Labor favors for all states:

1. Compulsory insurance under workmen's compensation laws, covering all workers without exception.

2. Coverage by exclusive state funds, eliminating the profit motive from a program designed to give protection to workers and their families.

3. Maximum weekly benefits sufficient in amount to support the worker and his family during incapacity due to injury without his having to rely on additional aid from public or private charity. (Present maximum benefits of \$15.00 to \$20.00 per week existing in many states fail to meet this standard.)

4. Full coverage for every type of industrial disease with no lesser payments in cases of disability from disease than from injury.

5. Effective enforcement of accident prevention laws and regulations by every available means.

6. The establishment of workmen's compensation committees in each state federation of labor which, with the aid of competent legal experts, will study their state laws and assist in carrying out the above principles by: (a) proposing and supporting legislation to improve their laws, (b) keeping in touch with workmen's compensation commissions to see that administration is on a high level and the rights of workers protected, (c) cooperating with the U.S. Department of Labor and with the American Federation of Labor in creating more uniformity in the workmen's compensation laws and eliminating special provisions which favor employers, such as reduced amounts for silicosis cases, unusual proof for hernia cases, waivers, etc., and (d) cooperating with rehabilitation agencies.

(1948, p. 419) The convention adopted recommendation of the committee reporting on Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act (June 24, 1948) and "urged state federations of labor to use this Act as a precedent to amend their state workmen's compensation acts."

(1951, pp. 351, 513) Res. 105 called upon the A. F. of L. to prepare and present to Congress suitable legislation providing for workmen's compensation coverage for all occupational diseases.

(1953, pp. 202, 638) Included in the E.C. Report on state legislation, was a report on workmen's compensation. The convention adopted its committee report on the subject:

During the past year many states have made improvements in their workmen's compensation legislation. However, these laws still remain basically inadequate to meet the needs of workers whose earning capacity can so quickly become impaired or de-

stroyed by occupational accidents and diseases. Each state federation of labor should conduct a detailed study of the workmen's compensation laws and develop a specific program for improvements in the workmen's compensation statutes in their respective states. We ask that the American Federation of Labor provide increased and improved services to guide and assist our state federations in this work.

(1954, pp. 413, 487) Res. 113:

Whereas—There are untold thousands of workers in industry ranging from the drop forge and boiler shops to the textile mills and lumber mills who are suffering from permanent damage to one of their most valued possessions, namely, their hearing, with little or no chance of recovery and little or no chance of compensation under existing workmen's compensation laws, and

Whereas—Because of the lack of necessity for compensation payments, industry pays little heed to the situation and takes no steps to abate hearing-damaging noise in the factories and mills so that the list of persons with permanent, partial and total hearing loss grows tremendously, and

Whereas—Loss of this important member of the senses subjects the person to greater danger of life and limb, deprives him of many of the enjoyments of social and family life and creates for him much embarrassment in his daily associations, and

Whereas—The International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers has conducted wide studies in this matter and has taken official action at its last convention to vigorously promote legislative enactment in all states to provide corrective and compensatory measures, realizing full well that the cost of compensation will compel employers to institute noise abatement programs and engineering processes that will conserve

the hearing of millions of workers, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled take official cognizance of this serious situation, by instituting a national movement of corrective and compensatory legislation and by taking such steps as may be deemed expedient to compel noise abatement programs in industry, and be it further

Resolved—That copies of this resolution be supplied to all state federations of labor and international unions with the urge that these organizations exert their utmost influence to bring about accomplishment of the purposes of this resolution.

(Workmen's Compensation Commission) (U.S. Employees) — (1939, p. 420) Continued support of U.S. Employees Compensation Commission was pledged through Res. 70 as follows:

Resolved—That this 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its approval of the commission and the manner in which it has administered the laws under its jurisdiction; and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal Workmen's Compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment; and be it further

Resolved—That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

(1943, p. 410) Res. 43, unanimously adopted as follows:

Whereas—The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the workmen's compensation law covering government employees and since it has

subsequently been charged with the duty of administering federal workmen's compensation laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on federal emergency projects, and

Whereas—The United States Employees' Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in a humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of workmen's compensation legislation by an independent bi-partisan commission, and

Whereas—The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the federal workmen's compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment, and be it further

Resolved—That the Executive Council be instructed to request that the U.S. Employees' Compensation Commission, its records, and functions, be returned to the national capital at the earliest practicable date, and be it further

Resolved—That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

(1940, p. 411) The U.S. Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the A. F. of L. to administer the workmen's compensation law cov-

ering government employees, and its field subsequently extended to cover similar laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on federal emergency projects. The A. F. of L. subsequently formally approved the commission and the manner in which it has performed its duties. The 1940 Convention reaffirmed approval of the A. F. of L. of the commission and its administration of the laws with which it is entrusted. The A. F. of L. further reaffirmed its stand calling for the maintenance of the commission as an independent establishment.

(1944, p. 469) Res. 7 was unanimously adopted as follows:

Whereas—The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the workmen's compensation law covering government employees and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering federal workmen's compensation laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia and the large body of workmen employed on federal emergency projects and

Whereas—The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the federal workmen's compensation laws by

maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment, and be it further

Resolved—That the Executive Council be instructed to request that the U.S. Employees' Compensation Commission, its records, and functions be returned to the national capital at the earliest practicable date, and be it further

Resolved—That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Works Progress Administration—(1936, p. 645) The E.C. is directed to petition the Works Progress Administration for an immediate ruling providing for sick leave and vacations with pay for all Works Progress Administration workers.

(P. 596) Under the so-called "Security Wage" many local officials under the WPA, either through a lack of understanding or favoritism have attempted to advance men into trades without the proper care so necessary to the training of apprenticeship for skilled craftsmen. In the employment of all skilled workers under the WPA there be a *bona fide* board set up for the examination of such mechanics as employed, into the fitness of these mechanics for the prospective assignments and that such board consist of one (1) member of the craft so examined, one (1) employer of recognized standing in the community, and one (1) representative of the WPA service engineering department, and that only men passed by these be employed on skilled work to the end that the government receive the proper grade of work in its respective endeavors.

(1939, p. 169) The Executive Council reported on the work of the WPA and other relief employment projects in a special section of its annual report under this title. The report closed with the following:

The review of these facts makes clear the enormous extent of the unemployment and relief problem still to be solved. Continued lag in industrial and trade activity with the resulting unemployment make necessary continued provision for those who are dependent on some form of public assistance in order to be able to survive. We have seen that work relief on WPA projects has constituted the largest single instrumentality of such assistance. It has also been noted that 70 per cent of this activity was devoted to construction which, given the designation of "work relief," has actually represented one of the largest known programs of public works that has ever been undertaken by any nation. We believe it is important to recognize that such public works programs, involving thus far the construction and repair of nearly 80,000 public buildings, 66,000 bridges, 380 airports, and the building of 350,000 miles of highways, cannot and should not be dealt with as work relief but should be embodied, within definitely prescribed limits, into a planned permanent public works program. Such a long-range program planned for the most effective and economical expenditure of public funds to fill real and pressing social needs should supplement private employment until the flow of investment into private enterprise is brought up to the levels necessary to attain full private employment. Such a long-range program of public works projects providing private employment under contract at not less than prevailing wages would do much to soften the impact of the recurrent fluctuations of business and construction activity upon employment.

A special sub-section titled "Prevailing Wage Problem" related experiences under Section 15(a) of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1939 which did away with the requirement that not less than the prevailing hourly wages be paid to the

workers employed on WPA projects. The sub-section closed with: One thing is certain—no available data on cost of living hertofore assembled can justify the absurdities of such a schedule nor its destructive effect upon the structure of prevailing wages in all communities.

(Prevailing Wage Problems) — (P. 172) A special section of the E.C. Report was devoted to problems arising from General Order No. 1 which did away with the requirement that no less than the prevailing hourly wages be paid to workers employed on WPA projects, which order was adopted despite opposition of organized labor and its sympathizers.

(P. 521) The report of the convention committee was unanimously adopted as follows:

Under the caption "The Prevailing Wage Problem," the Executive Council reports upon the provisions of General Order No. 1, approved by Commissioner Harrington, WPA, on August 15, 1939.

This order relates largely to wage rates to be paid those employed on WPA work.

Your committee heartily concurs in the Executive Council's statement that no data relative to the cost of living can justify the absurdities and inconsistencies of the wage rates provided for in General Order No. 1.

Your committee likewise concurs with the Executive Council's statement that the security wage contained in such a schedule must have a destructive effect upon the structure of prevailing wages in all communities.

(P. 445) Res. 10, referred to the Executive Council for consideration, with full approval of the objectives of the resolution, proposed the following:

Resolved—That there exists a need for a continuing program of government "enterprise" as distinguished from "relief" sufficiently broad to provide employment for workers who are

properly qualified, who are willing and able to work, decently diligent in the pursuit of a job and diligent in their application to the job after they have been successful in getting it. Such a program could and should involve the establishment and construction of a super highway system for the nation, flood control and reclamation work where such projects are feasible and necessary, construction of needed air traffic facilities and air traffic safeguards, re-forestation, proper housing for government agencies, construction and modernization of schools, slum clearance and other activities in which the government has a legitimate and recognized interest, such programs to be set up as a continuing national policy and to involve cooperation on the part of the state and local governments with the Federal Government such a program to pay standard wages and observe standard working conditions in the communities in which such works are undertaken and to be carried out on the basis of contracts competitively arrived at where this type of project is most likely to be advantageous or under properly supervised government force account work; be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse a program along this line and use their best efforts to secure legislation to accomplish the intent of this resolution.

(Prevailing Wage)—(P. 503) Res. 77 called upon the convention to petition the President and Congress to restore the prevailing wage on all WPA projects. Convention unanimously adopted the resolution.

(P. 445) Res. 9 protested against the curtailment of WPA work and the departure from the prevailing wage requirements; urged that a special session of Congress be called to remedy the errors made. In lieu of the resolution as such, the convention

adopted the committee recommendations as follows:

Your committee in lieu of acting on the resolution, recommends that this convention approve of the action taken by the special conference called by President Green in Washington, July 12, 1939, to consider the extension of the WPA hours to 130 per month, and the elimination of the prevailing wage which had previously prevailed.

After this national conference had declared its position, it appointed a committee to present the conference decision to the President of the United States; the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House.

In addition, the American Federation of Labor actively interviewed members of Congress in an effort to have the prevailing wage restored. It failed in this effort because a majority in Congress believed it was carrying out the Administration's desire in eliminating the prevailing wage.

Your committee is informed that since the regular session of Congress adjourned, the Attorney General has handed down an opinion holding that Section 15 (b) of the Emergency Act of 1939, approved June 30, 1939, permitted WPA to pay the prevailing wage on work already begun before July 1, 1939.

Your committee regrets to inform the convention that up to the present time it has been impossible to learn whether the Administration of WPA intended to accept the opportunity presented by the law and the opinion of the Attorney General.

We, therefore recommend that the Executive Council continue to press for the restoration of the prevailing wage, and for the full application of the decision reached by the national conference called by the American Federation of Labor to consider the subject.

(Public Works)—(1940, p. 132) We believe that in the development and

expansion of the defense program it is vitally important that a clear-cut separation be made between public works and work relief. There is no practical reason and little justification for the transfer of basic construction projects from the normal channels of private building under contract to work relief activity at sub-standard wages. The transfer of a large portion of defense construction work to relief employment will serve to perpetuate the WPA as a permanent institution by eliminating the private sources of employment normally provided by contract work.

We reiterate our recommendation of previous years in favor of a long-range permanent public works program designed to meet the immediate public works needs of the nation and yet provide the necessary means of expansion and curtailment of public works projects in harmony with general economic conditions. The large-scale program of military construction called for by national defense should provide a convenient starting point for the organization of a permanent public works administration.

We also recommend that full provision be made for the welfare of the unemployed wage earners and their families, administered through federal and local public assistance channels. Relief work should be continued to the extent to which it is truly needed. But the administration of this work should be considered an inseparable part of the general public assistance program, relying upon the network of public employment offices for fitting the most appropriate relief employment to the needy unemployed, and for relating the entire program to the other phases of unemployment relief and public assistance.

(P. 552) The Executive Council calls attention to a most significant policy and trend which has interfered with the recovery of private industry and has created obstacles impeding a

decline in relief expenditures and normal contraction of the relief program. This trend and policy is illustrated by the invasion of the construction industry by transferring construction of public projects from contracts with private companies to WPA undertakings with wages and labor standards below those fixed by union agreements and prevailing in private industry.

The result has been to undermine by legislative enactments and by administrative rulings the constructive policy of prohibition of destructive competition between public and private construction work. The Executive Council points out that since the summer of 1939 at least seven out of every 10 WPA workers have been employed in the construction of public works. By administrative ruling the WPA directed that labor on all contract work should be supplied from relief rolls and only in the event labor could not be supplied by this source could the contractor employ workers through the normal channels. As a result practices subversive to trade skills have been set up which will plague the workers of the construction industry while the industry itself has been prevented from exercising its normal pull toward recovery.

These policies are unfortunate and harmful and we recommend every effort possible to secure reversal. We recommend that emphatic and positive action be taken to prevent the extension of such short-sighted policies into defense construction as a policy calculated to destroy confidence in the good faith of the government, thereby undermining morale and national unity when most needed. We recommend full provisions for the needy and unemployed workers but under conditions that will not interfere with their readjustment in the normal business structure and future progress. The first step to this end is the proposal we have repeatedly endorsed and urged—a long range pub-

lic works program designed to conform to changing business trends and adjust to need for greater employment. We must find remedies for relief that do not interfere with permanent relief and which strengthen our free democratic institutions.

(Sewing Projects)—(P. 506) Through a resolution introduced in the 1940 Convention attention was directed to the excess cost of manufacturing clothing under Works Projects Administration projects notwithstanding the fact that workers under WPA are receiving sub-standard wages. The effect on employment in private industry has suffered thereby. Convention authorized the Executive Council to study this problem and take appropriate action.

(Encroachment on Construction Industry)—(Pp. 570-574) Five resolutions were submitted to the convention dealing with the activities of the Works Projects Administration in the building and construction industry. The following was adopted:

We must be alarmed at the fact that 80 percent of WPA employment, as reported to the Congress of the United States by the Administrator for the Works Projects Administration, has been in the building and construction field. This report is amazing when one considers that it is a report of an agency originally created and intended to be purely temporary in an emergency to provide for relief and to act as a stop-gap due to the lack of private employment.

Private industry to this time has not been able to supply employment and, as time goes on, our government through WPA is giving the building and construction industry more and more competition in an industry which under normal conditions is second only to that of agriculture in the number of men employed. Not only have these activities curtailed the opportunity of free untrammelled labor for the present, but they have borrowed

on the future of the building and construction industry to the extent that normalcy is further delayed.

For the past five years we have been faced with the most serious threat of all—competition of the Government of the United States for the work upon which the building and construction contractors of the nation ordinarily would bid and upon which we as workers would be employed by these contractors. The whole future of the building and construction industry is threatened if such a move should continue. We cannot impress upon you delegates too emphatically the real, far-reaching effect of such competition.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the WPA be removed completely from the building and construction field and that their activities be continued on a purely temporary basis operating in localities where there is pressing need for projects of a non-construction nature and on which a maximum of common labor can be employed.

Your committee further recommends that the American Federation of Labor, its departments, state federations of labor, central bodies, national and international unions, and directly affiliated unions, urge the membership to communicate with the President of the United States, members of the Senate and House of Representatives and appropriate sovereign state officials to use their influence to have activities of the Works Projects Administration curtailed as set forth above.

(1941, p. 127) The Executive Council feels strongly that the relief needs must be met through federal and local public assistance channels and that the problem must not be obscured by emergency conditions. Special attention should be paid to the needs of families subjected to unemployment and privation because of industrial dislocations incidental to defense. Re-

lief work should be continued wherever truly needed but its allocation should not be in conflict with available private employment. Closer integration of relief administration with the placement work of public employment offices should be achieved. Above all, planning must be begun to make provision for workers whose employment will terminate at the end of the emergency. This planning for the post-emergency should stem from the local communities which are most likely to be affected. Central labor unions and their committees are urged to call upon agencies of the municipal government to undertake studies of industrial and power resources of each locality as well as of housing and other community facilities to make possible the formulation of an integrated national program based on the needs and objectives of each locality.

(P. 676) . . . The Executive Council's report presents a comprehensive, factual account of the impact of defense on our relief and work relief problems. Far-reaching dislocations taking place throughout our economy have brought about large-scale job displacement and acute distress among workers in many communities. Shifts from civilian to defense production, application of priorities, and curtailment in the supply of raw materials are the major sources of defense unemployment. Confused and ineffective organization of the defense production program and failure to consider employment as one of the basic guiding factors in letting defense contracts were in large measure responsible for the new wave of unemployment. A firm policy with regard to subcontracting of defense orders as widely as possible, in such a way as to spread employment equitably among all communities and all sections of the country is most urgently needed.

Available data on the distribution of WPA employment bring out lack of integration between the new work

relief need and the distribution of relief employment. The WPA has undertaken a large number of so-called "defense projects," most of which involve building and construction work which could readily be done by private contractors employing qualified union labor. We recommend that the use of contract method on all building and construction initiated by the Federal Government be made a requirement under the Emergency Relief Act and under policies and procedures of all federal agencies.

The relief needs of the nation are still extremely large. Emergency conditions must not obscure the vital urgency of the problem, and relief needs must be fully met through federal as well as local public assistance channels. We urge that special attention be devoted to the needs of workers' families subjected to unemployment because of dislocations incidental to defense, and that relief employment be continued wherever truly needed and wherever its allocation is not in conflict with available private employment.

We emphasize the need to achieve closer integration of the relief administration with the placement work of public employment offices, with active advisory participation of union representatives.

Planning must be without delay to provide for workers whose employment will terminate at the end of the emergency. Such planning, to be effective, must be from the roots up. Central labor unions and their committees should be urged to initiate studies for each locality, to determine the industrial and power resources of the community, as well as of housing and other facilities, which would make possible an integrated national program reflecting real needs of each community.

(1942, p. 623) Res. 142 charges the Works Projects Administration with the placing of unskilled workers in

jobs requiring the skill of qualified tradesmen to the detriment of efficient work as well as to the destruction of wage standards and requests that the Executive Council cooperate in securing the liquidation of the Works Projects Administration and the transfer of its function and appropriation to the P.W.A.

Resolution referred to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate its contents and cooperate with the organizations involved in securing correction of the conditions about which complaint is made.

World Court of International Justice—(1924, p. 71) On February 24, 1923, the late President Harding submitted a message to the Senate containing advice to him from the Secretary of State dealing with the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice and advocating that the U.S. participate officially in court.

No action was taken by the Senate at that time. In his message at the opening of Congress, December 6, 1923, President Coolidge pointed out that for nearly 25 years we have been a member of the Hague Tribunal and had long sought the creation of a permanent World Court of International Justice. President Coolidge pointed out the fact of the present existence of the permanent Court of International Justice and advocated that the U.S. become a participant in this court. No action was taken by the House or by the Senate until April 7, 1924, when Senator Pepper introduced a resolution in which he advocated that the U.S. Government should take the initiative in the establishment of a new court of international relations totally dissociated from the League of Nations. On this resolution hearings were held before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the subcommittee and advocated that the United States become a participant in the permanent Court of International Relations as now established. They pointed out the fact that 54 nations are now participants in the permanent court; that it is unthinkable that the nations now participating would consent to the dissolution of the present court and the establishment of a court in accord with the provisions of the Pepper resolution. A great number of people testified before the subcommittee, all in favor of the U.S. becoming a member of the present Court of International Relations. Hearings were closed. Up to the present time no report has been made by the subcommittee to the whole committee. On May 8, 1924, Senator Lodge, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted a resolution (S. J. Res. 122) proposing a statute for a World Court in accordance with the resolution of Senator Pepper, entirely separate and apart from the present established Court of International Relations. No action has been taken on this resolution.

World Federation of Trade Unions (also see: United Nations; Forced Labor; Foreign Policy; International; Communism, etc.)

(1944, pp. 69, 72) The Executive Council reported the obvious growing need for a free trade union organization in Europe which resulted in the action of the Federation in placing a representative in Europe to meet with trade union officials and keep the A. F. of L. advised on developments which lead to the formation of local trade unions in the United States Zone of Germany in line with patterns which had previously prevailed. Provisions for an amalgamation were reported to the convention. The need for an Inter-American economic organi-

zation was also reported to the convention which unanimously adopted the report of its committee.

(1946, pp. 59, 72, 433) In these sections of the report the Executive Council sets forth attitudes manifested and representations and activities engaged in having for their objective the reestablishment and functioning of free trade unions in the several European countries—and in promoting free trade unions wherever possible.

The American Federation of Labor can play an ever more strategic and perhaps decisive role in the critical European situation. The key to the future in Europe lies with the reconstructed and slowly reviving free labor movement. The extent to which this is recognized on truly democratic lines, will determine in a large measure, which way Europe will go in terms of the basic struggle that is ensuing between democracy and Russian totalitarianism. The extent to which the trade unions of Europe develop along free trade union lines will contribute much to the final decisions that Europe makes in the titanic political war between two basically different concepts of America and Russia.

The American Federation of Labor has always maintained that genuine free trade unions are the bulwark of modern democracy. The disastrous experience with Communism, Nazism, Fascism, Falangism as well as the tragedy of two world wars have confirmed the historical correctness of our position.

As the strongest free trade union federation in the world and functioning in a land which plays a decisive role in the international scene, the American Federation of Labor must now assume new and greater responsibilities for preserving and extending the ideals of genuine trade unionism. Today there is no longer an international rallying center for free trade unions. To the contrary the International Federation of Trade Un-

ions has been replaced by a federation of unions dominated by the Soviet Government and its satellites and is nothing more than a caricature of a free trade union movement.

The WFTU was conceived by the Russian dictatorship and was created as a successor to the notorious and now defunct Red Internationale of Labor Unions. In its brief period of existence the World Federation of Labor has clearly and unmistakably proven itself as an agency to foster Russia's expansionist foreign policy. It has vigorously and regularly defended Russian imperialistic interests. It has delayed and prevented the revival of *bona fide* trade unions in Germany and elsewhere. It has consistently and violently denounced the British Labor Government and its general secretary has hailed and pictured the Russian terror now gripping the workers of Hungary, Poland, Roumania and Yugoslavia as "now enjoying freedoms which were previously unknown in other countries."

In Czechoslovakia, where those who control the WFTU likewise influence the affairs of state, not a single word of protest has been raised against a governmental decree permitting but a single trade union organization called "The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement" dominated and controlled by the government. Neither has the WFTU uttered a single word of condemnation against the barbarous mass deportations of workers from the Sudeten—many of whom had suffered in Hitler's prison and concentration camps for anti-Nazi activities while some of the Communists now in the Prague government directing these deportations were still supporting the Stalin-Hitler Pact. Here in Washington, D. C., at its meeting last month, the executive board of the WFTU echoed the Russian hypocritical cry about war propaganda being spread by monopolists and large capitalists but not a single word was said about

the aggressions of the Russian Communist imperialism which has already snuffed out the independence of 11 nations between the Arctic and the Aegean and is now seeking to strangle Turkey and provoke chaos in the Arab world.

The WFTU cannot serve as a bridge from the free western workers to the oppressed Russian workers; it cannot function as a vehicle of *rapprochement* between the free labor movements of the western world and the enslaved workers of Russia and her puppet states. The setting up of an international trade union body under the control and domination of Russia and Russian occupied countries and colonial and semi-colonial lands, marks a dangerously backward and extremely harmful departure in international unionism. This reactionary development is fraught with the gravest consequences for the free organized labor movements everywhere.

While apprehensive regarding the objectives of the WFTU, and the slave and imperialistic foreign policy of Russia, we entertain only the best of good wishes toward the Russian people. Our sympathy goes out to them in their feudalistic bondage and slavery. We sincerely desire to look forward to the day when the Russian workers and peasants will have the right and enjoy the benefits of free trade unionism and association and cooperation at home as we enjoy these rights and benefits. We hope it may not be long before they will take their rightful place in the ranks of an international movement of free trade unions and join with us in the onward march of free labor.

Our country has not sought one cent of reparations or advantage, no territorial annexations or commercial privileges out of the recent world conflict. The American people have poured billions of dollars into aiding the Allies during the war and since military hostilities have ceased the

United States has provided 71 per cent of all the UNRRA supplies—the bulk of which has gone to Soviet-dominated areas. Our nation has made heavy sacrifices in human lives and natural resources and material goods in order to crush Axis and Fascist tyranny. Certainly all this has not been done to replace one tyranny by another.

It is in a tense and turbulent international situation such as this that the American Federation of Labor must be prepared to face its urgent and manifold tasks. Through the League for Human Rights, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates have contributed millions of dollars of relief to Labor's underground fighters against Axis tyranny in Europe and Asia and as well to the victims of Nazi-Fascist terrorism in all lands. Through the Free Trade Union Committee we have maintained direct, active and increasingly fruitful contact with the suppressed trade union bodies of war-torn lands. We have published special bulletins in English, French, Spanish and German advising European Labor about the policies and practices and achievements of the millions of workers in the American Federation of Labor. We have even published one issue of bulletin in the Russian language but the Soviet leaders have thus far denied passage of this issue through the Iron Curtain and its distribution among workers of the USSR.

Representatives of the A. F. of L. have rendered yeoman service in assisting the Japanese workers in rebuilding their unions on a firm and free basis. At the first possible opportunity, the A. F. of L. helped the workers of Italy to take their first steps toward reestablishing *bona fide* free trade unions. During the past year two representatives of the A. F. of L. have been working in Europe. Through them we have been able to

help trade unions to get the supplies necessary for their operation and to initiate plans for relief. By these efforts we were helpful in clearing away the political and military obstacles which prevented the reconstruction of free trade unions in Germany—so vital to the democratic regeneration of the German people.

The Executive Council has intervened actively with President Truman, the State Department and the Office of Military Government for returning to the German trade unions the offices, property and financial assets which had been stolen from them by the Nazis.

The task before us as free trade unionists is great. Unless the trade unions of Germany and of other lands are given leadership by the free trade unions with a rallying center this field will be pre-empted by those who would communize our free trade union organizations. A program of facts and information for European workers giving concrete reports on wages and working conditions of the American workers is essential. Likewise information about the Soviet economy and the so-called trade unionism in Russia is desirable. Exchanges of workers and leaders from various industries and international unions must be encouraged and become part of our regular activity in Europe. Relief must be provided to the reviving free trade unions and leaders and to other democratic forces who are struggling to liberate themselves from totalitarian control. These and other activities must be engaged in if we are to make freedom of the workers safe throughout the world.

We are pleased to record the fact that provision has been made by the American Federation of Labor to set up a European office through which to service European trade unionists and that likewise provision has been made by the A. F. of L. to supplement the

services of the Free Trade Union Committee by the selection of a direct appointee.

Strategically Germany is the economic heart of Continental Europe and can give leadership as well in the field of Labor. It is therefore important to aid them to move quickly and surely toward free trade unions for their progress and protection, for the security of Europe and lastly, to safeguard free trade unionism in the United States. We cannot continue to prosper in isolation in the field of Labor any more than can our government prosper in isolation! Only by our joining hands with the visible forces of democracy throughout the world can we hope to make the democratic way of life more dynamic and effective and fully secure us against the constant encroachments and unwarranted and vicious assaults of every type and of every stripe of totalitarian dictatorship.

(1947, p. 187) . . . The American Federation of Labor has also been engaged in sharp conflicts with the WFTU which has loyally endorsed Russia's expansionist foreign policy seeking to exploit and enslave German labor and to treat the German trade unionists not as brothers but as second-class citizens put on probation under WFTU supervision and Moscow domination.

The increasing and varied volume of correspondence with trade unionists of every continent is irrefutable proof of the growing interest in, and support of, the ideal of democracy and free trade unionism as expounded, advocated, and applied by the American Federation of Labor. The WFTU has been put on the defensive and exposed as a fifth-column of Soviet imperialism and a purveyor of totalitarian propaganda. Because of the information in our publications and our constructive initiative and leadership in international political affairs as

well as in economic questions, the WFTU is now regarded by more workers as totally bankrupt as an international trade union federation and utterly incapable of and unconcerned with defending the interests of Labor.

(Pp. 471, 476) It is only natural that the A. F. of L., as the strongest body of free trade unions in the world should come into head-on collision with the WFTU. Everything that has happened since this caricature of a world federation of unions was set up has confirmed our evaluation of it as a camouflaged and delicately controlled instrument of Soviet imperialist interests and foreign policy. It has dismally failed to defend the interests of the workers on the economic field. As an international body, it has thrown its weight behind government coordinated unions in Czechoslovakia and has put the stamp of approval on the so-called trade unions in all the other Russian satellite countries. In these unfortunate lands, the trade unions have been transformed into parts of the state apparatus of the brutal dictatorships exploiting and oppressing the workers.

The WFTU has also turned a deaf ear to the widespread protests against the persecution and arrest of tried and true leaders of the *bona fide* trade union movement in these overrun countries. The role of the WFTU as an instrument of the aggressive and expansionist foreign policy of the USSR has been most painfully confirmed by its refusal to heed the repeated requests of the Austrian trade unions for help against the Soviet attempt to secure Russian imperialist domination of Austria by the seizure of the so-called German assets. In Germany, the WFTU has treated even the most courageous trade union fighters against Nazism as second class citizens. The only prescription it could offer for the ailing Ruhr coal fields is forced labor. The largest affiliate of

the WFTU—the so-called Russian Trade Union Council—does not enjoy any of the most elementary rights of organized labor in free lands. Its machinery has even been turned into an agency to facilitate the savage deportation of millions of workers to infernal slave labor camps in the most God-forsaken regions of the Russian empire.

In the Social and Economic Council of the UN, the WFTU consultants have hewed to the CP line, studiously avoided all basic issues confronting world labor, and stubbornly fought against the constructive initiative and positive programs offered by the consultants of the A. F. of L.

A growing uneasy feeling now permeates the ranks of the WFTU affiliates west of the Iron Curtain. The rank and file is realizing more and more that there is something fundamentally wrong with an international trade union organization which dare not even discuss the problems of world reconstruction—let alone try to help the rebuilding of war-wrecked economies and to foster the protection and promotion of the rights, liberties, and interests of the working people. In fact, many affiliates of the WFTU are now part of the Russian Fifth Column which is frantically seeking to sabotage postwar reconstruction and doom the toiling people to poverty, misery and chaos.

... There is even more profound disillusionment in large sections of the WFTU at its adamant refusal to utter a word of protest against or even dare discuss the alarming spread of forced labor and "political convicts" from Iron Curtain zones. Being controlled by the Russian bloc, the WFTU has not opposed and has even approved the reckless dismantling of industrial plants whose operation is vital to the livelihood of German workers and the development of strong free trade unions.

While the WFTU bureaucratic machine, securely in the hands of Communist stooges, has worked overtime to slander the aspirations of British and American democracy, it has never made the slightest criticism of Russian expansionist imperialism. It could not be otherwise. The overwhelming majority of the membership of the WFTU is to be found in Russia, its satellite states, and in federations like the French and Italian over which the Communists still have a stranglehold.

Your committee is glad to report that the International Labor Relations Committee has carried the fight to this WFTU, exposed its false role and energetically sought to counteract its dangerous activities with positive constructive programs for strengthening free trade unionism and rescuing free trade unionists from famine.

Though there is still much to be done before world labor will again be able to reconstitute a genuine international federation of free trade unions, we have made real headway. The forces dominating the WFTU realize this. One of the primary reasons for the steps recently taken to reestablish formally and openly the Comintern is to prepare a machine for replacing the WFTU in the event that it should become seriously weakened or be stripped of such *bona fide* trade union affiliates as the British Trades Union Congress, the labor unions from the Netherlands, Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and Latin America.

In this light it is no accident that the A. F. of L. has been the principal target of the officials of the state-controlled unions in the countries under the yoke of totalitarian dictatorships. We are proud of our friends in the democratic world. And we are glad to be judged by the nature of the enemies we have made. This convention of the A. F. of L. must resolve to expand its educational and relief

activities in behalf of free trade unionism and democracy. The A. F. of L. will give the proper and deserving answer to the Comintern—no matter under what guise or label those who pull its strings operate.

(P. 476) Res. 114 proposed that... the 66th Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct and empower the Executive Council to invite the outstanding leaders of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and independent unions to a roundtable conference to consider the advisability of working out a plan to carry on a common foreign policy of American organized labor to cooperate with the State Department and the President of the United States in the most effective development and application of the international and foreign policies of the Government of the United States.

The convention committee, which was unanimously adopted, reported as follows:

While your committee understands and heartily sympathizes with the sincere desire of the introducers of this resolution for unity of Labor and its active participation in the vital field of foreign policy we cannot recommend acceptance of its proposed concrete action.

As long as the C.I.O. is an affiliate of the WFTU, whose policies and activities are largely molded and dictated by organizations which are not free and are only the subservient tools of totalitarian governments, the C.I.O. is not in a position to exercise its free judgment, to make a free decision, to speak clearly and act independently on international problems confronting American and world Labor.

Your committee further notes the fact that not until the C.I.O. severs its connections with the WFTU—a body controlled by foreign governments—and not until it is prepared to reunite with the mainstream of American

Labor, the A. F. of L., in the organic unification of trade unionism in the United States, will the very commendable objective of this resolution be attainable.

(Seamen's and Dockers' Division)—(1949, pp. 271, 421) The Maritime Trades Department reported that the WFTU had set up a special Seamen's and Dockers' Division which could be used to carry out the orders of the Cominform, and is, therefore, a threat to the free trade union movement throughout the world and to world peace.

The convention unanimously approved the following committee recommendation:

Your committee recommends that this fact be widely publicized and that full consideration be given to this threat by the delegates from the American Federation of Labor at the meeting to establish the new world trade union organization. In working out a program of opposition to the Communist-dominated waterfront unions, fullest consideration must be given to the proposals of the Maritime Trades Department, and all of its affiliated unions.

World Health Organization (UN)—(1948, p. 98) The Executive Council briefly traced the origin and work of the World Health Organization, pointing out the interest of the workers in this body and its objectives.

(P. 490) The convention adopted the following committee report on the World Health Organization:

We endorse the evaluation of this special agency of the United Nations made by the Council.

Your committee notes with satisfaction that the A. F. of L. consultants to the UN have taken steps to secure representation in this body and have prepared plans for active participation in its work with a view of having this agency take measures for international action to promote the health

standards of the laboring people everywhere.

World Trade Union Conference, Proposed—(1944, p. 278) On November 2, 1943, Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, issued a call for a conference of representatives of the organized workers of all countries to meet in London on June 5, 1944.

It was set forth in the call for this conference that it was being convened for the purpose of considering the most pressing problems, both of policy and of organization, affecting the interests of the working people and thereby promoting the widest possible unity in aim and action of the international trade union movement.

In making reply to this invitation sent to the American Federation of Labor, it was pointed out that the American Federation of Labor was affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions; that it was of the opinion that international trade union matters should be dealt with through this agency, and that if a conference of the representatives of organized workers throughout the world was convened it should be called by the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Furthermore, the call issued by Sir Walter Citrine made it clear that he had extended invitations to the representatives of organizations which were not considered as *bona fide* labor organizations and, in addition, to dual unions in the United States and Canada. Because of this fact the officers of the American Federation of Labor declined the invitation to participate in this so-called world conference of alleged representatives of organized labor in all countries throughout the world, which was called to meet in London on June 5.

Correspondence passed between the President of the American Federation of Labor and Sir Walter Citrine deal-

ing with this subject. In this correspondence the President of the American Federation of Labor made clear the reasons why the American Federation of Labor could not and would not participate in such a world conference.

On May 3, 1944, Sir Walter Citrine publicly announced that the plans to hold a world conference of alleged representatives of Labor were cancelled and that no such conference would be held. This ended the matter. The conference was never held and because of that fact the Executive Council considers the matter a closed incident.

(P. 454) In his reply to the Fraternal Delegate from Great Britain to the 1944 Convention, President Green made the following statement:

"Now my good friend, Brother Horner, referred to our labor conference or world conference to be called in England. I am thoroughly aware of the motives that inspired the British Trades Union Congress to call such a world conference.

"But it occurs to us that, first of all, if a world conference should have been called, it ought to have been called by a world agency, such as the International Federation of Trade Unions, a world trade union organization in which the American Federation of Labor is represented and in which the British Trades Union Congress is represented—free democratic trade unions. For some reason or other this agency did not participate in the call for a world conference.

"Then we do not understand why those dissident forces in our own country who have launched upon a dual movement for the avowed purpose of destroying the American Federation of Labor should participate in such a conference and endeavor to tell the American Federation of Labor, the great American labor movement that has functioned for three-quarters of a century, what it shall do. For that

reason, Brother Horner, and for other reasons, it is my judgment that the American Federation of Labor will not be represented at the world conference, such as is being called to meet in London next January. We want to establish unity here; we want a united labor movement here; we believe that unity and solidarity should be established here. We stand as we have always stood, and we are not responsible for the division . . . here at home.

P. 629) Res. 149 proposed the calling of an international trade union conference in the United States. The resolution was covered in the special report of the Special Committee on International Relations, approved by the convention.

(P. 574) Under the caption, "Proposed World Trade Union Conference," the Executive Council's report calls attention to the invitation received to the proposed world trade union conference. In replying to the invitation the Executive Council voiced the opinion that questions relative to international trade union relations should be dealt with through the International Federation of Trade Unions. It was evident that the invitation had been sent to representatives of organizations which were not considered to be *bona fide* trade unions, and in addition to some which were dual to the unions in the United States and Canada. Because of these facts the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor declined to accept the invitation, and through correspondence the President of the American Federation of Labor informed Sir Walter Citrine of the reasons why the American Federation of Labor could not see its way clear to participate in such a proposed conference.

Yellow Dog Contracts (also see: American Plan)—(1925, p. 310) The E.C. was directed to investigate the practice of employers requiring employees to sign a contract to with-

draw from their union affiliations in order to retain their jobs or to secure employment.

(1926, p. 305) The A. F. of L. reaffirms its opposition to the practice generally called the "yellow dog contract" as un-American in principle and industrially unsound. Because of the vital connection between this practice and organization problems for our unions we endorse the proposal of the E.C. that further study be given to formulation of legislation to outlaw "yellow dog contracts" and that the council be authorized to take such further action as its study shall suggest.

(P. 339) The A. F. of L. desires to call attention to the development and use of an alleged form of contract which some anti-union employers are compelling employees to accept.

Under the guise of a contract for employment, wage earners, are compelled to surrender their trade union membership, and pledge themselves to take no collective action with fellow employees relative to their terms of employment, or to become members of trade unions while remaining in the firm's employ.

The employee, as a price of securing or retaining a job, is forced to surrender his right to voluntary association. Such alleged contracts contain a fundamental injustice, their existence constitutes an imminent danger not only to the workers but to all the people of the U.S.

The employers who make use of them are advocates of the so-called and misnamed "American Plan." They are members of powerful organizations. Having applied their right to free association and organized their city and state bodies, federating these into national associations they apply the individual contract to their employees for the purpose of making it impossible for them to exercise their right as free men and American citi-

zens, to organize for self-protection and the promotion of their welfare.

The employers making use of individual contracts in many instances organize for the specific purpose of devising and applying ways and means of preventing their employees from enjoying their equal right to organize.

The individual contract popularly known as the "yellow dog," is intended to so deprive the wage earners of one of their most necessary and essential rights as free men that industrial autocracy can be established and function unchallenged.

The Declaration of Independence asserts that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," but supporters of the so-called American Plan denounce this basic and divine truth. They deny the existence of equality of rights and of opportunities for all American citizens and announce that employers alone shall have the right of organization in the industrial field.

There is no mutuality in the "yellow dog" contract. Being devoid of this it lacks the vital essential of a contract. The employee surrenders his right to voluntary association, while the employer's right to organize remains unquestioned and unlimited.

There is but one purpose in these contracts. They do not guarantee continuous employment for any definite period of time, they do not guarantee the payment of any specified wage rate. They contain but one specific condition, the provision that in return for the privilege of working the workman will completely surrender the right of taking any collective action with fellow employees, or become a member of a trade union.

Such alleged contracts are contrary to public policy, for their specific purpose is to prevent American citizens who are wage earners from exercising

an all-important right. They are contrary to public policy because they seek through the law of contract to destroy one of the basic rights established by the federal constitution.

Such contracts have but one purpose, the creation of class rights and distinctions in the industrial field, through the building up of a legal fiction that under the law of contract, workmen may lawfully surrender the right to voluntary association. The recognition of such contracts as valid instruments, their application to workmen in general, would soon establish a condition in industry under which organization would no longer be possible for workmen.

The employers, through their associations, would dominate the lives of the workers, as thoroughly as the barons dominated their serfs, or as the masters did the peons before the enactment of the anti-peonage law.

The "yellow dog" contract is a challenge to our American institutions. It is intended to destroy the exercise of a most essential right. Its existence creates a condition which our movement must recognize and prepare to overcome.

The negro was prevented from being forced into a second condition of slavery by the enactment of the anti-peonage law. No one in the United States can now enter into any contract to work for another for the purpose of paying debts. Such forms of contract for labor are illegal. The employer forcing one upon a workman is punished by imprisonment.

The "yellow dog" contract is as fully destructive of human liberty as a condition of peonage. It shackles the workman's hands, it prevents him from voluntary association with his fellow workmen, it prevents him from having a voice in determining the terms of employment and conditions of labor. It makes him a voiceless human cog in the machinery of in-

dustry. It transforms him into a helpless victim, made such so that the employer may establish autocracy in industry.

The A. F. of L. has always been pledged to vigorously oppose every form of autocracy. It denounces and condemns in the most vigorous terms any system of industry which tends or undertakes to subjugate free men by reason of their necessities or weaknesses. It now calls upon trade unionists to meet this present challenge to human rights and unflinchingly and intelligently attack that form of autocracy which is manifesting itself through "yellow dog" contracts.

(1928, p. 264) The Board of Education of Seattle, Washington, has demanded that as a condition of employment or reemployment teachers of that city must sign individual contracts declaring that they are not members of the American Federation of Teachers or any local thereof, and that they will not become members during the term of the proposed contract.

The President of the A. F. of L. has correctly stigmatized the action of the Seattle Board of Education as un-American, and an insult to the teachers because it deprives them of their constitutional right to join an organization animated by the highest American idealism.

The act depriving our loyal and patriotic teachers of their privileges as citizens may be the entering wedge of a movement to deprive all public service employes of their fundamental civic rights, therefore, the E.C. is directed to protect the rights of the teachers.

(1929, p. 92) During the year several bills to make "yellow dog" contracts legally null and void were introduced in various legislatures. Most earnest agitation was conducted in California, Illinois, Ohio and Wisconsin.

But the latter state was the only one in which there was success. The bill that became a law in Wisconsin followed the principle of the Ohio bill and then extended it to similar contracts made by cooperatives in agricultural, horticultural and dairy products. It makes illegal any contract or agreement to join or not to join a member of any cooperative association.

Most sincere thought has been given the construction of legislation to make illegal "yellow dog" contracts. Some of the most prominent attorneys favor the Ohio bill. The attorney general of that state in an extended analysis declared it to be constitutional. While on the face of it the Wisconsin law appears to be worded to meet any court proceedings some lawyers contend it will be declared unconstitutional. The consensus of opinion, however, is that both laws are constitutional.

(1931, pp. 119, 410) Labor has made great headway toward declaring "yellow dog" contracts invalid and void. Members of the various state legislatures undoubtedly learned of the viciousness of these contracts through a report of the discussions held on the floor of the Senate when Judge John J. Parker's appointment was up for confirmation to be a member of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Wisconsin was the first state to declare such contracts unlawful. Four states have been added to the list this year. They are: Arizona, Colorado, Ohio and Oregon. The Indiana legislature passed an anti-yellow dog contract bill but it was vetoed by the governor. A bill introduced in the Massachusetts legislature failed of passage because the Supreme Court of that state to which it was referred for an advisory opinion declared it unconstitutional.

After the defeat of Judge Parker in the Senate, pamphlets were prepared

and distributed throughout the United States in which the debates were incorporated and information regarding the "yellow dog" contract given to labor officials in order that they could appear before legislative committees in the interest of this legislation.

Labor's anti-injunction bill which will be presented to Congress prohibits "yellow dog" contracts. We believe public sentiment is sufficiently strong against this form of contract as to render unsuccessful any attempt to strike such provision from the bill.

Now that five states have enacted legislation prohibiting these contracts it should be an encouragement to the labor movements of other states to urge the passage of similar measures by their respective legislatures.

It might be well to report that 10 of the U.S. Senators who voted to confirm Judge Parker's appointment will not be members of the next Senate. Senators Allen, Blease, Grundy, McCulloch, Ransdell and Steck were defeated on that issue. Senators Baird, Gillett, Goff and Gould declined to be candidates.

(*Oklahoma City Teachers*)—(1943, p. 594) Res. 10:

Whereas—The Board of Education in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, has offered to the teachers of the city a "yellow dog" contract providing that no teacher shall be employed who is a member of the American Federation of Teachers or any other labor organization of teachers, and

Whereas—Such a contract is a distinct violation of the fundamental principles of democratic government for which the American Federation of Labor has battled over the years and for which we are now waging global war, and

Whereas—The right of public employees—local, state, and national—to affiliate with organized labor is generally recognized throughout the nation, and

Whereas—The resurrection of the outmoded yellow dog contract in Oklahoma City is an alarming example of the attempt to use the war effort for the purpose of crushing organized labor, and

Whereas—The danger of the spread of the yellow dog contract to other unions is a serious threat to all organized labor in the nation, and

Whereas—The Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools in Oklahoma City are hampering the war effort by compelling organized labor to battle against totalitarian practices on the home front at a time when undivided effort should be used in waging war against the enemies of democracy on the battle front, and

Whereas—The President of the United States has stated that the American Federation of Teachers can contribute much to winning the war and establishing a lasting peace, therefore be it

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, in October, 1943, condemn the Board of Education of Oklahoma City and the Superintendent of Schools, for attempting to enforce a contract which conforms to the principles of the Axis dictatorship rather than to the philosophy of American democracy, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor congratulates the Central Labor Union of Oklahoma City and the Oklahoma Federation of Labor for the courageous battle against this outrageous violation of the principles of American democracy, and be it further

Resolved—That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions render all possible assistance to the international union of the American Federation of Teachers and to organized labor in Oklahoma in this battle to eliminate the vicious yellow dog

clause from the contracts of the teachers of the city.

Your committee believes that the enforcement of a yellow dog contract in Oklahoma City prohibiting teachers from affiliating with organized labor is a challenge to the entire labor movement as well as to the teachers' international union. It is unthinkable that any employer in this enlightened age of American democracy would resurrect the outmoded yellow dog contract which was prevalent a quarter of a century ago. The board of education and superintendent of schools who are responsible for the education of the children of Oklahoma City have compelled those who teach in the schools to sign a contract which in industry would be subject to prosecution under federal law. Such regimentation of employees in the public schools should serve as a grave warning that the battle for democracy exists on the home front as well as on the battle front. The boys in the armed forces from Oklahoma City are fighting and dying for a principle which is being violated in their own home town.

The committee, therefore, concurs in this resolution and urges the Executive Council to use every possible means including legal advice in assisting to abolish the yellow dog contract in the public schools of Oklahoma City.

(1944, pp. 63, 79, 430, 431, 615) Res. 75, 76 and 124. Resolutions were submitted to the convention actively supporting legislation which would prohibit the use of federal funds by any public or private agency for the payment of wages or salaries to workers employed by such agencies on any public works program under a so-called yellow dog contract agreement.

On recommendation of its committee, the convention unanimously voted to adopt Res. 76 as follows:

Whereas—Certain funds such as are now available under the Lanham

Act for the maintenance of schools and other activities, and

Whereas—These funds are being used in some states and communities to enforce the yellow dog contract against teachers, and

Whereas—There is danger that tomorrow such funds may be used to enforce the yellow dog contract on all the vast postwar federal, state and local public works programs, therefore, be it

Resolved—That the 64th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20, 1944, go on record as actively supporting legislation which would prohibit the use of federal funds by any public or private agency for the payment of wages or salaries to workers employed by such agencies on any public works program under a so-called yellow dog contract agreement.

Youth Administration, National (see also: Apprenticeship Training in Program of NYA; Local Advisory Boards on Vocational Education)

(1939, p. 212) Our Committee on Education gave special consideration to the problem of youth organizations. We are not unmindful of the fact that opportunities for self-development must be available in the formative years and adapted to successive stages of growth. The most far-reaching consequence of emergencies—whether war or economic depression—is interference with the growth and education of the next generation. The consequences of malnutrition or denial of educational opportunities in youth cannot be remedied by abundance at some later time. In these years of social and political turmoil that have shaken social foundations throughout the world we have seen still worse wrong done to the children of those nations who have organized their defenseless children in their immaturity

in support of propaganda based on unsound social principles.

We recognize that the educational institutions of every country are organized in support of national institutions. When this is done through responsible agencies in accord with national opinion freely expressed the results represent the level of social progress at which the nation is living. But when policies are developed arbitrarily and there is imposed upon a growing generation unsound principles of living, a great wrong is done which is irreparable in nature. Responsible citizens seek to protect youth during its period of immaturity rather than harness boys and girls in the promotion of causes however good in themselves. It is we believe a sound principle that we as a nation should disapprove organizations of the immature except for purposes that have to do with their personal development. Youth movements are easy tools to power or revolution when concerned with other purposes.

We find a tendency of the National Youth Administration to deal with the problems of youth as though they were in conflict with the interests of the rest of the community. We believe that the distress of youth in this depression while it has a special appeal is only one portion of the dire distress which befell young and old alike. The remedy for all is the same—to get our economic agencies in action to provide the materials and services for the kind of life we wish to have. As a relief measure we do not believe there should be division based on immaturity. However, we do believe that regardless of the fortunes of the family income, boys and girls should have opportunity to continue their education through secondary schools and through academic work if able and willing to do the work. We, therefore, heartily recommend the program of the National Youth Administration

that enables youth to remain in school, and urge its continuance in connection with the Office of Education. That portion of its work which provides services to persons without work experience we believe should be developed in connection with the U.S. Employment Service and a Juvenile Employment Division. Schools themselves should not undertake placement though they need to keep in close touch because of their knowledge of the students and because they should know how effective their training proves itself outside school walls. The transition from school to job has always involved difficulties but the depression has blocked many normal channels.

That portion of the National Youth Administration's activities concerned with vocational training we hold should be done by existing agencies, expanded as needed, and should be subject to those regulations and safeguards which society has deemed wise. It is socially and economically dangerous to provide potential resources to enable undertakings to be independent of existing agencies charged with performing that function under safeguards provided by law.

Annually 2,250,000 boys and girls come from schools and colleges to the world of work, seeking a chance to earn a living and thus becoming self-dependent members of society. During the past 10 years the number of unemployed reached 15 million, has never fallen below seven million, and is even now 10 million. Meanwhile, the steady stream of young persons from universities, colleges and high schools has found doors closed to professions, technical work, to apprenticeship for crafts and to positions in commerce and industry where less pretraining was required. During the past 10 years many of these young persons became a part of the great army of unemployed together with

other young persons, the middle-aged and the old.

There were in 1937 approximately 3,900,000 unemployed persons between the ages of 16 and 25, or approximately one-third of the total unemployed. Moreover one-fourth to one-fifth of those who have jobs worked only part time. Unemployment is certainly not primarily a youth problem but its high proportion among youth gives to young people a special concern for its widespread character amongst their own number.

Young people from the ages of 16 to 25 constitute approximately one-sixth of the population—or 23,000,000 in round numbers. This ratio of youth to adults has not always remained constant. It changes with declining birth rate and increasing longevity. In 1870 there was one youth to every two adults; today there is one youth to every three adults. This means that the competition between youth and adults tend to increase not decrease. It tends to explain much of the difficulty of the young in finding employment. Unless constructive measures are found the situation lends itself to propaganda that would create a spirit of conflict between the young and the mature. Society has steadily increased its educational requirements by strengthening its compulsory school attendance and by prohibiting gainful employment of children. At the turn of the century there were 700,000 in our high schools; today there are 6,000,000. Similarly our colleges have grown five-fold in less than four decades.

Union labor is proud of its record as one of the founders of our public school system. The American Federation of Labor has for nearly six decades made responsibility for improving and expanding educational opportunities available through tax-supported institutions, one of its primary duties. Through child-labor and com-

pulsory school attendance laws we have tried to safeguard our own and all other children from work exploitation during their period of development. We have steadily urged more adequate school structures and their fullest use by the community. We have offered teachers Labor support for academic freedom for sound teaching and union organization for dealing with their economic problems. We have urged enrichment of the curricula for all and their adaptation to the needs of those preparing for all walks of life. We now particularly urge revision of the curriculum of secondary schools. Before the twentieth century only a small percentage of our population received a high school education and the high school curriculum is still dominated by the needs of those going into the professions. Such a curriculum is pre-vocational training for the professions and does not always interest boys and girls with abilities that fit them for commercial or industrial occupations. Pre-professional training should be recognized as vocational training, so that high schools shall realize the need to plan the common training, fitting those in all walks for citizenship under democratic institutions.

We are convinced that democracy is a way of life and not merely a form of government and that future citizens must be trained for their responsibilities in a democracy. If our citizens are to have a sense of social unity and personal responsibility essential for the democratic way of life, they must learn their first lessons in our public schools. The school should not only prepare pupils for life as workers but also as members of a community. It is this preparation for our common life in the community and in the nation that is the chief responsibility of secondary schools. Vocational training whether for the professions, the trade or general industry is suppl-

mentary to this basic preparation for citizenship.

Knowledge of the world in which we live and understanding of individual relationship to community life are essential to a sense of responsibility for democracy. The school has its part to contribute to the discipline which prepares youth for the democratic way of life. The rights and privileges of democratic life must be sustained by corresponding duties and disciplined responsibility. As the high school finds its special educational function and develops a response to the interests of boys and girls in what constitutes our common life, boys and girls will not leave school in order to find something of real interest. Development of secondary schools and organization of the curriculum to give them preparation for living is essential to justify our compulsory school attendance laws.

Because we believe there is a unity in the whole of life and that youth is preparatory for maturity and old age, we think organization on the basis of youth for other than educational or recreational purposes is unwise. Youth cannot solve the problems of maturity nor is it in a position of responsibility. The organizations of youth should fit the young for their responsibilities, not setting them in conflict with those who have had experience and responsibility. Experience and information are necessary to responsibility and to preparation for responsible living with its rights and obligations. Youth organizations are usually deliberately or unconsciously controlled by adults who have purposes to serve. In its own interests youth should be protected against such designs until in position and of a maturity to make its own decisions.

While we make provisions for the mental and physical development of

youth, we must not neglect to provide individuals with opportunity for development of the spirit which determines the kind of relations an individual has with his fellow-men and interprets to him his relationship to the universe. What one sees in life will largely determine the value he will attach to other people's lives and fix his sense of responsibility in dealing with others. We believe that the home, the church, and society have a responsibility to provide wide freedom for individuals to seek spiritual growth and discipline. Freedom for individuals must rest on freedom of speech and freedom of thought with appreciation of the responsibilities and duties that accompany freedom of living. We must assure religious freedom in order to assure social progress for ourselves and our children.

In lands where personal freedom has given way before governmental control of the machinery and rules of life and work, we have watched the governmental development of youth movements in the service of political ends—disrupting homes and those basic ties that develop out of the mutuality of rights and duties. Labor wants to protect the boys and girls of the United States from such a perverted fate and to assure them balanced development. The meaning of life for youth grows out of their relationship to their parents and families and out of their religious training and spiritual development. During their temporary dependence upon their elders is the period for learning responsibilities and rights they will be expected to exercise in maturity. An understanding of basic human relations, developed in youth, makes valuable citizens, prepared to maintain democratic institutions. What society does for its children brings rich rewards in national progress. Protective laws, social services, educational opportunities, are all necessary provisions but

they cannot insure honesty, integrity in living, or understanding of the importance of so living that every relationship in life is constructive and that all with whom we come in contact are bettered by that relationship. Character and understanding of the purpose of living are what can make youth and adults contribute to human betterment and progress, and they are the ends which our proposals would serve.

Every age has a responsibility for the young. The American Federation of Labor shares in that responsibility which includes provisions for material well-being and opportunity for physical, intellectual and spiritual development. We as an organization can be responsible only for assuring opportunities and the right to benefit by them, but the development of personality and spiritual capacity in our young lies outside the reach of our organization and devolves upon the home, the church and those teachers whose own personalities give them power to help the young grow in insight and wisdom. In order to conserve influences that are necessary to discipline and ideals in living, the American Federation of Labor declares for freedom of religion and religious training as the most fundamental contribution we can make to the children of the future.

(P. 619) The youth problem in every civilized state has today become a matter of real concern. In the totalitarian states the regimentation of youth have been the basis by which dictators have sought to perpetuate themselves. In many of the democratic countries the plight of unemployed youth has become a threat to the stability of the social order. In recognition of the reality of the special problems with which youth are confronted today, special commissions have been set up and exhaustive re-

searches made in this and other countries. In previous reports to this Federation of Labor, the notable research studies of the American Youth Commission has been appraised. In the pages of the Executive Council's Report there has been set forth an extended discussion of the youth question which deserves the study of the delegates to this convention.

The Council's Report gives consideration to the trends in National Youth Administration. It is clear from what is here set forth that this is a matter which comes very definitely within the concern of labor and toward the solution of which labor can make a significant contribution. For labor speaks out of decades of concern for child life; it has stood valiantly as the champion of the abolition of child labor. It has urged the extension of educational opportunities in order to meet some of those requirements. It has also urged the expansion of recreational opportunities for all. It has taken those methods calculated to meet youth needs at the point where they can best be met.

Out of Labor's experience there has come some clearcut conclusions. In the first place, while unemployment among youth is an increasingly serious problem, it is impossible to resolve this problem apart from the total problem. Youth are a part of the body politic; they are an indivisible part of every nation. When unemployment abounds, youth are among many other sufferers; when jobs are plentiful, youth will find work.

In the second place, labor realizes the wisdom of extending secondary educational opportunities to our youth to meet the need of unemployed youth in many of our communities. While raising the school age level is not a permanent solution for the question of youth unemployment, it does place upon the educational authorities a re-

sponsibility which they are better equipped to meet than any other agency in the community.

The decision of the National Youth Administration to develop a Juvenile Employment Division in the Labor Employment Offices, to assist in the placement of young people in their labor market, should materially help in finding work for youth.

Your committee notes the concern of the Permanent Committee on Education for the activity of the National Youth Administration in connection with vocational training. The difficulty that has arisen in the National Youth Administration is due to the confusion in the minds of this agency as to whether their function is to perform vocational training or work experience of a pre-vocational character. It is the considered judgment of your committee that vocational training of our youth should be done through existing educational agencies adapted to meet this need. On the other hand, in the matter of work experience of a distinctly pre-vocational character, your committee agrees with the present policy of the National Youth Administration.

But what has become clear is the need for a revision of our high school curriculum to meet the changing needs of industry as well as the expanding needs of youth. As the secondary school becomes a common school for all of our youth, it is clear that we must have more in the way of pre-professional training and pre-vocational education for our youth.

Your committee cannot do better than to make its own the closing paragraph of this significant section on youth from the Council's Report: "Every age has a responsibility for the young. The American Federation of Labor shares in that responsibility which includes provisions for material well-being and opportunity for physical, intellectual and spiritual develop-

ment. We as an organization can be responsible only for assuring opportunities and the right to benefit by them, but the development of personality and spiritual capacity in our young lies outside the reach of our organization and devolves upon the home, the church and those teachers whose own personalities give them power to help the young grow in insight and wisdom. In order to conserve influences that are necessary to discipline and ideals in living, the American Federation of Labor declares for freedom of religion and religious training as the most fundamental contribution we can make to the children of the future."

Work Training Projects—(1940, pp. 157-160) Obviously the resident projects will overlap with the apprentice training field. As yet they are without the safeguards which have been found necessary to apprentice training standards of workmanship and wise direction for human welfare. Projects for defense have more recently been considered. This program, which began under relief auspices, now has some aspects of permanency, and it is high time for organized labor to evaluate the entire program and to consider all possible and probable consequences.

(P. 585) A year ago the Executive Council in its annual report gave extended consideration to the problem of youth and the growth of youth organizations which have been set up in this country to meet some of the emergency problems of youth. The Council noted a tendency on the part of the NYA to "deal with the problems of youth as though they were in conflict with the interests of the rest of the community." In the judgment of the Council this was unfortunate as the "distress of youth in the depression is only one part of the dire distress which befell young and old alike."

The Council on the other hand heartily commended the program of the NYA that enabled youth to remain in school and urged its continuance in connection with the Office of Education. In the same report the Council asserted in unequivocal terms its belief that the activities of the NYA concerned with vocational training "should be done by existing agencies expanded as needed and should be subject to those regulations and safeguards which society has deemed wise. It is socially and economically dangerous to provide potential resources to enable undertakings to be independent of existing agencies charged with performing that function under safeguards provided by law." The Convention Committee on Education, recorded its approval of this point in the Council's report while commending the policy of the NYA in providing work-experience for unemployed youth.

Thirteen months have elapsed since that action was taken by the Federation. In the intervening months a new appropriation of \$135,000,000 has been made by the Congress to the NYA for the new fiscal year. In the meantime the nation has embarked upon a defense program which has not only made important changes in our procedure but promises to reduce substantially the volume of unemployment. According to representatives of the U.S. Department of Labor the defense program should provide employment for at least one-half of the present unemployed within less than a year. The enactment of a Universal Selective Service Act has provided a new agency under which our youth from 21 to 35 years may be brought under a public authority. Within a year the peacetime strength of our army will be brought up to 1,800,000. For the most part young men will compose that army. If, therefore, the reasoning of the Council a year ago

is correct that the problem of youth unemployment is a part of the larger unemployment problem, then surely, the need for NYA as an emergency agency will be lessened as provision is made to reduce unemployment by one activity or agency of government.

The Council is concerned about the over-lapping of NYA projects with the apprentice training program. It is concerned as well about their invasion of the defense field.

Your committee is of the opinion that all NYA activities which are clearly invasions of the vocational educational field should be terminated. The splendid exploratory work done in the field of junior employment service should be shifted to the U.S. Employment Service.

Apprenticeship Training — (1941, p. 427) The American Federation of Labor is emphatically opposed to the inclusion of apprenticeship and trade training in the program of the National Youth Administration. The Permanent Committee on Education after conferring with officers of the National Youth Administration has established a working agreement with the N.Y.A. providing that no trade training or apprenticeship training shall be included in the program of the N.Y.A. It is distinctly understood that vocational training under the N.Y.A. shall be exploratory in nature and designed merely to determine the aptitudes of young people and provide work experience. Apprenticeship training and actual trade training are to be left to other agencies of education.

Youth and Trade Unions—(1935, pp. 81, 495) The effects of world-wide depression upon the younger generations in all countries have been a matter of anxiety to all concerned with problems of statesmanship.

The problem was brought before the International Labor Conference in

Geneva at its last meeting in June. The problem in this country was first formulated in a report made by the Department of Labor in response to a Senate Resolution by Senator Walsh requesting information and recommendations with reference to young people emerging from educational institutions and at present without permanent employment. The report by the Secretary of Labor showed approximately three and one-half million persons between the ages of 18 and 29 inclusive without gainful employment. This large group at a most impressionable period of their development, denied entrance to the normal activities of the nation, constitutes a serious problem.

This problem, Labor believes, can be solved permanently only by such changes in our national economy as will provide opportunities to earn a living to all those who need such opportunities.

Labor does not believe that the problem can be solved by an attempt to find jobs in private industries for this large group until our industries are operating at a higher level.

On June 26, 1935, the President created the National Youth Administration, because, as he said, we should do something for the nation's unemployed youth since we can ill-afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women.

The Youth Administration is organized with an Executive Committee consisting of government officials and an executive director.

The major objectives of the National Youth Administration are: (1) To find employment in private industry for unemployed youths, (2) To provide employment for youths of certified relief families at work relief projects suited to their abilities and needs, (3) To provide vocational training or retraining for youths without specific skills, (4) To extend part-time

employment to needy college students and small cash assistance to needy high school students.

All persons between the ages of 16 and 25, no longer in attendance upon full time school and not regularly engaged in remunerative employment come within the scope of its program. Youth relief employment will be open to the young members of relief families; aid will be extended to students desirous of finishing their college education and financially unable to do so. Financial aid will be available to high school students not to exceed \$6 per month—this aid to cover text books, food, clothing, car fare and similar essentials.

The program seeks to provide employment for approximately 150,000 youths; college aid to about 120,000 young men and women; high school aid to 100,000 and provisions for post-graduates in part-time employment to the amount of \$30 a month.

In addition to assisting needy high-school students, the National Youth Administration will give financial help to approximately 125,000 college and university students who would otherwise not be able to complete their college education, and to worthy students who are ready for college but who need financial assistance in order to obtain a higher education.

Twenty-eight million dollars has been allocated for student aid activities. Reports from relief rolls show that approximately 700,000 students were compelled to drop their schooling in 1934-5.

The Youth Administration is designing state directors to build up local participation in the program.

The National Youth Administration is under the Works Program Administration and is one of the chief administrative units of that program.

(1936, p. 571) A large number of youth have recently entered labor's

ranks, finding employment in various industries.

Among these young people there is a sturdy and growing tendency to enlist in the organizations of labor.

Various national, international and local unions recognizing the need of developing trade union consciousness among their younger members have instituted as a regular part of union procedure educational and athletic activities, increasing their membership considerably among the young wage earners.

The A. F. of L. will undertake a campaign to promulgate union consciousness, organization into their respective national, international and federal labor unions and education among America's young people.

(1938, pp. 185, 481) The consequences of the recent depression and consequent and recurring unemployment, have fallen heavily upon young persons—depriving them of those growth opportunities which should be the right of every young person and a place in the work world in which to earn a living—a right necessary to self-dependence. It is a serious matter when boys and girls are made to feel there is no place for them in our social system. It was to meet this situation that the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps were created as emergency measures.

The Civilian Conservation Corps is headed by a Director who has the cooperation of federal and state agencies. The War Department is responsible for clothing, feeding, housing, transporting and demobilizing those enrolled for the camps; for health, welfare and educational services; for discipline within the camps, and their general administration. These are functions for which the War Department has most competent personnel. Work projects of the camps

are supervised by the Forestry Service, the National Parks Service, and the Soil Conservation Service. These camps have demonstrated their value as training and adjustment agencies for young men.

The National Youth Administration is under the Works Progress Administration. It was designed primarily to maintain morale for unemployed youth without incomes. For boys and girls in school it provides financial aid through jobs. For the unemployed out of school, youth rehabilitation and stimulation of educational interests are the main objectives of the work projects provided. Vocational guidance and registration in employment offices are major factors in the service.

These emergency undertakings have shown up permanent needs and have developed constructive methods. It is our social duty to provide more equal educational opportunities for all and to do this we must face the fact that the greatest cause of inequality in educational opportunity is economic. During past years efforts of radicals to direct and warp the minds of youth have been more serious and more determined than ever before. Propagandists seek control over the education of the next generation, as short cuts to establishing theories or to gaining control.

The Advisory Committee recommended that these two agencies be merged under the title National Youth Service Administration and placed under the Office of Education. This proposal, in addition to making the services permanent, would provide for the integration of this work with that of governmental agencies normally concerned with the duties involved. Youth should have opportunities but it should also be made conscious of its obligations to home, community and the heritage left by past generations.

Youth (Training for Service) — (1944, p. 225) No one will deny the right of the nation to require service of every youth. No one will deny the duty and indeed the privilege of every youth to render that service.

The need of a thorough physical examination and health building program for every youth must be a basic requirement. The need for developing in youth an appreciation of both exacting discipline and creative initiative is essential. The need for affording youth an opportunity for developing a deep sense of moral, civic and social responsibility must be a part of that program.

The form and substance of the program is too technical and too complex a subject to be dealt with in this report, but it should receive very thorough study. We, therefore, recommend that the Standing Committee on Education prepare a report on this subject within the near future and transmit that report to the Council.

(P. 610) This section of the Executive Council's Report deals with the subject popularly known as universal military training for all youth of the nation. Your committee agrees with the position of the Executive Council that the form and substance of such a program constitute too technical and complex a problem to be dealt with hastily and without adequate study and investigation. The problem is one which is civilian in character as well as military and is not related to

the immediate war emergency. Modern warfare demands far more than mere military drill in the usual meaning of the term. The mechanic, the technician, the truck driver, or the cook may be equally important to modern warfare as the soldier who carries the gun. The man who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before is a modern soldier of the highest type. Elsewhere in this report the vital importance of vocational training in the national defense program is pointed out.

Your committee recommends, therefore, that consideration be given not merely to a program of universal military conscription for youth but to a complete program of total national defense. We, therefore, urge (1) that this convention go on record against any hasty ill considered plan for universal military conscription for youth; (2) that we request the President of the United States to appoint a national committee representing the armed forces, organized labor, management, farm organizations, and educational organizations to make a thorough study of this problem and to recommend a program of action; and (3) that the Permanent Committee on Education continue to study this problem in terms of national and international developments; (4) that adequate funds be granted to the United States Office of Education to establish a research department which will be able to assist in the study.

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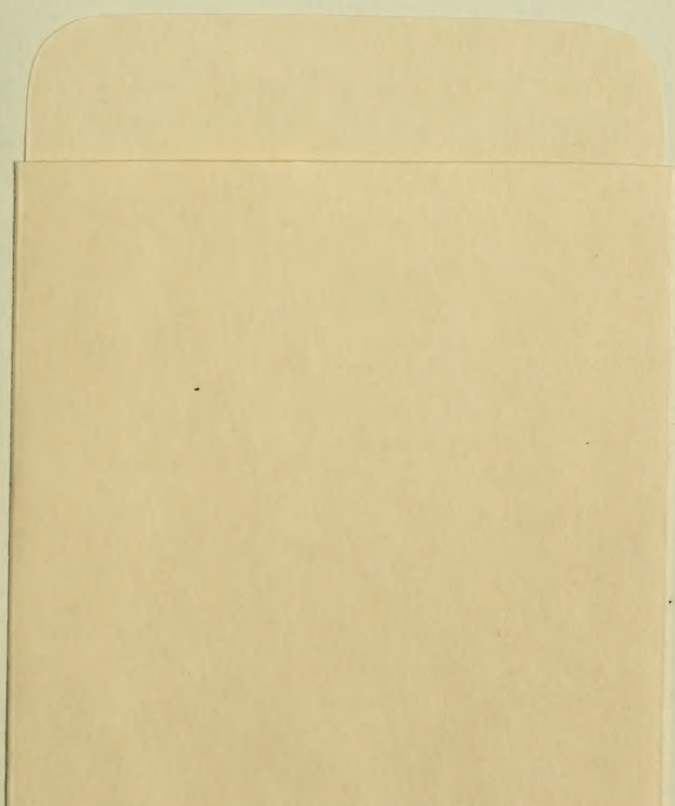
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